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The Omnibus
BOOK *of* TRAVELLERS' TALES

THE OMNIBUS BOOK
OF
Travellers' Tales

Being the History of Exploration
Told by the Explorers

Edited by MILTON WALDMAN

Publishers BRENTANO'S *New York*

Printed in Great Britain

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INTRODUCTION

THE following pages will unfold the story of how the map of Ptolemy (reproduced at pp. 16–17), which represents the most advanced classical idea of the earth's surface, developed into the modern map familiar to every school-child. The individual tales will show how, step by step, a continent and a sea, an island, a cape, a river, were added to the existing store of geographical knowledge, related to earlier and later discoveries, until the picture of the world as we know it to-day was complete.

In a strictly logical sense it might be objected that the story ought not to be told from so exclusively European a point of view. Other races began with ideas and developed them through achievement. But this objection is more apparent than real. Discovery is a matter both of impulse and of record ; its origin is the active desire to reach the unknown, and its fruit the power it gives, through maps and writings, to other men to follow in and exploit the track so laid down. The natives of the Antilles whom Columbus brought back with him, though the first of their race to see Europe, can hardly be said to have discovered it, since they were brought there under compulsion. The Indians who haphazardly set out across the plains of North America or through the jungles of South America had the impulse, but their achievements were nevertheless sterile—they were unable to guide other men to the same spot, as the European explorers who later relied upon them were to learn to their cost. Columbus, Da Gama, Tasman, and Cook burned to

Cimmerian darkness, and thus conforms to the belief of his contemporaries. The Midyama of the Indians and the Scandinavian Midgard both symbolise the same universal conception. Long after Homer, even in their great era, the Greeks were accustomed to lay out neat imaginary maps with Hellas at the centre and the Scythians, Indians, Ethiopians, and Celts in their appropriate quarters of a small circle with a vague circumference.

The principal reason for the persistence of ignorance amongst the ancients was that those who travelled did not write and those who wrote did not travel. The Phœnicians and their offspring, the Carthaginians, sent their ships over most of the known world. The Phœnicians undoubtedly traded with the Far East, and the Carthaginians sent expeditions through the Straits of Gibraltar to the west coast of Africa, but the mother city left no writings whatever, and the discoveries of Hanno and Hamilcar are obscurely embedded in second-hand versions transmitted by the later Greeks. Active as were these semitic wanderers, their impress on geography is as small as that of the restless Vikings who braved the storms of the North Atlantic during the deepest obscurity of the Middle Ages.

The passion for exploration is one of the few that appear to have been omitted from the versatile Greek make-up, a fact which Herr Spengler has recently emphasised. On the whole they preferred thought to action, and though they were undoubtedly pre-eminent amongst ancient geographers, they were essentially armchair geographers. The state of their knowledge can best be examined in the work of Herodotus, one of the greatest of Greeks from Greece's greatest age.

The Father of History had one qualification for writing about discovery which the majority of his countrymen lacked in that he frequently went to see distant places with his own eyes. Thus, as shown in the quotation which constitutes the first chapter of this volume, he was anxious to discover the source of the Nile, and what causes the river's annual rise and fall. He travelled as far as the First Cataract and there stopped. One can scarcely blame him for that ; to go farther was dangerous and probably impossible—two thousand three hundred years were to elapse before the great river was traced to its beginning. But the failure of his practical quest did not prevent the traveller from attempting the solution of the intellectual problem which had inspired him.

He states first that there are three explanations hitherto proffered by " some of the Hellenes who desired to gain distinction for cleverness." Two of these he rejects summarily, the first pretending that Etesian winds are the cause, the second that " the river produces these effects because it flows from the ocean, and the ocean flows round the whole earth." The third he considers more fully, though " it is the most mistaken of all . . . alleging as it does that the Nile flows from melting snow." This theory the sage then proceeds to demolish as follows :

" How then should it flow from snow, when it flows from the hottest parts to those which are cooler ? And indeed most of the facts are such as to convince a man (one at least who is capable of reasoning about such matters) that it is not at all likely that it flows from snow. The first and greatest evidence is afforded by the winds, which blow hot from these regions ; the second is that the land is rainless always and without frost, whereas after snow has fallen rain must necessarily come within five days, so that if it snowed in those parts rain would fall there ; the third evidence is afforded by the people dwelling there, who are of a black colour by reason of the burning heat."

Having then eliminated previous errors, he proceeds to construct the truth :

> " If, however, after I have found fault with the opinions proposed, I am bound to declare an opinion of my own about the matters which are in doubt, I will tell what to my mind is the reason why the Nile increases in the summer. In the winter season the Sun, being driven away from his former path through the heaven by the stormy winds, comes to the upper parts of Libya. If one would set forth the matter in the shortest way, all has now been said ; for whatever region this god approaches most and stands directly above, this it may reasonably be supposed is most in want of water, and its native streams of rivers are dried up most. However, to set it forth at greater length, thus it is :—the Sun passing in his course by the upper parts of Libya, does thus, that is to say, since at all times the air in those parts is clear and the country is warm, because there are no cold winds, in passing through it the Sun does just as he was wont to do in the summer, when going through the midst of the heaven, that is he draws to himself the water, and having drawn it he drives it away to the upper parts of the country, and the winds take it up and scattering it abroad melt it into rain ; so it is natural that the winds which blow from this region, namely the South and South-west Winds, should be much the most rainy of all the winds. I think, however, that the Sun does not send away from himself all the water of the Nile of each year, but that he also lets some remain behind with himself. Then when

> the winter becomes milder, the Sun returns back again to the midst of the heaven, and from that time onwards he draws equally from all rivers ; but in the meanwhile they flow in large volume, since water of rain mingles with them in great quantity, because their country receives rain then and is filled with torrent streams. In summer, however, they are weak, since not only the showers of rain fail then, but also they are drawn by the Sun. The Nile, however, alone of all rivers, not having rain and being drawn by the Sun, naturally flows during this time of winter in much less than its proper volume, that is much less than in summer ; for then it is drawn equally with all the other waters, but in winter it bears the burden alone. Thus I suppose the Sun to be the cause of these things."

Yet the truth happened to lie in the third explanation that Herodotus so contemptuously rejected and not in the theory achieved by his own brilliant reasoning. Like a true Greek, he placed reason above research. The knowledge he gained sprang from the union of incomparably great intellect and comparatively little investigation. He travelled far in search of fact, but not far enough. He put questions to the Egyptian priests with Socratic persistence, but even his penetrating scepticism failed to disentangle fact from falsehood. The result was that he often failed to recognise truth when he saw it or to separate it from the inductions bred in his own luminous brain.

Yet he left geography in a better state than he found it. By almost a miracle of reasoning, supported by very little actual data, he surmised with extraordinary accuracy the shape and size of the Caspian Sea—hundreds of years

Ptolemaic World Map of Second

To illustrate outline o

.D. (from an edition of 1478)
known at that date

later, after the Roman legions had penetrated into that area, the Roman geographers were still of the opinion that the Caspian's greatest dimension was from east to west, and that it joined the Arctic Ocean by a channel. It is true that Herodotus was more concerned with the east and south, where his countrymen's principal interests lay, and gave scant attention to the other points of the compass, even the western Mediterranean. He barely mentions Marseilles, in his time already a flourishing seaport for a hundred and fifty years, altogether ignores Rome, whose existence dated back three hundred years, and, though he died in Italy, he never knew for certain that it was a peninsula and not an island. But even in discoursing of the fabled lands of the west and north his sturdy scepticism kept him from promulgating many of the old vulgar errors. " . . . towards the north of Europe there is evidently a quantity of gold by far larger than any other land : as to how it is got, here again I am not able to say for certain, but it is said to be carried off from the griffins by Arimaspians, a one-eyed race of men. But I do not believe this tale either that nature produces one-eyed men that are in all other respects like other men." The Elizabethans found it easy to swallow far taller stories than this, of " men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders." Yet even scepticism may go too far, since Herodotus found it equally impossible to believe in the existence of the Atlantic Ocean since he never met anyone who had seen it.

The map saw many changes in the two thousand years following Herodotus, but not all of them by any means were improvements. People forgot as quickly as they learned. Pytheas of Marseilles circumnavigated Great Britain at the beginning of the fourth century B.C., yet fifteen hundred years after him cartographers were scrupulously bisecting the island with a channel. Later in the same century Alexander the Great directed his lieutenant Nearchus to explore the Persian Gulf from the Indus to the Euphrates ; yet in the Middle Ages the most learned were quite hazy as to the relation of India, Arabia and Africa, even as to whether they formed part of the same continent or not. The difficulty was with the records. The discoverers, unfamiliar with one another's work, had only the vaguest idea (or even none at all) of the relationship of what they had seen to what their predecessors had found before them. The results were still further jumbled up by the professors and stay-at-home geographers, who, in trying to reconcile and relate the bewildered narratives of the explorers without themselves having any power to visualise distant seas and coasts, without even any workable method of fixing positions, only made confusion more confounded. For every solid fact acquired by practical effort, a dozen crazy theories rose up to explain it. It is hardly surprising that retrogression marched nearly as fast as enlightenment.

After the Phœnicians had explored the known world with their ships and the Greeks with their minds, the Romans took it over as a property to be owned and managed. This they did efficiently, but it occupied all their time, and they were little interested in extending the borders of knowledge. The passionate mystic curiosity which leads to discovery, the equally passionate and mystic curiosity which leads to the understanding of what has been discovered, were not conspicuous in the Roman temperament. Rome was content to consolidate her empire, suppress her troublesome neighbours, and give her merchants every facility for making money. Yet in the course of these efforts she unconsciously made a contribution to a more exact if not a wider geography. Better roads meant easier transport for goods and for troops, so her engineers and surveyors followed her legions, mapped the countryside, charted the harbours, and in their practical, unimaginative way cleared up many doubts that had perplexed the scholars. When Cæsar led his troops into Britain and Hadrian sent his into Syria they were merely overrunning countries which had long been known, but by gathering them within the Empire these conquerors drew those lands well away from the imaginary circle which ran round the outer earth.

But here Rome's efforts ended. In the time of the Emperor Augustus the roads of even distant provinces had been well mapped, and it was a common boast that her citizens could travel anywhere comfortably and securely. Yet at this very time Strabo, the greatest of Augustan geographers, believed Spain to be north of France, the two forming the base of a triangle, with Britain at its apex, though all three countries were now firmly under the sway of Rome. He was not even sure whether Italy, the seat of the Empire itself, was a square or a triangle. He turned the Caspian Sea wrong side up and joined it to the Arctic Ocean by river. Even Herodotus, five centuries earlier, had a more accurate picture than that.

It would be unfair, however, to set down the classical geographers as ignoramuses or propagators of mere idle fantasies. They could not be scientists—the necessary material of their science, data recorded by explorers in the field, was lacking—hence they remained primarily philosophers. Nevertheless, so vital were their speculations, so keen their intuition, that much of their work was of practical inspiration to the great explorers of the Renaissance ; in fact, not all of it has been discarded to-day. At the beginning of the second century B.C. Eratosthenes, president of the Alexandrine Library, known to his contemporaries as " surveyor of the earth," published his belief that the world was round, and that only the width of the Western Ocean prevented ships from reaching the Indies by that route—the very theory of Columbus himself. He also invented the use of parallels of latitude to fix the position of places on the map, and by their means made an astonishingly close surmise as to the circumference of the earth. His successor, Agatharchides, laid down the methods of descriptive geography. It is impossible now to estimate exactly the value of the Alexandrine school of geographers, since the bulk of their writings perished in the destruction of the celebrated library at Alexandria.

The whole of ancient geographical knowledge is summed up in Ptolemy, who published his treatise on the position of places and his world map during the first half of the second century A.D. Ptolemy's own principal contribution was the addition of longitude to Eratosthenes' latitude, and, though his reckoning of positions is often wildly inaccurate, his introduction of mathematical method into the construction of maps marks the beginning of the modern system of fixing the relative situation of places on the earth's surface. Nearly all that was known of the world before the sailing of Columbus in 1492 is contained in his famous map[1] and much that it so quaintly represents the post-Columban world had to learn all over again for itself.

Small as was the advance of geographical knowledge during the thousand years from Homer to Ptolemy, it was enormous compared with the thousand years that followed the fall of the Roman Empire. In the earlier period a number of important discoveries, such as those of Nearchus, Pytheas, and Hanno, were made by deliberate effort. Many more arose as a result of pure accident. Armies going to or returning from war lost their way and wandered off the beaten track, like Xenophon and the Ten Thousand. Trading-vessels, usually small affairs propelled by oars, were forced by their very nature to stay close to shore, and when driven out of sight of land by tempests or pirates might find themselves gazing upon strange capes and inlets. Overland caravans were deviated from the known routes by hostile marauders. The very inadequacy of instruments of navigation was often responsible for arrival at an unfamiliar instead of the expected goal.

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[1] Reproduced at pp. 16–17.

But during the Dark Ages even such accidents occurred but rarely, since the type of enterprise from which they sprang contracted until it came near to vanishing. With few exceptions, maritime trade was conducted along local coasts, and wars were fought by preference against one's immediate neighbours. Even the naïve but fruitful speculations of the philosophers gave way to the fatuous dialectics of the schoolmen. In the very place in which Eratosthenes had so wonderfully elaborated his theory that the world was round, Cosmas, an Egyptian monk, rejected that theory as impious, and substituted one of his own, in which the earth was an oblong surrounded by a high wall on which rested the sky ; the rotation of day and night was caused by the sun's retirement for rest behind a high mountain in the north. This remarkable doctrine was enunciated five hundred years after Pliny and Strabo had noted the effect of latitude on the length of the sun's daily appearance. Cosmas also discoursed learnedly on the Indies, to which he almost certainly never had been, and received from his admiring contemporaries the name of Indicopleustes—the voyager to the Indies.

Probably at no time since the first hungry and restless wanderers left the Aryan steppes for Europe or for India were people so little concerned with what lay beyond the horizon as in the first six hundred years after the fall of Rome. During that era the soil somehow grew harder, plagues more sudden and violent, men more fretfully irritable with one another. Bare existence became so difficult to gain that voyages of exploration would in any event have been impossible for lack of capital to float them. A widespread sullenness seems to have descended on men's spirits and to have shut off all hope of enlarging experience in this life. Whatever curiosity was left pertained principally to eternal time in heaven rather than the limitless spaces of an unsatisfactory earth. In that fierce struggle for survival, in a social atmosphere as gloomy as the Cimmerian darkness of the Greeks, where fear—fear of starvation, plague, and violent death—was the dominant motive of existence, the spirit's only escape from the hardships of life was to the mysterious promises of death.

Even in that time, of course, there were a few bold adventurers whose eager curiosity tempted them to go and see the new and the strange. Towards the end of the ninth century Other, or Octher, who was a native of Heligoland, described for King Alfred the Great a voyage into the Arctic in which he declared that he had ventured farther north than any other Norseman. His narrative as taken down by King Alfred and reprinted by Hakluyt constitutes the second chapter of this volume.

It shows the narrator to have been an attentive observer of the fauna of Scandinavia, and of its geographical features ; he obtained a fair idea of its shape though he was quite wrong as to its size. But his record stops far short of the thoroughness demanded by later standards. One has only to compare it with the later observations of Barents and Chancellor in the same waters to realise how the faculties of wonder, understanding, and precise description were yet to develop. Most significant of all, his contemporaries appear to have paid almost no attention to him. The King thought his adventures worth preserving, it is true, but Alfred was a man greatly in advance of his time. No one else seems to have cared to record what ultimately happened to him, since nobody, so far as I can learn, ever mentioned him again.

The same inattention obscured the work of later and greater explorers. It is now generally accepted that in or about the year 1000, when the average superstitious European peasant was expecting the second coming of Christ, the Judgment Day, and the annihilation of the world, Lief Ericsson, a Viking chief, crossed the North Atlantic and explored the coast of America southward from Nova Scotia, but again no one seems to have been moved by the discovery of a new world at a time when they expected the old one to end abruptly at any moment. A century later Medoc, King of Wales, is supposed, on lesser authority, to have disappeared while engaged on a similar effort. When John Cabot, at the end of the fifteenth century, and the gallant Cortereals, a few years later, attempted the same goal, only to disappear in the same way, the imagination of the world was set on fire. Kings, poets and common people alike demanded that their lead be followed, and, in the case of the Cortereals, the

Portuguese at once financed another Cortereal to hunt for his lost brothers. But no public clamoured for completion of the Norseman's task or subscribed funds for the rescue of the Welshman. The adventurer, like the artist, requires his age, and the age was not yet ready.

Though whatever remained of the discoverer's impulse during these dark centuries belonged to the north, the awakening was to come in the south. Under the terrible zeal of Peter the Hermit, the kings and peasants of England, France, Germany, Italy and Spain began the crusades by which they were to gain salvation for themselves in the next world ; quite unconsciously they were preparing the way for their aggrandisement in this one. Western man rediscovered the East while fighting it, tasted its wares and found them pleasant. The alert Venetians, leaving others to fight the holy battle, quickly took advantage of Europe's new appetites and sent their galleys scurrying across the Mediterreanan to pick up the silks, the gold and the spices which the Arab caravans were bringing from Cathay and India. The sight of this merchandise in the markets of the West began to awaken atavistic memories of the brighter, gentler world which had been buried under the wrath of heaven for forty generations.

Much has been written of new-found Greek manuscripts, immigrant Byzantine scholars, and the grandeur of historical revelation. Undoubtedly these made a powerful appeal to the imagination of the thirteenth-century European. But it was so much easier to visualise concretely the spacious days of the past which the sages and the manuscripts were discovering when one beheld those tangible, glittering, sweet-smelling symbols of a more luxurious life than even the richest of Western monarchs had for long known. The most sensitive imagination responds in some degree to sensual stimulus : the thinkers began to detach their minds intermittently from God and to wonder whether some of the delights of heaven might not be found upon earth. They did not even have to wonder—the new-found writings and maps of the ancients definitely recorded that such a state of things had once existed ; more, they unmistakably pointed the way to its recovery.

The new and the old began to work together. While the Venetian and Genoese galleys were transhipping cargoes in the Red Sea, the religious orders were earnestly beginning to debate whether it would not be possible to extend the sway of the Church over those far countries now so swiftly being transformed from mythical to real. The missionary flame began to burn ; the migration of the churchmen began. In 1245, Prior John of Pian de Carpine travelled across Bohemia to Tartary, in the Russian steppes, and thence to the court of the Emperor of China, bearing letters to that potentate from the Pope. Two years later he returned along the same route with letters from the Emperor to the Pope and wrote an account, still extant, of what he had seen in the capital of Cathay and on the way. In 1253, Friar William of Rubruck, " of the Order of Minor Friars," travelled by way of the Danube and the Black Sea into Tartary, crossed into Thibet (the last European to do so for many hundreds of years), and ultimately came home to compose an enormously long report to King Louis IX of France who had despatched him on his wanderings. His travels carried him over ten thousand miles into strange country, in the course of which he recovered a great deal of the knowledge which had belonged to the ancients and added much that was his own. Both these narratives have been translated into English and published by the Hakluyt Society.

It was a layman, however, whose journey and subsequent account most strongly seized the imagination of the West and held it for the longest time. Marco Polo, a young Venetian, set out with his father and uncle in about 1254 on a trading voyage to Constantinople, proceeded eastward through the country of the Tartars, and ended in Pekin. With only one break, when he returned to his native city for a short time, Marco remained in the East as a merchant and an official of the Chinese Emperor. At last he returned to Europe, to be caught up in the wars between Venice and Genoa and to be flung for three years into a Genoese prison. There he dictated his memoirs to a fellow-prisoner, whence they issued to inflame men's already high fever about the East.

Probably no book of travels in the world has ever equalled the appeal of Marco Polo's. Even yet no one can read it without feeling that strange enticement which the very name of Cathay or India can evoke. The short extract printed in this book describing Kubla Khan's palace was responsible for the fragment which is probably Coleridge's greatest poem. It contains as well typically vivid and amusing details of life in the Arabian Nights court of Pekin. There is only room in this volume for a comparatively short extract, but the whole is recommended to the reader who would understand what it was that awoke the passion, almost the *need*, of thirteenth-century Europe to recover the way to the East.

No two words were more conspicuous in the thoughts and vocabulary of the twenty gorgeous decades that followed than Cathay and the Indies. They were in the forefront of the plans of statesmen, the arguments of philosophers, constantly on the lips of ordinary people. The monopolies of Venice and Genoa were universally envied, and many theories were advanced as to how they could be broken. Moreover, the Moslems, through whom the existing trade was necessarily carried on, might at any time become hostile, and then the one slender link with the East would be broken.

Already in the time of Marco Polo schemes were in the air for reaching the coveted lands by the west. There may even have been tentative efforts on the part of various ambitious forerunners of Columbus, but the evidence is dishearteningly uncertain. A long scholarly battle has been waged over the voyage of the two Venetian brothers Nicolo and Antonio Zeno, whose descendant claimed for them in the sixteenth century the honour of having sailed through the Straits of Gibraltar in the year 1380 and reached the coast of North America somewhere in the vicinity of Labrador. Nicolo, according to this account, went first, and later sent back a ship to urge his brother to follow him, which the latter did, remaining in the New World fourteen years altogether, ten of them alone. Various famous students have accepted the account and the claim of the Zeni, while others have as vigorously disputed them. The lateness of the publication (1558) and the vagueness of the lands described are the principal reasons for doubt; on the other hand, it is known that the report of the voyage of the Zeni was familiar to the great navigators of the fifteenth century, who laid much store by it. There is the even stronger argument that the accompanying map, referred to in the text, was circulated in some form before the time of Columbus; much of it is far too accurate for its time to have been forged on the basis of existing knowledge. Even as it stands the Zeno relation is the most interesting geographical document of the fourteenth century, and if its authenticity could, as it may yet be, be placed beyond dispute, it would rank amongst the most important in the world. It records a great deal of what the age knew, refers for the first time to the earlier Norse efforts, and constitutes a unique link between the half-legendary exploration of the past and the vigorous definite exploration of the future.

In the fifteenth century the Turks overran their frontiers in all directions and were in a position to shut the Eastern Mediterranean. The expected catastrophe had occurred—the one known route to the Indies was firmly barricaded. Either a new way had to be found or Europe would ultimately be compelled to sink back into the narrow squalid seclusion from which she had just begun so happily to emerge.

But the ambition of Europe had now grown too great, her sense of her own power too strong, for her to be content with any such imprisonment for either her body or her soul. There were men ready to undertake any conceivable adventure of which the race is capable, with imagination to encompass the impossible and the character to achieve it. There were luckily, as well, kings and politicians wise enough to give them their chance.

The first to move was Portugal. That small country had already assumed the foremost place in navigation early in the same century under her enlightened scholar-king, Henry the Navigator. His successor, John, listened to the representations of the geographers that Africa could be circumnavigated and India reached by way of the mythical kingdom of Prester John, the Asiatic-African Christian monarch invented by the Middle Ages. In

1486 he sent Bartholomew Diaz to discover the way to India by the south.

Diaz performed his mission, though he doubled the Cape without knowing it. The crew then mutinied and forced their leader to return, after he had begged in vain that they would proceed but a little farther. On the way back he recognised the promontory for which he had been looking, and, because of the troubles the seas of that region had given him, called it the Cabo Tormentoso, or Stormy Cape. But the King, thinking that such a name would discourage the further effort that he contemplated, changed it to the Cape of Good Hope.

Six years later, before Portugal could get ready for her final and successful expedition, another voyage took place which was to change the whole history of the world. Even while Henry the Navigator was gathering information which was to acquire the southern route to India for Portugal almost as her private lane, a school of geographers had arisen who promulgated the ancient belief of Aristotle and Eratosthenes that the world was round and that the Indies might be reached by the way of the setting sun if one only travelled far enough. They converted various active sailors to their belief, and one of these sailors, Christopher Columbus, set out in August of 1492 to prove, and returned in March of 1493 to announce, that this astounding belief was true.

The narrative preceded the narrator. Columbus, who had had grave reasons towards the end of his return voyage for believing that he would never see Spain again, first made for Lisbon. Before setting out for Palos, his home port, he sent a courier overland with a letter to Luiz Santangel, Chancellor of the Royal Household of Aragon, with a brief account of the events of the voyage. The original manuscript is lost, but many editions exist in Latin, German, French and other European tongues. The earliest edition, a folio in Spanish, is one of the great bibliographical treasures of the world ; the unique copy is in the New York Public Library.

Apart from the adventure it describes, the Columbus Letter is a great prose document in itself, vivid, detailed and, save for the false basic assumption that the writer had reached the Indies and various trivial errors, such as the size of Cuba, accurate. Above all, it conveys the sense of wonder felt by the immortal discoverer at the strange men, animals and plants that he saw, and at the goodness of Providence which had so miraculously crowned his achievement with success. The sense of awe and the sense of humility run like two bright threads through this incomparable letter and reveal its author in his simple essential greatness of character. There is nothing here of the Columbus who whined at later ill treatment, who complained at the inadequacy of his financial reward ; there is merely the inspired dreamer with faith in himself which enabled him to carry his mutinous crew with him (the mark of all first-rate commanders), faith in the future grandeur of his adopted country and in the God who was always to be found on the side of truth and courage. All this may be seen in the last paragraph of his letter, an exalted lyric in itself :

> " Truly great and wonderful is this, and not corresponding to our merits, but to the holy Christian religion, and to the piety and religion of our sovereigns, because what the human understanding could not attain, that the divine will has granted to human efforts. For God is wont to listen to His servants who love His precepts,

even in impossibilities, as has happened to us on the present occasion, who have attained that which hitherto mortal men have never reached. For if anyone has written or said anything about these islands, it was all with obscurities and conjectures ; no one claims that he had seen them ; from which they seemed like fables. Therefore let the king and queen, the princes and their most fortunate kingdoms, and all other countries of Christendom give thanks to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who has bestowed upon us so great a victory and gift. Let religious processions be solemnised ; let sacred festivals be given ; let the churches be covered with festive garlands. Let Christ rejoice on earth, as He rejoices in heaven, when He foresees coming to salvation so many souls of people hitherto lost. Let us be glad also, as well on account of the exaltation of our faith, as on account of the increase of our temporal affairs, of which not only Spain, but universal Christendom, will be partaker. These things that have been done are thus briefly related. Farewell. Lisbon, the day before the ides of March."

The form of the signature, " Christopher Columbus, admiral of the Ocean fleet," contains his childlike note of pride in the resounding title which his achievement had brought him.

Yet the greatest of all titles, the one he most deserved, was denied him. Though it was known before his death that what he had contributed was not alone a new route to the Indies, but a new world, the continent which he had discovered was named after another. In 1507 a misguided monastic geographer, Martin Waldseemuller, while issuing a new edition of the Ptolemaic map, suggested that Columbus's discovery be named America, after a Florentine sailor, Amerigo Vespucci, whose entire claim rested on his doubtful participation in several post-Columban voyages which he had accompanied a few years earlier and described in a small book.

In 1493 Pope Alexander VI published his Bull of Demarcation dividing the field of exploration between Spain and Portugal to the west and east respectively of an imaginary line which he fondly imagined to cut the earth in half—from his point of view, the 180th parallel of longitude. His first guess ran the line through the easternmost end of Brazil. A furious race now began between the two kingdoms. Columbus was sent on three further voyages, at short intervals, still naturally without finding the Indies to the west. Other Spanish expeditions followed from 1497 onwards. But it was the Portuguese who in 1498 achieved their goal first, when Vasco da Gama once more doubled the Cape of Good Hope, sailed up the east coast of Africa, and dropped anchor in Calcutta harbour.

Da Gama's voyage was not only one of the most fruitful and momentous, but amongst the most exciting ever made. The portion here reproduced, beginning with the doubling of the Cape, has the rushing, breathless quality of an epic narrative : the exaltation of the captain and his crew on finding that they had repeated Diaz's feat and were on their way northward ; the terrible storm, one of the most graphic in all literature ; the mutiny of the crew, who preferred possible punishment at home rather than certain death from the fury of the sea ; Da Gama's impressive firmness, nay, more, his titanic courage, " angrily swearing that if they did not double the Cape he would stand out to sea again as many times until the Cape was doubled or there should happen whatever should please God." The crew persisted out of fear of him, but later worse difficulties arose. The pilot himself led a rebellion, and it seemed that without him and his " articles . . . belonging to the art of navigation," Da Gama would be compelled to turn back. But not he. By a ruse he secured possession of the pilot and the precious " articles," flung the former into chains and the latter overboard, and coolly pointed out to the mutinous crew that they were as safe sailing forward with him as backward without navigator or the magic articles of navigation. So they went on.

The character of Da Gama is even more interesting than his achievement. He exemplifies Gibbons's dictum that " the winds and waves are always on the side of the ablest navigators "—and Da Gama was not even a professional sailor. He succeeded because the greatness that was in him daunted fearful lesser men. He had the quality that was the common denominator of all the great explorers and was in some degree lacking in the lesser ones. As the narratives in this volume unfold themselves, it will be seen how mutiny threatened the success of one after another of these voyages of discovery ; how the great commanders, Columbus, Da Gama, Magellan, Frobisher, Cortez, Pizarro and Drake overcame it and went on ; how the lesser, Hudson, Davis and Diaz, Da Gama's predecessor, either gave in to it and returned, or else were abandoned to perish.

When it was fully accepted that Portugal had gained the Indies and that Columbus had merely stumbled into a barrier to it, the thoughts of the other European Powers turned at once to see how the Bull of Alexander could be circumvented. Since the way by the East was shut, the barrier in the West must be penetrated. Balboa's expedition over the Isthmus of Panama in 1513 proved that an ocean lay on the other side ; how far that new or Southern Ocean might extend nobody knew. In 1519, Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese in the service of Spain, determined to find out. If by sailing round the world he could discover that the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, lay on Spain's side of the line, Portugal's advantages under the Bull would be equalised.

On Tuesday, the 20th September, 1519, he set out, crossed to the coast of South America, crushed a mutiny and headed west through the straits that bear his name. It was a terrible passage. Four months elapsed before they came out into the open sea. Ultimately they arrived at the Spice Islands, only to discover how fantastically wrong the Pope had been in his conception of the world's circumference, and proceeded to the Philippines, where Magellan lost his life in a skirmish with the natives. The single remaining ship, the *Victoria*, returned home in the track of Da Gama, arriving again in Spain in 1522.

There are various accounts of this first circumnavigation, none of them, unfortunately, by the hand of Magellan himself. The one here selected is much the best. It was written by a young Italian of high connections who went along for the sake of the adventure. He was a breezy writer, with an enormous eye for the picturesque, the dramatic, and the amusing, and a great admiration for his commander's genius. He himself seems to have enjoyed most the opportunity for favourable trading with the natives, and is very pleased when he can report " for a king of cards, of that kind with which they used to play in Italy, they gave me five fowls and thought they had cheated me."

Magellan's voyage of circumnavigation is the end of the great chapter of which Columbus's first voyage was the beginning. If the reader will study the map of Battista Agnese reproduced on pp. 208–209, he cannot but be struck by the enormous advance made in those thirty years. Dimensions and relations are both wanting in accuracy, but Agnese's map presents recognisable outlines, in contrast with the 1478 edition of Ptolemy's, which might almost be the contemporary astrologer's fanciful picture of the geography of Mars.

But though the Spanish monarchy was eager to pass through or around America and so on to the Indies, it was by no means neglecting the heritage of Columbus. Spanish dominion had at first been consolidated in the larger of the West Indian islands, and later on the mainland bordering the Caribbean, but the dividends from these efforts and the investments they entailed were not sufficient. The farther the Spaniards penetrated, the louder grew the rumours of gold in the interior. And presently the Government in Madrid, or the governors appointed to the new colonial possessions on the islands or the coast of the mainland began to despatch one after another those formidable men known to history under the general name of conquistadores to the sources of the gold supply.

The three outstanding names in the era of conquest are Cortez, Pizarro, and De Soto. Of these, Cortez is both the first and the greatest. In many ways he resembles the others, as all the conquistadores resembled one another—in his unholy itch for wealth, his brutality, his cunning, his incredible personal bravery, and his conviction that God was necessarily on his side. But he was a man who could have been successful in other fields ; one does not feel about him, as one does about most of the others, that it was fortunate that his military talents were exercised only against ignorant Indians armed with bows and arrows.

The passage included in this volume is extracted from the second of five letters that he wrote to the Emperor Charles V of Spain describing the progress of the conquest of Mexico. It recounts the highest point of the adventure, his approach to the sacred stronghold of the Montezumas, Temixtitian (now the city of Mexico), the great battle of his exhausted hundreds with the Mexican thousands, the entrance into the city, the meeting with Montezuma himself, the capture and imprisonment of the king. On ethical grounds there is little to be said for Cortez's ruse whereby he confined his host ; the pretext that Montezuma was stirring up trouble against him is unsubstantiated, and, even if it were true, proves no more than that the Mexican ruler properly resented the intruders. But the Spaniard was hardly aware of any need for defending himself. He held a commission from the greatest king in Europe ; he saw before him samples of gold and jewels which made his mouth water, an effect he knew they would undoubtedly produce on His Catholic Majesty when he read his general's glowing description of them. To oppress the Indians was merely a form of carrying out orders.

Posterity is not so lucky as to have firsthand accounts of all these remarkable expeditions ; even when such accounts do exist, they are often couched in uncouth and obscure language. But Hernando Cortez, like Cæsar, could write as well as he could fight, and would be immortal for his account of that epic journey of two hundred and sixty miles from Vera Cruz to Mexico City even if he had not led it himself.

Francisco Pizarro was a man of another stamp. He was next door to a brigand, and his associates, who were constantly fighting with him over the division of the spoils, and who in the end procured his downfall and death, were just like him, lacking only his tremendous vigour and power of command. The authorities at Darien, being opposed to Pizarro's invasion of Peru, as the governor in Cuba had previously opposed Cortez's ambition, put every obstruction in his way. He thereupon betook himself to the Court of the Spanish Emperor and, though totally illiterate, obtained permission for his enterprise direct from the source. He even was granted financial assistance in the shape of some funds recently remitted by Cortez. Leaving his colleagues to protect his rear against his enemies, he set out from Darien, on the Pacific coast of the Isthmus of Panama, in the spring of 1531.

The story that follows is one of blood and terror. Pizarro was even more suspicious by nature than the general run of the Spanish invaders, and on the least rumour of resistance on the part of the Indians laid about him promiscuously with fire, torture and death. His secretary, Xeres, whom he prudently carried with him because he himself could neither read nor write, complacently interpolates at intervals such remarks as " this severity filled all the surrounding country with fear, insomuch that a confederacy which was said to have been formed to attack the Spaniards was dissolved. . . . " But Xeres was a most appropriate pendant to his chief, both in his lack of moral sense and his ability to do his particular job, for he writes with the pen of a Plutarch when he describes the climactic meeting between Pizarro and the Inca ruler, Atabiliba, and the subsequent battle wherein the handful of Spaniards cut their way through the surrounding hosts of natives and in one afternoon established the Spanish dominion over Peru.

The last of the three in point of time and achievement was Hernando De Soto, a former companion of Pizarro. His objective was the interior of what is now the south-east portion of the United States, and he disembarked on the coast of Florida in May of 1531. The expedition was doomed from the start, though it began with far less opposition from the Spanish authorities in the New World than those of Cortez and Pizarro. There was, of course, no gold to find, though under threats of torture the terrified Indians promised the Spaniards that they would be rewarded with the metal if they would only proceed a little farther. In the end De Soto's impatience with the poverty-stricken natives rendered him absolutely savage—even a contemporary remarked that " this governor was very fond of the sport of killing Indians." He died in the fourth year after his landing, and the wretched remnant of his band straggled back to civilisation by whatever means they could.

De Soto's endeavours remained sterile, so far as Spain was concerned ; he not only failed in his own objective, but left no followers. Various important results soon sprang from the conquests of Cortez and Pizarro, however. In 1540 Francisco Vasquez de Coronado was sent out by the then governor of Mexico, Antonio de Mendoza, to discover and take possession of the " seven cities of Cibula," which had been graphically described a few years previously by an itinerant priest, Friar Marco de Nizza. These seven cities, which were probably the Zuñi pueblos of New Mexico, were reported by Friar Marco positively to glitter with their own natural wealth. Coronado carefully equipped his expedition, taking with him a "negro" (often mentioned in the text) who had accompanied Friar Marco, and painstakingly explored the country north of the Rio Grande. He became the first white man to see bison and the Grand Canyon, and ultimately found his seven cities, but brought back no gold. His own account, which is reprinted in this volume, is, however, one of the most accurate, trustworthy, and important contributions to early American geography. Indeed, Coronado's researches were so extensive that several centuries were to elapse before the ground he had covered was to be again so thoroughly explored.

In the same year Francisco Pizarro despatched his brother Gonzalo to explore the mountainous country in the Andes to the west of Peru commonly known as Cinnamon Land. Gonzalo had only mild success and the usual troubles—hardship, attacks from the natives, mutinies amongst his own men. Several of his rebels, under the leadership of Francisco de Orellana, finally left him altogether and headed down an inviting stream that led towards the south and freedom from the Pizarro discipline.

They had no idea when they started how far the voyage would take them. Their mutiny only really began when they reached the confluence of their stream with a great river which the Indians assured them would ultimately lead them to the ocean. Orellana still had the option of rejoining his leader. He took the other course, and on the last day of 1540 started east down the new river. After worse hardships than any they had yet encountered, after his party had eaten their shoes and some stray saddles boiled with wild herbs, after innumerable narrow escapes from tropical disease and poisoned Indian arrows, during which most of the deserters were wiped out, the leader and a few of his men reached the sea in August

1541, having navigated for the first time the Amazon river.

Ultimately Orellana returned to Spain to spread yarns about the city of El Dorado, whose golden roofs he had seen gleaming in the distance, stories which were to tempt many another adventurer, including Sir Walter Raleigh. He also originated the myth of the warlike women in that region, but it was a priest, Father Cristoval De Acuña, who, after another voyage down the river a hundred years later, circumstantiated the story of the Amazons and caused its name to be changed from that of the Orellana, which it had hitherto quite properly borne.

From Columbus to Orellana these are but the outstanding voyagers to carry on Spain's activity in the first fifty years after Columbus had found America for her and Roderigo Borgia had allotted it to her. Her resolute sons had penetrated forests, shot through rapids, clambered over mountains, hungry for gold or glory or (not infrequently) the souls of the natives. By the time that her great competitors, France and England, had roused themselves to practical effort, the Spanish explorers had outlined nearly the entire coast of South America, as well as of south-eastern North America and the principal islands of the West Indies ; they had penetrated into the interior of Mexico and what are now the south-western United States, Peru as far as the crest of the Andes, and Argentina ; they had traced the course of the Amazon and La Plata rivers and in part of the Colorado. Up to this time the English and French had launched but three voyages between them, England that of Cabot to Newfoundland in 1497, France those of Verrazzano and Cartier in 1524 and 1534 to the coast of New England and the Gulf of

St. Lawrence respectively. But each country waited about sixty years before following up these first tentative efforts.

England was the first to resume. While her merchants looked with discontent at the cargoes that Spain and Portugal were bringing from the East and the West, her writers and thinkers were urging on the Government the necessity of entering into competition with the two nations of the Iberian Peninsula. In 1527 Robert Thorne of Bristol published a tract to demonstrate the need of finding a way by the north to the Indies, since the way by the west through the Straits of Magellan was barred by Spain, and to the east round the Cape of Good Hope by Portugal. The experts objected, in answer to Thorne, that the northern seas were blocked with ice and that no man could tolerate their cold. To which the author returned the sublime answer that for Englishmen " there is no land unhabitable, nor sea innavigable."

Twenty-six years later a Company of Merchant Adventurers was formed and an expedition sent to discover whether Master Thorne knew what he was talking about. The objective of the expedition was the discovery of a north-east passage to Japan and China ; its commanders were Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor. Amidst tremendous enthusiasm, as related in the description of the voyage here reprinted from Hakluyt, the ships were equipped, a great banquet given, orations delivered, and the three vessels sailed away, in May of 1553, carrying with them letters in Latin from Edward VI " to all Kings, Princes, Rulers, Judges and Governors of the Earth and all others having any excellent dignity on the same, in all places under the universal heaven."

The voyagers proceeded north, rounded Nova Zembla, and were driven apart. Willoughby was compelled to put back and winter on the coast of Lapland, where he and all his companions perished. Chancellor continued, reached the White Sea, and after many strange adventures eventually made his way overland to Moscow and the Court of Ivan Vasiliwich, the Russian Emperor. He was made welcome, shown the sights, which he later retailed to the astonishment of his fellow-countrymen, and inaugurated the first trade between England and Muscovy.

Chancellor's voyage, successful as it was in one sense, largely discouraged further efforts to trace the North-East passage. His backers were satisfied with the profit of the trade he had established. Chancellor himself was drowned in 1556 while bringing a Russian ambassador to London. Stephen Burrough later explored the coast of Nova Zembla, and Charles Jackman and Arthur Pet once more attempted the North-East Passage in 1580, but Jackman was lost and by this time England was engrossed in Frobisher's hunt for the North-West Passage to the exclusion of the alternate route to the North-East.

The enterprising Dutch, however, took over the quest for the North-East Passage, and from 1594 to 1597 sent out three voyages under different commanders, but with the same navigator, William Barents. On the last voyage Spitzbergen was discovered, and the highest latitude attained that had yet been reached by a European or was again to be reached for nearly three hundred years. In the autumn the little company found itself icebound, unable to move in any direction. With rare courage and resource the sailors broke up their boat and built a hut for themselves so durable that their successors found it standing three hundred years later. Wasted by cold, starvation, and disease, they yet kept the spark of life going in themselves and one another through that interminable northern night until spring and the sun came to release them. The last to die, just as the waters came swirling over the ice, was the indomitable pilot, William Barents.

The reader will find more colourful adventure, more significant voyages, more stirring discoveries, in this volume than that of these Dutchmen, but nowhere in the whole literature of the world will he find a more inspiring record of fortitude, suffering, and high faith than in the pages which Gerrit de Vere so scrupulously wrote down with numbed fingers by the flickering light of an oil lantern in that frozen cabin under the North Pole during the winter of 1596–7.

For half a century, during the whole of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, England's principal contributions to discovery were her successive searches for a way through or around North America to the Pacific. The first to go was Martin Frobisher, that stalwart Yorkshire seaman who next to Drake caused the Spaniards to remember England with curses in their prayers. In 1576, backed by a company of London merchants, he set forth ; as he sailed down the Thames, the Queen, seated in a window of the Palace at Greenwich, waved him a cheery farewell. On the 11th of July he sighted land, probably the southern tip of Greenland, which many think is the Friesland of the Zeno map. Floating ice then carried him to Labrador, after which he resumed his north-west course until he arrived at a strait a little north of the 63rd parallel. The season then being over, he returned to England with an Eskimo, whom he quite literally described as a queer fish, and a quantity of glittering stones which he took to be gold. Several chemists agreed with him, so India and the North-West Passage were both laid aside, and in the next year he set out with a lavishly equipped expedition to bring back more of the precious metal. On his return the assayers were more dubious of the value of his find, and, though he returned to his hunting-ground the next year, he soon gave up exploring for the more lucrative business of freebooting on the Spanish Main.

The city merchants, undiscouraged by Frobisher's failure, since he had been diverted by side-issues, again got together and sent out John Davis, a highly experienced navigator, in 1585. Davis, like Frobisher and Barents, also made three voyages, on the third of which he reached the sea now called Baffin's Bay, as far north as seventy-five degrees. He did not discover what he was looking for, and his backers finally withdrew their support. But Davis himself firmly continued to believe that the North-West Passage existed, and that with sufficient time, money and patience could be found. A series of equally determined explorers, Baffin, Hall, Hudson, and Luke Fox, held the same opinion, and at one time or another were given the opportunity of proving it. None of them of course succeeded, though all of them made important contributions to the knowledge of these northern seas, as anyone can see by a glance at the map published by Hakluyt in 1600.[1] It was left for the twentieth century, with its advanced scientific and mechanical equipment, to traverse the icy passages which link and yet separate the two great oceans.

One other of these north-west explorers deserves a chapter to himself. No mariner ever tried more indefatigably than Henry Hudson to realise the English dream of achieving for his country what Da Gama had accomplished for Portugal and Magellan for Spain. He tried the

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[1] Reproduced at pp. 528–9.

North-East Passage in 1607, and had to give up a second attempt because no further funds were forthcoming. He then undertook a voyage for the Dutch in which the Hudson River was discovered and the site of New York established as a trading-post for Holland in 1609. During the following year several prominent Englishmen fitted him up with a little 55-ton ship, the *Discovery*, and told him to follow the route that Davis had blocked out.

He set out with high hopes, and at length found a great unknown ocean opening out before him. This, then, might at last be the long looked for entrance to the Pacific : it was, of course, the great bay now known by his name. He sailed carefully down its eastern shore until the coming of winter forced him to seek quarters on land. Before the voyage could be resumed a group of mutineers, led by a young man he had befriended, marooned him and the loyal members of his crew for fear they should be compelled to follow him yet further from home, and sailed back to England, where they were tried for their mutiny and acquitted. Hudson himself was never heard of again. The extant account of this last voyage, including the mutiny, desertion and return, is here reprinted from Abacuk Prickett's narrative, one of the crew who wanted to be loyal to his master but lacked the courage.

There is space to mention only two more of England's early explorations, neither of them to do with her principal field of discovery to the north. The voyage of Sir Francis Drake round the world is too well known by reputation to require its importance to be stressed here. He set out in 1578 on his favourite occupation of capturing Spanish treasure-ships. His zeal this time carried him so far afield that he was presently arresting the galleons at their source off the west coast of South America. When the *Golden*

Hind was thoroughly loaded with the merchandise that Pizarro's successors had extracted by torture and other devices from the Peruvians Drake thought it time to return home, but was in somewhat of a quandary as to which route to take. The return track round Cape Horn or through the Straits of Magellan was unpleasant, and the whole Spanish navy might be lying in wait for him there. Another plan struck him, but before carrying it out he cruised northwards until he had attained the most northerly point yet achieved of what is now California, which he named New Albion. After wintering there he boldly struck out across the Pacific and returned to England by way of Java and the Cape, reaching Plymouth the 3rd November 1580, the first man ever to lead an expedition round the world.

The other voyage was Walter Raleigh's to Guiana in 1595. This extraordinary man had already distinguished himself as soldier, sailor, poet and courtier. He had made himself rich because the ageing Queen found his face and manners pleasant. But still he was restless. There was not enough in all this to employ his many talents. From early youth he had been interested in the New World, and had probably accompanied his illustrious half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, on his voyage to Newfoundland in 1578. He had tried to plant colonies in Virginia, but these had failed after costing their founder much of his fortune. Finally, at a period when he was in disfavour with the Queen, Raleigh decided to restore his diminished estate and reputation by finding El Dorado and claiming it in his mistress's name.

This was a somewhat more delicate venture than hunting the North-West Passage. It meant definite trespass into country claimed by the King of Spain, since the

Golden City was supposed to lie in the interior of South America between the Caribbean Sea and the Amazon River. Raleigh did not trouble his head about these legal quibbles ; he equipped an expedition, sailed for Trinidad, got the Spanish Governor Berreo into his power, pumped him for whatever he could obtain about the tropical country up the Orinoco, and set out to see what he could find.

The rest of the story is best told by Raleigh himself. If his voyage was not one of the most important in the world, none has ever been more beautifully described. The great Elizabethan's pen contained a magic unexcelled even in that age of supreme prose, and Raleigh's story of his exploration of the Orinoco will for ever remain the brightest ornament of England's epic of travel, the collection of voyages compiled by the Reverend Richard Hakluyt.

The first years of the seventeenth century saw the end of the great Age of Exploration. If the reader will examine the map drawn by Justin Wright of Cambridge and printed by Hakluyt in the 1600 edition of his *Voyages*[1], he will have a clear idea of the progress made during the preceding sixty years. The coasts of Europe and Asia (save in the far north), of Africa, of South America, and of North America (save again in the north), have a highly modern appearance ; the inaccuracies of distance and relation have been strikingly reduced by contrast with Agnese's map. The only principal coastal outlines missing are those of the great islands of the South Seas. Enormous interior areas still lie undisclosed, but many of those in South America, Africa, and Asia remained unknown until the nineteenth century ; not a few are unknown to-day. The principal tasks of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were to uncover the islands of the Southern Pacific and survey the continent of North America, of the nineteenth to explore Africa and the Arctic regions.

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[1] Reproduced at pp. 528–9.

The French, hitherto comparatively inactive in transatlantic voyaging, took the lead in laying bare the interior of North America. In 1603 the greatest of her explorers, Samuel Champlain, landed in Canada and set to work to trace the course of the St. Lawrence River. Before his labours were finished, in about 1619, he had uncovered nearly the whole of the basin of the Great Lakes, only the comparative position and size of Erie and Superior remaining indefinite. And he had written some of the best descriptions of the geographical features, the natives and the animals of North America yet contributed to the knowledge of any of the new-found countries. His first book, *Des Sauvages*, is an incomparable little study of the habits of aborigines. Da Gama and Columbus earlier, Tasman and Cook later, had been or were to be struck by the manners and customs of the natives of Africa, the Antilles, New Zealand, and Australia, and to transmit, as the reader will find, amazed and critical accounts according to their various temperaments ; even Pizarro and Cortez mingled with their covetousness an intense curiosity about the strange beings inscrutable Providence had planted in the New World to assist or obstruct them in their search for gold. But Champlain was genuinely interested in his savages, quite apart from the country they lived in or the tribute they could pay him. There is nothing more amusing in the literature of exploration than the grave Frenchman's effort to understand the institution of trial marriage amongst the aborigines, an institution which the greatest nation of North America was to rediscover hundreds of years later as something new under the sun.

A series of missionaries followed Champlain and extended his discoveries to the west ; the record of their extremely valuable exploration is unfortunately told in a series of dull and verbose documents known as the Jesuit Relations. These reverend gentlemen prepared the way, however, for René Robert de La Salle, who sailed down the Mississippi to the Gulf and claimed the whole fertile central basin of the United States for France. The story of this expedition demonstrates how far knowledge had advanced by the third quarter of the seventeenth century. La Salle knew the significance of what he was doing, realised that if what the Indians told him was true the Father of Waters must cut the entire continent and end up in the Gulf of Mexico. In other words, he knew that the Mississippi delta must be the same point at which Cabeca de Vaca had arrived in his blind tramp from Florida a hundred and fifty years earlier. He achieved his goal in 1683, only to die four years later from a traitor's arrow while exploring the wastes of Texas.

The filtration of the French from Canada to the south and of the Spanish from Mexico to the north completed in broad outline the survey of what is now the United States. Only the north-west remained to be exposed, and this task was taken in hand vigorously by the English after they had wrested Canada from the French at the close of the Seven Years' War. The great names of this era are Vancouver, who explored the western coast of Canada ; Mackenzie, who first traversed the country from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific Ocean ; and the heroic Franklin, who died in the attempt to conclude the adventure which had baffled his countrymen in the sixteenth century, the opening of the North-West Passage. Only Mackenzie's narrative is given here, partly for lack of space, partly because of the extent of the country traversed and the fact that a gap was closed on the map of the world by his arrival at the same point overland from the east which Vancouver had approached from the west by sea.

Mackenzie completed his journey in July of 1793. Only twenty-five years earlier James Cook had begun the first of those voyages which were to end in the circumnavigation of Australia and the proof that it was not, as had for centuries been thought, the northernmost part of a great southern continent which covered the bottom of the world. The extract from Cook's first voyage here given recounts his descent of the east coast of Australia, the discovery of Botany Bay and the subsequent cruise to New Zealand, which had only once before been visited by white men. This first voyage of Cook's was undertaken originally to enable a party of scientists to inspect an eclipse of the sun. In his subsequent two voyages this greatest of modern navigators clarified the positions of the southern Pacific islands, and did far more than Bering to explore the coast associated with the latter's name. Cook met his death in 1778 in a skirmish in the Hawaians, which he himself had previously discovered and named the Sandwich Islands after his sponsor, the Earl of Sandwich.

The first important voyage in the South Pacific was made by two Spaniards, Luis Vaez de Torres and Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, the former as pilot, the latter as captain. They sailed from Peru in 1605, discovered and named the Virgin Islands, and proceeded through the straits which separate New Guinea from Australia and which are now known as Torres Straits. It was on this voyage that the land whose tip could be seen to the south, and which was thought to be part of the great southern continent, was named Australia del Espirito Santo. Torres' narrative is contained in a letter which he sent to King Philip of Spain from Manila in July 1607 and is printed in full in this volume.

The next outstanding voyage was led by one of the world's great mariners, a peer of Columbus and of Cook. On August 14th 1642, the Dutch navigator, Abel Jansz Tasman, left Batavia, sailed south to the Island of Mauritius, and then headed east for unknown land. He finally fell in with an island farther to the south than any man had yet been in those waters, which he named Van Diemen's Land, but which posterity justly renamed Tasmania. From there he continued east until he made a landfall in 40° 50′ south, where he had trouble with the natives and was compelled to fight a battle. He named the place where the action was fought Murderers' Bay : it lay on the east coast of " the second land discovered by us. We named it Staten Land in honour of the States General. . . . It is a very fine country, and we hope it is part of the *Unknown South Continent*." The hope was vain, of course, since there was no such continent, but the gallant Dutchman had discovered the last unknown body of land of any size in the world, now known as the South Island of New Zealand.

In the last year of the century William Dampier, whom posterity remembers with equal respect as an explorer and affection as a buccaneer, while cruising in the south-western Pacific came on an extensive body of land and anchored in what he named Shark's Bay. He suspected, quite rightly, that the country was New Holland, as the great island between the track of Torres and the track of Tasman was then known, principally because the real nature of the Dutch discoveries was not yet understood. Had Dampier proceeded through the Straits of Torres, he would have gained immortal glory as the real discoverer of the Australian continent, but he sailed away in another direction and it was left to Cook in the following century to trace the outline of the newest of the five continents. Nevertheless, Dampier's relation is not only the earliest but one of the best descriptions of Australia as it appeared before its settlement by England.

With the nineteenth century the continental outlines, save in the very far north, and those of the principal islands, were fairly established. The work of the discoverers then became largely a matter of tracing rivers and cutting through jungles. Africa was the particular lure. Already in 1795 Mungo Park had gone in quest of the source of the Niger, and, though he did not quite reach it, he had traced it from the remote interior of Africa to the sea and laid bare a large tract of the north-western portion of the Dark Continent. On his return to England he published, in 1799, a fat volume which is one of the most amusing accounts of travel ever written. There are graphic tales of native superstition, of Moorish cunning, of narrow escapes from death, all retailed in the same breezy good-humoured manner with which the author faced the vicissitudes of his dangerous mission. The extract given hereafter is a fair specimen both of his style and of his adventures : it carries him to his farthest point of penetration towards the source of the Niger.

In the 'fifties and 'sixties of the last century the principal interest was concentrated in Somaliland, where a group of formidable explorers was engaged in discovering the source of the Nile. At almost the same time Richard Burton, Livingstone, Speke, and Grant were in the territory; the actual honour of the discovery fell to the last two. So the answer to Herodotus's question was obtained more than twenty-three hundred years after his quest was halted by the First Cataract.

The expedition that has most seized the imagination, however, was that in which Livingstone was lost for five years and ultimately discovered in November of 1871 at Ujiji, on the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika, by H. M. Stanley, who had been sent out by James Gordon Bennett to find him.

The conditions under which Stanley received his commission are so striking that they are worth repetition here:

> " . . . At 3 p.m. I was on my way, and being obliged to stop at Bayonne a few hours, did not arrive at Paris until the following night. I went straight to the 'Grand Hotel,' and knocked at the door of Mr. Bennett's room.
>
> "'Come in,' I heard a voice say.
>
> "Entering, I found Mr. Bennett in bed.
>
> "'Who are you?' he said.
>
> "'My name is Stanley!' I answered.
>
> "'Ah, yes! sit down; I have important business on hand for you.'
>
> "After throwing over his shoulders his robe-de-chambre, Mr. Bennett asked, 'Where do you think Livingstone is?'
>
> "'I really do not know, sir!'
>
> "'Do you think he is alive?'
>
> "'He may be, and he may not be!' I answered.
>
> "'Well, I think he is alive, and that he can be found, and I am going to send you to find him.'
>
> "'What!' said I, 'do you really think I can find

Dr. Livingstone ? Do you mean me to go to Central Africa ? '

" ' Yes ; I mean that you shall go, and find him wherever you may hear that he is, and to get what news you can of him, and perhaps '—delivering himself thoughtfully and deliberately—' the old man may be in want :—take enough with you to help him should he require it. Of course you will act according to your own plans, and do what you think best—BUT FIND LIVINGSTONE ! '

" Said I, wondering at the cool order of sending one to Central Africa to search for a man whom I, in common with almost all other men, believed to be dead, ' Have you considered seriously the great expense you are likely to incur on account of this little journey ? '

" ' What will it cost ? ' he asked, abruptly.

" ' Burton and Speke's journey to Central Africa cost between £3,000 and £5,000, and I fear it cannot be done under £2,500.'

" ' Well, I will tell you what you will do. Draw a thousand pounds now ; and when you have gone through that, draw another thousand, and when that is spent, draw another thousand, and when you have finished that, draw another thousand, and so on ; but FIND LIVINGSTONE.' "

The chapter from Stanley's *How I Found Livingstone*, which contains the celebrated greeting, " Dr. Livingstone, I presume ? " is printed in full in this volume. It is interesting not only as the climax of Stanley's search, but because it displays with much riches of detail the problems and adventures which confronted the whole group of African explorers in his time.

The concluding narrative of this volume has been reserved for a great chronicle of our own time. It is the last chapter of Captain Scott's diary. Scott was unique in this, that almost alone of discoverers he died in the midst of his endeavours, yet contrived to leave a record which would fix his achievement for ever in men's memories. There is nothing more poignant in the long story of effort and success of which this volume is composed than this final narrative of what must, in one sense, be accounted a splendid failure. Scott did indeed arrive at the South Pole, but only to find that Amundsen had been there before him. This whole tale of courage and despair, of final achievement and crowning disappointment, is a fitting close to the epic tales of the discoverers of the past, of Columbus, of Magellan, of Barents, and of Hudson. The world has now been so very nearly discovered that one wonders if there is yet room for another such as these.

HERODOTUS

This first chapter is geographical speculation rather than the description of a voyage. The author announces that he went to the First Cataract of the Nile, and elsewhere in his History describes his adventures and what he learned in Egypt, but in this extract he is merely engaged in presenting the various theories to account for the rise of the Nile and in formulating one of his own.

The passage is taken from Book II. of the History, edited by G. C. Macaulay, M.A., and published by Macmillan & Company, to whom thanks are due for permission to reproduce.

As regards the nature of the river, neither from the priests nor yet from any other man was I able to obtain any knowledge: and I was desirous especially to learn from them about these matters, namely why the Nile comes down increasing in volume from the summer solstice onwards for a hundred days, and then, when it has reached the number of these days, turns and goes back, failing in its stream, so that through the whole winter season it continues to be low, and until the summer solstice returns. Of none of these things was I able to receive any account from the Egyptians, when I inquired of them what power the Nile has whereby it is of a nature opposite to that of all other rivers. And I made inquiry, desiring to know both this which I say and also why, unlike all other rivers, it does not give rise to any breezes blowing from it. However some of the Hellenes who desired to gain distinction for cleverness have given an account of this water in three different ways: two of these I do not think it worth while even to speak of except only to indicate their nature; of which the one says that the Etesian Winds are the cause that makes the river rise, by preventing the Nile from flowing out into the sea. But often the Etesian Winds fail and yet the Nile does the same work as it is wont to do; and moreover, if these were the cause, all the other rivers also which flow in a direction opposed to the Etesian Winds ought to have been affected in the same way as the Nile, and even more, in as much as they are smaller and present to them a feebler flow of stream: but there are many of these rivers in Syria and many also in Libya, and they are affected in no such manner as the Nile. The second way shows more ignorance than that which has been mentioned, and it is more marvellous to tell; for it says that the river produces these effects because it flows from the Ocean, and that the Ocean flows round the whole earth. The third of the ways is much the most plausible, but nevertheless it is the most mistaken of all : for indeed this way has no more truth in it than the rest, alleging as it does that the Nile flows from melting snow ; whereas it flows out of Libya through the midst of the Ethiopians, and so comes out into Egypt. How then should it flow from snow, when it flows from the hottest parts to those which are cooler ? And indeed most of the facts are such as to convince a man (one at least who is capable of reasoning about such matters), that it is not at all likely that it flows from snow. The first and greatest evidence is afforded by the winds, which blow hot from these regions ; the second is that the land is rainless always and without frost, whereas after snow has fallen rain must necessarily come within five days, so that if it snowed in those parts rain would fall there ; the third evidence is afforded by the people dwelling there, who are of a black colour by reason of the burning heat. Moreover kites and swallows remain there through the year and do not leave the land ; and cranes flying from the cold weather which comes on in the region of Scythia come regularly to these parts for wintering : if then it snowed ever so little in that land through which the Nile flows and in which it has its rise, none of these things would take place, as necessity compels us to admit. As for him who talked about the Ocean, he carried his tale into the region of the unknown, and he need not be refuted ; since I for my part know of no river Ocean existing, but I think that Homer or one of the poets who were before him invented the name and introduced it into his verse.

If however after I have found fault with the opinions proposed, I am bound to declare an opinion of my own about the matters which are in doubt, I will tell what to my mind is the reason why the Nile increases in the summer. In the winter season the Sun, being driven away from his former path through the heaven by the stormy winds, comes to the upper parts of Libya. If one would set forth the matter in the shortest way, all has now been said ; for whatever region this god approaches most and stands directly above, this it may reasonably be supposed is most in want of water, and its native streams of rivers are dried up most. However, to set it forth at greater length, thus it is :—the Sun passing in his course by the upper parts of Libya, does thus, that is to say, since at all times the air in those parts is clear and the country is warm, because there are no cold winds, in passing through it the Sun does just as he was wont to do in the summer, when going through the midst of the heaven, that is he draws to himself the water, and having drawn it he drives it away to the upper parts of the country, and the winds take it up and scattering it abroad melt it into rain ; so it is natural that the winds which blow from this region, namely the South and South-west Winds, should be much the most rainy of all the winds. I think however that the Sun does not send away from himself all the water of the Nile of each year, but that he also lets some remain behind with himself. Then when the winter becomes milder, the Sun returns back again to the midst of the heaven, and from that time onwards he draws equally from all rivers ; but in the meanwhile they flow in large volume, since water of rain mingles with them in great quantity, because their country receives rain then and is filled with torrent streams. In summer however they are weak, since not only the showers of rain fail then, but also they are drawn by the Sun. The Nile however, alone of all rivers, not having rain and being drawn by the Sun, naturally flows during this time of winter in much less than its proper volume, that is much less than in summer ; for then it is drawn equally with all the other waters, but in winter it bears the burden alone. Thus I suppose the Sun to be the cause of these things. He also is the cause in my opinion that the air in these parts is dry, since he makes it so by scorching up his path through the heaven : thus summer prevails always in the upper parts of Libya. If however the station of the seasons had been changed, and where now in the heaven are placed the North Wind and winter, there was the station of the South Wind and of the midday, and where now is placed the South Wind, there was the North, if this had been so, the Sun being driven from the midst of the heaven by the winter and the North Wind would go to the upper parts of Europe, just as now he comes to the upper parts of Libya, and passing in his course throughout the whole of Europe I suppose that he would do to the Ister that which he now works upon the Nile. As to the breeze, why none blows from the river, my opinion is that from very hot places it is not natural that anything should blow, and that a breeze is wont to blow from something cold.

Let these matters then be as they are and as they were at the first : but as to the sources of the Nile, not one either of the Egyptians or of the Libyans or of the Hellenes, who came to speech with me, professed to know anything, except the scribe of the sacred treasury of Athene at the city of Sais in Egypt. To me however this man seemed not to be speaking seriously when he said that he had certain knowledge of it ; and he said as follows, namely that there were two mountains of which the tops ran up to a sharp point, situated between the city of Syene, which is in the district of Thebes, and Elephantine, and the names of the mountains were, of the one Crophi and of the other Mophi. From the middle between these mountains flowed (he said) the sources of the Nile, which were fathomless in depth, and half of the water flowed to Egypt and towards the North Wind, the other half to Ethiopia and the South Wind. As for the fathomless depth of the source, he said that Psammetichos king of Egypt came to a trial of this matter ; for he had a rope twisted of many thousand fathoms and let it down in this place, and it found no bottom. By this the scribe (if this which he told was really as he said) gave me to understand that there were certain strong eddies there and a backward flow, and that since the water dashed against the mountains, therefore the sounding-line could not come to any bottom when it was let down. From no other person was I able to learn anything about this matter ; but for the rest I learnt so much as here follows by the most diligent inquiry ; for I went myself as an eye-witness as far as the city of Elephantine and from that point onwards I gathered knowledge by report. From the city of Elephantine as one goes up the river there is country which slopes steeply ; so that here one must attach ropes to the vessel on both sides, as one fastens an ox, and so make one's way onward ; and if the rope break, the vessel is gone at once, carried away by the violence of the stream. Through this country it is a voyage of about four days in length, and in this part the Nile is winding like the river Maiander, and the distance amounts to twelve *schoines*, which one must traverse in this manner. Then you will come to a level plain, in which the Nile flows round an island named Tachompso. (Now in the regions above Elephantine there dwell Ethiopians at once succeeding, who also occupy half of the island, and Egyptians the other half.) Adjoining this island there is a great lake, round which dwell Ethiopian nomad tribes ; and when you have sailed through this you will come to the stream of the Nile again, which flows into this lake. After this you will disembark and make a journey by land of forty days ; for in the Nile sharp rocks stand forth out of the water, and there are many reefs, by which it is not possible for a vessel to pass. Then after having passed through this country in the forty days which I have said, you will embark again in another vessel and sail for twelve days ; and after this you will come to a great city called Meroe. This city is said to be the mother-city of all the other Ethiopians : and they who dwell in it reverence of the gods Zeus and Dionysos alone, and these they greatly honour ; and they have an Oracle of Zeus established, and make warlike marches whensoever this god commands them by prophesyings and to whatsoever place he commands. Sailing from this city you will come to the " Deserters " in another period of time equal to that in which you came from Elephantine to the mother-city of the Ethiopians. Now the name of these " Deserters " is *Asmach*, and this word signifies, when translated into the tongue of the Hellenes, " those who stand on the left hand of the king." These were two hundred and forty thousand Egyptians of the warrior class, who revolted and went over to these Ethiopians for the following cause :—In the reign of Psammetichos garrisons were set, one towards the Ethiopians at the city of Elephantine, another towards the Arabians and Assyrians at Daphnai of Pelusion, and another towards Libya at Marea : and even in my own time the garrisons of the Persians too are ordered in the same manner as these were in the reign of Psammetichos, for both at Elephantine and at Daphnai the Persians have outposts. The Egyptians then of whom I speak had served as outposts for three years and no one relieved them from their guard ; accordingly they took counsel together, and adopting a common plan they all in a body revolted from Psammetichos and set out for Ethiopia. Hearing this Psammetichos set forth in pursuit, and when he came up with them he entreated them much and endeavoured to persuade them not to desert the gods of their country and their children and wives : upon which it is said that one of them pointed to his privy member and said that wherever this was, there would they have both children and wives. When these came to Ethiopia they gave themselves over to the king of the Ethiopians ; and he rewarded them as follows :—there were certain of the Ethiopians who had come to be at variance with him ; and he bade them drive these out and dwell in their land. So since these men settled in the land of the Ethiopians, the Ethiopians have come to be of milder manners, from having learnt the customs of the Egyptians.

The Nile then, besides that part of its course which is in Egypt, is known as far as a four months' journey by river and land : for that is the number of months which are found by reckoning to be spent in going from Elephantine to these " Deserters " : and the river runs from the West and the setting of the sun. But what comes after that point no one can clearly say ; for this land is desert by reason of the burning heat. Thus much however I heard from men of Kyrene, who told me that they had been to the Oracle of Ammon, and had come to speech with Etearchos king of the Ammonians : and it happened that after speaking of other matters they fell to discourse about the Nile and how no one knew the sources of it ; and Etearchos said that once there came to him men of the Nasamonians (this is a Libyan race which dwells in the Syrtis, and also in the land to the East of the Syrtis reaching to no great distance), and when the Nasamonians came and were asked by him whether they were able to tell him anything more than he knew about the desert parts of Libya, they said that there had been among them certain sons of chief men, who were of unruly disposition ; and these when they grew up to be men had devised various other extravagant things and also they had told off by lot five of themselves to go to see the desert parts of Libya and to try whether they could discover more than those who had previously explored furthest : for in those parts of Libya which are by the Northern Sea, beginning from Egypt and going as far as the headland of Soloeis, which is the extreme point of Libya, Libyans (and of them many races) extend along the whole coast, except so much as the Hellenes and Phenicians hold ; but in the upper parts, which lie above the sea-coast and above those people whose land comes down to the sea, Libya is full of wild beasts ; and in the parts above the land of wild beasts it is full of sand, terribly waterless and utterly desert. These young men then (said they), being sent out by their companions well furnished with supplies of water and provisions, went first through the inhabited country, and after they had passed through this they came to the country of wild beasts, and after this they passed through the desert making their journey towards the West Wind ; and having passed through a great tract of sand in many days, they saw at last trees growing in a level place ; and having come up to them, they were beginning to pluck the fruit which was upon the trees : but as they began to pluck it, there came upon them small men, of less stature than men of the common size, and these seized them and carried them away ; and neither could the Nasamonians understand anything of their speech nor could those who were carrying them off understand anything of the speech of the Nasamonians : and they led them (so it was said) through very great swamps, and after passing through these they came to a city in which all the men were in size like those who carried them off and in colour of skin black ; and by the city ran a great river, which ran from the West towards the sun-rising, and in it were seen crocodiles. Of the account given by Etearchos the Ammonian let so much suffice as is here said, except that, as the men of Kyrené told me, he alleged that the Nasamonians returned safe home, and that the people to whom they had come were all wizards. Now this river which ran by the city, Etearchos conjectured to be the Nile, and moreover reason compels us to think so ; for the Nile flows from Libya and cuts Libya through in the midst, and as I conjecture, judging of what is not known by that which is evident to the view, it starts at a distance from its mouth equal to that of the Ister : for the river Ister begins from the Keltoi and the city of Pyrené and so runs that it divides Europe in the midst (now the Keltoi are outside the Pillars of Heracles and border upon the Kynesians, who dwell furthest towards the sunset of all those who have their dwelling in Europe) ; and the Ister ends, having its course through the whole of Europe, by flowing into the Euxine Sea at the place where the Milesians have their settlement of Istria. Now the Ister, since if flows through land which is inhabited, is known by the reports of many ; but of the sources of the Nile no one can give an account, for the part of Libya through which it flows is uninhabited and desert. About its course however so much as it was possible to learn by the most diligent inquiry has been told ; and it runs out into Egypt. Now Egypt lies nearly opposite to the mountain districts of Kilikia ; and from thence to Sinopé, which lies upon the

Euxine Sea, is a journey in the same straight line of five days for a man without encumbrance ; and Sinopé lies opposite to the place where the Ister runs out into the sea ; thus I think that the Nile passes through the whole of Libya and is of equal measure with the Ister.

OTHER

The voyage of Other (or Octher, as he is otherwise known) carried him up the coast of Norway, and, so far as one can judge from the text, some way round the southern end of the Scandinavian Peninsula. The source of the present account is said by Hakluyt, from whose Voyages *the narrative is taken, to be a transcription made by King Alfred the Great from the mouth of the explorer himself in the year* 890.

OTHER

The voyage of Octher made to the north-east parts beyond Norway, reported by himself unto Alfred the famous king of England, about the year 890.

OCTHER said that the country wherein he dwelt was called Helgoland. Octher told his lord King Alfred that he dwelt furthest north of any other Norman. He said that he dwelt towards the north part of the land toward the west coast, and affirmed that the land, notwithstanding it stretcheth marvellous far towards the north, yet it is all desert and not inhabited, unless it be very few places, here and there, where certain Finns dwell upon the coast, who live by hunting all the winter, and by fishing in summer. He said that upon a certain time he fell into a fantasy and desire to prove and know how far that land stretched northward, and whether there were any habitation of men north beyond the desert. Whereupon he took his voyage directly north along the coast, having upon his starboard always the desert land, and upon the leeboard the main ocean, and continued his course for the space of three days. In which space he was come as far towards the north, as commonly the whale hunters used to travel. Whence he proceeded in his course still towards the north so far as he was able to sail in other three days. At the end whereof he perceived that the coast turned towards the east, or else the sea opened with a main gulf into the land, he knew not how far. Well he wist and remembered that he was fain to stay till he had a western wind, and somewhat northerly, and thence he sailed plain east along the coast still so far as he was able in the space of four days. At the end of which time he was compelled again to stay till he had a full northerly wind, forsomuch as the coast bowed thence directly towards the south, or at least wise the sea opened into the land he could not tell how far, so that he sailed thence along the coast continually full south, so far as he could travel in five days, and at the fifth day's end he discovered a mighty river which opened very far into the land. At the entry of which river he stayed his course, and in conclusion turned back again, for he durst not enter thereinto for fear of the inhabitants of the land, perceiving that on the other side of the river the country was thoroughly inhabited, which was the first peopled land that he had found since his departure from his own dwelling : whereas continually throughout all his voyage, he had evermore on his starboard, a wilderness and desert country, except that in some places, he saw a few fishers, fowlers, and hunters, which were all Finns : and all the way upon his leeboard was the main ocean. The Biarmes had inhabited and tilled their country indifferent well, notwithstanding he was afraid to go upon shore. But the country of the Terfynnes lay all waste, and not inhabited, except it were, as we have said, whereas dwelled certain hunters, fowlers, and fishers. The Biarmes told him a number of stories both of their own country, and of the countries adjoining. Howbeit, he knew not, nor could affirm anything for certain truth ; forsomuch as he was not upon land, nor saw any himself. This only he judged, that the Finns and Biarmes speak but one language. The principal purpose of his travel this way, was to increase the knowledge and discovery of these coasts and countries, for the more commodity of fishing of horse whales, which have in their teeth bones of great price and excellency : whereof he brought some at his return upon the king. Their skins are also very good to make cables for ships, and so used. This kind of whale is much less in quantity than other kinds, having not in length above seven ells. And as for the common kind of whales, the place of most and best hunting of them is in his own country : whereof some be forty-eight ells of length, and some fifty of which sort he affirmed that he himself was one of the six, which in the space of three days killed threescore. He was a man of exceeding wealth in such riches, wherein the wealth of that country doth consist. At the same time that he came to the king, he had of his own breed six hundred tame deer, of that kind which they call reindeer : of the which number six were tall-reindeer, a beast of great value, and marvellously esteemed among the Finns for that with them they catch the wild reindeer. He was among the chief men of his country one : and yet he had but twenty kine, and twenty swine, and that little which he tilled, he tilled it all with horses. Their principal wealth consisteth in the tribute which the Finns pay them, which is all in skins of wild beasts, feathers of birds, whale bones and cables and tacklings for ships made of whales' or seals' skins. Every man payeth according to his ability. The richest pay ordinarily fifteen cases of martens, five reindeer skins and one bear, ten bushels of feathers, a coat of a bear's skin, two cables threescore ells long apiece, the one made of whales' skin, the other of seals'.

He said that the country of Norway was very long and small. So much of it as either beareth any good pasture or may be tilled lieth upon the sea coast, which notwithstanding in some places is very rocky and stony : and all eastward all along against the inhabited land lie wild and huge hills and mountains, which are in some places inhabited by the Finns. The inhabited land is broadest toward the south and the further it stretcheth towards the north it groweth evermore smaller and smaller. Towards the south it is peradventure threescore miles in breadth or broader in some places : about the middest, thirty miles or above, and towards the north where it is smallest he affirmeth that it proveth not three miles from the sea to the mountains. The mountains be in breadth of such quantity as a man is able to travel over in a fortnight, and in some places no more than may be travelled in six days. Right over against this land in the other side of the mountains somewhat towards the south lieth Swethland, and against the same towards the north lieth Queeneland. The Queenes sometimes passing the mountains, invade and spoil the Normans : and on the contrary part the Normans likewise sometimes spoil their country. Among the mountains be many and great lakes in sundry places of fresh water, into the which the Queenes use to carry their boats upon their backs over land, and thereby invade and spoil the country of the Normans. These boats of theirs be very little and very light.

MARCO POLO

Marco Polo, as related in the Introduction, travelled to China with his father and uncle about the year 1255, *and remained there as merchant and official for about forty years, returning in the meantime to Europe once, and during his residence making various voyages to Japan and the larger islands off the Chinese and Indian coasts.*

The passage here given constitutes Chapters iv., v., vi., vii., x., xi., xii., of the Second Book of The Travels of Marco Polo *in the translation by William Marsden, made in* 1818, *edited by Thomas Wright for the Bohn Library in* 1854. *The original itself was dictated in prison at Genoa in* 1295 *or* 1298 *by Marco to a fellow-prisoner, Rustigielo, "a citizen of Pisa," as related in the introduction to the original manuscript. The passage selected occurs about half way through the book, when the full splendour of the Court of Kubla Khan first burst upon the astonished Venetian.*

MARCO POLO

Of the figure and stature of the grand khan—of his four principal wives—and of the annual selection of young women for him in the province of Ungut.

KUBLAI, who is styled grand khan, or lord of lords, is of the middle stature, that is, neither tall nor short; his limbs are well formed, and in his whole figure there is a just proportion. His complexion is fair, and occasionally suffused with red, like the bright tint of the rose, which adds much grace to his countenance. His eyes are black and handsome, his nose is well shaped and prominent. He has four wives of the first rank, who are esteemed legitimate, and the eldest born son of any one of these succeeds to the empire, upon the decease of the grand khan. They bear equally the title of empress, and have their separate courts. None of them have fewer than three hundred young attendants of great beauty, together with a multitude of youths as pages, and other eunuchs, as well as ladies of the bedchamber ; so that the number of persons belonging to each of their respective courts amounts to ten thousand. When his majesty is desirous of the company of one of his empresses, he either sends for her, or goes himself to her palace. Besides these, he has many concubines provided for his use, from a province of Tartary named Ungut, having a city of the same name, the inhabitants of which are distinguished for beauty of features and fairness of complexion. Thither the grand khan sends his officers every second year, or oftener, as it may happen to be his pleasure, who collect for him, to the number or four of five hundred, or more, of the handsomest of the young women, according to the estimation of beauty communicated to them in their instructions. The mode of their appreciation is as follows. Upon the arrival of these commissioners, they give orders for assembling all the young women of the province, and appoint qualified persons to examine them, who, upon careful inspection of each of them separately, that is to say, of the hair, the countenance, the eyebrows, the mouth, the lips, and other features, as well as the symmetry of these with each other, estimate their value at sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, or twenty, or more carats, according to the greater or less degree of beauty. The number required by the grand khan, at the rates, perhaps, of twenty or twenty-one carats, to which their commission was limited, is then selected from the rest, and they are conveyed to his court. Upon their arrival in his presence, he causes a new examination to be made by a different set of inspectors, and from amongst them a further selection takes place, when thirty or forty are retained for his own chamber, at a higher valuation. These, in the first instance, are committed separately to the care of the wives of certain of the nobles, whose duty it is to observe them attentively during the course of the night, in order to ascertain that they have not any concealed imperfections, that they sleep tranquilly, do not snore, have sweet breath, and are free from unpleasant scent in any part of the body. Having undergone this rigorous scrutiny, they are divided into parties of five, one of which parties attends during three days and three nights, in his majesty's interior apartment, where they are to perform every service that is required of them, and he does with them as he likes. When this term is completed, they are relieved by another party, and in this manner successively, until the whole number have taken their turn ; when the first five recommence their attendance. But whilst the one party officiates in the inner chamber, another is stationed in the outer apartment adjoining ; in order that if his majesty should have occasion for anything, such as drink or victuals, the former may signify his commands to the latter, by whom the article required is immediately procured : and thus the duty of waiting upon his majesty's person is exclusively performed by these young females. The remainder of them, whose value had been estimated at an inferior rate, are assigned to the different lords of the household ; under whom they are instructed in cookery, in dressmaking, and other suitable works ; and upon any person belonging to the court expressing an inclination to take a wife, the grand khan bestows upon him one of these damsels, with a handsome portion. In this manner he provides for them all amongst his nobility. It may be asked whether the people of the province do not feel themselves aggrieved in having their daughters thus forcibly taken from them by the sovereign ? Certainly not ; but, on the contrary, they regard it as a favour and an honour done to them ; and those who are the fathers of handsome children feel highly gratified by his condescending to make choice of their daughters. " If," say they, " my daughter is born under an auspicious planet and to good fortune, his majesty can best fulfil her destinies, by matching her nobly ; which it would not be in my power to do." If, on the other hand, the daughter misconducts herself, or any mischance befalls her (by which she becomes disqualified), the father attributes the disappointment to the malign influence of her stars.

Of the number of the grand khan's sons by his four wives, whom he makes kings of different provinces—and of Chingis his first-born—also of the sons by his concubines, whom he creates lords.

The grand khan has had twenty-two sons by his four legitimate wives, the eldest of whom, named Chingis, was designed to inherit the dignity of grand khan, with the government of the empire ; and this nomination was confirmed to him during the life-time of his father. It was not, however, his fate to survive him ; but leaving a son, whose name is Themur, he, as the representative of his father, is to succeed to the dominion. The disposition of this prince is good, and he is endowed with wisdom and valour ; of the latter he has given proofs in several successful battles. Besides these, his majesty has twenty-five sons by his concubines, all of them brave soldiers, having been continually employed in the military profession. These he has placed in the rank of nobles. Of his legitimate sons, seven are at the head of extensive provinces and kingdoms, which they govern with wisdom and prudence, as might be expected of the children of one whose great qualities have not been surpassed, in the general estimation, by any person of the Tartar race.

Of the great and admirable palace of the grand khan, near the city of Khanbalu.

The grand khan usually resides during three months of the year, namely, December, January, and February, in the great city of Kanbalu, situated towards the north-eastern extremity of the province of Cathay ; and here, on the southern side of the new city, is the site of his vast palace, the form and dimensions of which are as follows. In the first place is a square enclosed with a wall and deep ditch ; each side of the square being eight miles in length, and having at an equal distance from each extremity an entrance-gate, for the concourse of people resorting thither from all quarters. Within this enclosure there is, on the four sides, an open space one mile in breadth, where the troops are stationed ; and this is bounded by a second wall, enclosing a square of six miles, having three gates on the south side, and three on the north, the middle portal of each being larger than the other two, and always kept shut, excepting on the occasions of the emperor's entrance or departure. Those on each side always remain open for the use of common passengers. In the middle of each division of these walls is a handsome and spacious building, and consequently within the enclosure there are eight such buildings, in which are deposited the royal military stores ; one building being appropriated to the reception of each class of stores. Thus, for instance, the bridles, saddles, stirrups, and other furniture serving for the equipment of cavalry, occupy one storehouse; the bows, strings, quivers, arrows, and other articles belonging to archery, occupy another; cuirasses, corselets, and other armour formed of leather, a third storehouse; and so of the rest. Within this walled enclosure there is still another, of great thickness, and its height is full twenty-five feet. The battlements or crenated parapets are all white. This also forms a square four miles in extent, each side being one mile, and it has six gates, disposed like those of the former enclosure. It contains in like manner eight large buildings, similarly arranged, which are appropriated to the wardrobe of the emperor. The spaces between the one wall and the other are ornamented with many handsome trees, and contain meadows in which are kept various kinds of beasts, such as stags, the animals that yield the musk, roebucks, fallow-deer, and others of the same class. Every interval between the walls, not occupied by buildings, is stocked in this manner. The pastures have abundant herbage. The roads across them being raised three feet above their level, and paved, no mud collects upon them, nor rain-water settles, but on the contrary runs off, and contributes to improve the vegetation. Within these walls, which constitute the boundary of four miles, stands the palace of the grand khan, the most extensive that has ever yet been known. It reaches from the northern to the southern wall, leaving only a vacant space (or court), where persons of rank and the military guards pass and repass. It has no upper floor, but the roof is very lofty. The paved foundation or platform on which it stands is raised ten spans above the level of the ground, and a wall of marble, two paces wide, is built on all sides, to the level of this pavement, within the line of which the palace is erected; so that the wall, extending beyond the ground plan of the building, and encompassing the whole, serves as a terrace, where those who walk on it are visible from without. Along the exterior edge of the wall is a handsome balustrade, with pillars, which the people are allowed to approach. The sides of the great halls and the apartments are ornamented with dragons in carved work and gilt, figures of warriors, of birds, and of beasts, with representations of battles. The inside of the roof is contrived in such a manner that nothing besides gilding and painting presents itself to the eye. On each of the four sides of the palace there is a grand flight of marble steps, by which you ascend from the level of the ground to the wall of marble which surrounds the building, and which constitute the approach to the palace itself. The grand hall is extremely long and wide, and admits of dinners being there served to great multitudes of people. The palace contains a number of separate chambers, all highly beautiful, and so admirably disposed that it seems impossible to suggest any improvement to the system of their arrangement. The exterior of the roof is adorned with a variety of colours, red, green, azure, and violet, and the sort of covering is so strong as to last for many years. The glazing of the windows is so well wrought and so delicate as to have the transparency of crystal. In the rear of the body of the palace there are large buildings containing several apartments, where is deposited the private property of the monarch, or his treasure in gold and silver bullion, precious stones, and pearls, and also his vessels of gold and silver plate. Here are likewise the apartments of his wives and concubines ; and in this retired situation he despatches business with convenience, being free from every kind of interruption. On the other side of the grand palace, and opposite to that in which the emperor resides, is another palace, in every respect similar, appropriated to the residence of Chingis, his eldest son, at whose court are observed all the ceremonials belonging to that of his father, as the prince who is to succeed to the government of the empire. Not far from the palace, on the northern side, and about a bowshot distance from the surrounding wall, is an artificial mount of earth, the height of which is full a hundred paces, and the circuit at the base about a mile. It is clothed with the most beautiful evergreen trees ; for whenever his majesty receives information of a handsome tree growing in any place, he causes it to be dug up, with all its roots and the earth about them, and however large and heavy it may be, he has it transported by means of elephants to this mount, and adds it to the verdant collection. From this perpetual verdure it has acquired the appellation of the Green Mount. On its summit is erected an ornamental pavilion, which is likewise entirely green. The view of this altogether,—the mount itself, the trees, and the building, form a delightful and at the same time a wonderful scene. In the northern quarter also, and equally within the precincts of the city, there is a large and deep excavation, judiciously formed, the earth from which supplied the material for raising the mount. It is furnished with water by a small rivulet, and has the appearance of a fish-pond, but its use is for watering the cattle. The stream passing from thence along an aqueduct, at the foot of the Green Mount, proceeds to fill another great and very deep excavation formed between the private palace of the emperor and that of his son Chingis ; and the earth from hence equally served to increase the elevation of the mount. In this latter basin there is great store and variety of fish, from which the table of his majesty is supplied with any quantity that may be wanted. The stream discharges itself at the opposite extremity of the piece of water, and precautions are taken to prevent the escape of the fish by placing gratings of copper or iron at the places of its entrance and exit. It is stocked also with swans and other aquatic birds. From the one palace to the other there is a communication by means of a bridge thrown across the water. Such is the description of this great palace. We shall now speak of the situation and circumstances of the city of Tai-du.

Of the new city of Tai-du, built near to that of Kanbalu—of a rule observed respecting the entertainment of ambassadors—and of the nightly police of the city.

The city of Kanbalu is situated near a large river in the province of Cathay, and was in ancient times eminently magnificent and royal. The name itself implies " the city of the sovereign ; " but his majesty having imbibed an opinion from the astrologers, that it was destined to become rebellious to his authority, resolved upon the measure of building another capital, upon the opposite side of the river, where stand the palaces just described : so that the new and the old cities are separated from each other only by the stream that runs between them. The new-built city received the name of Tai-du, and all the Cathaians, that is, all those of the inhabitants who were natives of the province of Cathay, were compelled to evacuate the ancient city, and to take up their abode in the new. Some of the inhabitants, however, of whose loyalty he did not entertain suspicion, were suffered to remain, especially because the latter, although of the dimensions that shall presently be described, was not capable of containing the same number as the former, which was of vast extent.

This new city is of a form perfectly square, and twenty-four miles in extent, each of its sides being neither more nor less than six miles. It is enclosed with walls of earth, that at the base are about ten paces thick, but gradually diminish to the top, where the thickness is not more than three paces. In all parts the battlements are white. The whole plan of the city was regularly laid out by line, and the streets in general are consequently so straight, that when a person ascends the wall over one of the gates, and looks right forward, he can see the gate opposite to him on the other side of the city. In the public streets there are, on each side, booths and shops of every description. All the allotments of ground upon which the habitations throughout the city were constructed are square, and exactly on a line with each other ; each allotment being sufficiently spacious for handsome buildings, with corresponding courts and gardens. One of these was assigned to each head of a family ; that is to say, such a person of such a tribe had one square allotted to him, and so of the rest. Afterwards the property passed from hand to hand. In this manner the whole interior of the city is disposed in squares, so as to resemble a chess-board, and planned out with a degree of precision and beauty impossible to describe. The wall of the city has twelve gates, three on each side of the square, and over each gate and compartment of the wall there is a handsome building ; so that on each side of the square there are five such buildings, containing large rooms, in which are disposed the arms of those who form the garrison of the city, every gate being guarded by a thousand men. It is not to be understood that such a force is stationed there in consequence of the apprehension of danger from any hostile power whatever, but as a guard suitable to the honour and dignity of the sovereign. Yet it must be allowed that the declaration of the astrologers has excited in his mind a degree of suspicion with regard to the Cathaians. In the centre of the city there is a great bell suspended in a lofty building, which is sounded every night, and after the third stroke no person dares to be found in the streets, unless upon some urgent occasion, such as to call assistance to a woman in labour, or a man attacked with sickness ; and even in such necessary cases the person is required to carry a light.

Withoutside of each of the gates is a suburb so wide that it reaches to and unites with those of the other nearest gates on both sides, and in length extends to the distance of three or four miles, so that the number of inhabitants in these suburbs exceeds that of the city itself. Within each suburb there are, at intervals, as far perhaps as a mile from the city, many hotels, or caravanserais, in which the merchants arriving from various parts take up their abode ; and to each description of people a separate building is assigned, as we should say, one to the Lombards, another to the Germans, and a third to the French. The number of public women who prostitute themselves for money, reckoning those in the new city as well as those in the suburbs of the old, is twenty-five thousand. To each hundred and to each thousand of these there are superintending officers appointed, who are under the orders of a captain-general. The motive for placing them under such command is this : when ambassadors arrive charged with any business in which the interests of the grand khan are concerned, it is customary to maintain them at his majesty's expense, and in order that they may be treated in the most honourable manner, the captain is ordered to furnish nightly to each individual of the embassy one of these courtesans, who is likewise to be changed every night, for which service, as it is considered in the light of a tribute they owe to the sovereign, they do not receive any remuneration. Guards, in parties of thirty or forty, continually patrol the streets during the course of the night, and make diligent search for persons who may be from their homes at an unseasonable hour, that is, after the third stroke of the great bell. When any are met with under such circumstances, they immediately apprehend and confine them, and take them in the morning for examination before officers appointed for that purpose, who, upon the proof of any delinquency, sentence them, according to the nature of the offence, to a severer or lighter infliction of the bastinade, which sometimes, however, occasions their death. It is in this manner that crimes are usually punished amongst these people, from a disinclination to the shedding of blood, which their *baksis* or learned astrologers instruct them to avoid. Having thus described the interior of the city of Tai-du, we shall now speak of the disposition to rebellion shown by its Cathaian inhabitants.

Of the style in which the grand khan holds his public courts, and sits at the table with all his nobles—of the manner in which the drinking vessels of gold and silver, filled with the milk of mares and camels, are disposed in the hall—and of the ceremony that takes place when he drinks.

When his majesty holds a grand and public court, those who attend it are seated in the following order. The table of the sovereign is placed before his elevated throne, and he takes his seat on the northern side, with his face turned towards the south ; and next to him, on his left hand, sits the empress. On his right hand, upon seats somewhat lower, are placed his sons, grandsons, and other persons connected with him by blood, that is to say, who are descended from the imperial stock. The seat, however, of Chingis, his eldest son, is raised a little above those of his other sons, whose heads are nearly on a level with the feet of the grand khan. The other princes and the nobility have their places at still lower tables ; and the same rules are observed with respect to the females, the wives of the sons, grandsons, and other relatives of the grand khan being seated on the left hand, at tables in like manner gradually lower ; then follow the wives of the nobility and military officers : so that all are seated according to their respective ranks and dignities, in the places assigned to them, and to which they are entitled. The tables are arranged in such a manner that the grand khan, sitting on his elevated throne, can overlook the whole. It is not, however, to be understood that all who assemble on such occasions can be accommodated at tables. The greater part of the officers, and even of the nobles, on the contrary, eat, sitting upon carpets, in the hall ; and on the outside stand a great multitude of persons who come from different countries, and bring with them many rare and curious articles. Some of these are feudatories, who desire to be reinstated in possessions that have been taken from them, and who always make their appearance upon the appointed days of public festivity, or occasions of royal marriages.

In the middle of the hall, where the grand khan sits at table, there is a magnificent piece of furniture, made in the form of a square coffer, each side of which is three paces in length, exquisitely carved in figures of animals, and gilt. It is hollow within, for the purpose of receiving a capacious vase, shaped like a jar, and of precious materials, calculated to hold about a tun, and filled with wine. On each of its four sides stands a smaller vessel, containing about a hogshead, one of which is filled with mare's milk, another with that of the camel, and so of the others, according to the kinds of beverage in use. Within this buffet are also the cups or flagons belonging to his majesty, for serving the liquors. Some of them are of beautiful gilt plate. Their size is such that, when filled with wine or other liquor, the quantity would be sufficient for eight or ten men. Before every two persons who have seats at the tables, one of these flagons is placed, together with a kind of ladle, in the form of a cup with a handle, also of plate ; to be used not only for taking the wine out of the flagon, but for lifting it to the head. This is observed as well with respect to the women as the men. The quantity and richness of the plate belonging to his majesty is quite incredible. Officers of rank are likewise appointed, whose duty it is to see that all strangers who happen to arrive at the time of the festival, and are unacquainted with the etiquette of the court, are suitably accommodated with places ; and these stewards are continually visiting every part of the hall, inquiring of the guests if there is anything with which they are unprovided, or whether any of them wish for wine, milk, meat, or other articles, in which case it is immediately brought to them by the attendants.

At each door of the grand hall, or of whatever part the grand khan happens to be in, stand two officers, of a gigantic figure, one on each side, with staves in their hands, for the purpose of preventing persons from touching the threshold with their feet, and obliging them to step beyond it. If by chance any one is guilty of this offence, these janitors take from him his garment, which he must redeem for money ; or, when they do not take the garment, they inflict on him such number of blows as they have authority for doing. But, as strangers may be unacquainted with the prohibition, officers are appointed to introduce them, by whom they are warned of it ; and this precaution is used because touching the threshold is there regarded as a bad omen. In departing from the hall, as some of the company may be affected by the liquor, it is impossible to guard against the accident, and the order is not then strictly enforced. The numerous persons who attend at the sideboard of his majesty, and who serve him with victuals and drink, are all obliged to cover their noses and mouths with handsome veils or cloths of worked silk, in order that his victuals or his wine may not be affected by their breath. When drink is called for by him, and the page in waiting has presented it, he retires three paces and kneels down, upon which the courtiers, and all who are present, in like manner make their prostration. At the same moment all the musical instruments, of which there is a numerous band, begin to play, and continue to do so until he has ceased drinking, when all the company recover their posture ; and this reverential salutation is made so often as his majesty drinks. It is unnecessary to say anything of the victuals, because it may well be imagined that their abundance is excessive. When the repast is finished, and the tables have been removed, persons of various descriptions enter the hall, and amongst these a troop of comedians and performers on different instruments, as also tumblers and jugglers, who exhibit their skill in the presence of the grand khan, to the high amusement and gratification of all the spectators. When these sports are concluded, the people separate, and each returns to his own house.

Of the festival that is kept throughout the dominions of the grand khan on the twenty-eighth of September, being the anniversary of his nativity.

All the Tartar and other subjects of the grand khan celebrate as a festival the day of his majesty's birth, which took place on the twenty-eighth day of the month of September; and this is their greatest festival, excepting only that kept on the first day of the year, which shall be hereafter described. Upon this anniversary the grand khan appears in a superb dress of cloth of gold, and on the same occasion full twenty thousand nobles and military officers are clad by him in dresses similar to his own in point of colour and form; but the materials are not equally rich. They are, however, of silk, and of the colour of gold; and along with the vest they likewise receive a girdle of chamois leather, curiously worked with gold and silver thread, and also a pair of boots. Some of the dresses are ornamented with precious stones and pearls to the value of a thousand bezants of gold, and are given to those nobles who, from their confidential employments, are nearest to his majesty's person, and are termed *quiécitari*. These dresses are appointed to be worn on the thirteen solemn festivals celebrated in the thirteen (lunar) months of the year, when those who are clad in them make an appearance that is truly royal. When his majesty assumes any particular dress, the nobles of his court wear corresponding, but less costly, dresses, which are always in readiness. They are not annually renewed, but on the contrary are made to last about ten years. From this parade an idea may be formed of the magnificence of the grand khan, which is unequalled by that of any monarch in the world.

On the occasion of this festival of the grand khan's nativity, all his Tartar subjects, and likewise the people of every kingdom and province throughout his dominions, send him valuable presents, according to established usage. Many persons who repair to court in order to solicit principalities to which they have pretensions, also bring presents, and his majesty accordingly gives direction to the tribunal of twelve, who have cognisance of such matters, to assign to them such territories and governments as may be proper. Upon this day likewise all the Christians, idolaters, and Saracens, together with every other description of people, offer up devout prayers to their respective gods and idols, that they may bless and preserve the sovereign, and bestow upon him long life, health, and prosperity. Such, and so extensive, are the rejoicings on the return of his majesty's birth-day. We shall now speak of another festival, termed the White Feast, celebrated at the commencement of the year.

Of the white feast, held on the first day of the month of February, being the commencement of their year—of the number of presents then brought—and of the ceremonies that take place at a table whereon is inscribed the name of the grand khan.

It is well ascertained that the Tartars date the commencement of their year from the month of February, and on that occasion it is customary for the grand khan, as well as all who are subject to him, in their several countries, to clothe themselves in white garments, which, according to their ideas, are the emblem of good fortune; and they assume this dress at the beginning of the year, in the hope that, during the whole course of it, nothing but what is fortunate may happen to them, and that they may enjoy pleasure and comfort. Upon this day the inhabitants of all the provinces and kingdoms who hold lands or rights of jurisdiction under the grand khan, send him valuable presents of gold, silver, and precious stones, together with many pieces of white cloth, which they add, with the intent that his majesty may experience throughout the year uninterrupted felicity, and possess treasures adequate to all his expenses. With the same view the nobles, princes, and all ranks of the community, make reciprocal presents, at their respective houses, of white articles; embracing each other with demonstrations of joy and festivity, and saying (as we ourselves are accustomed to do), " May good fortune attend you through the coming year, and may everything you undertake succeed to your wish." On this occasion great numbers of beautiful white horses are presented to the grand khan; or if not perfectly white, it is at least the prevailing colour. In this country white horses are not uncommon.

It is moreover the custom in making presents to the grand khan, for those who have it in their power, to furnish nine times nine of the article of which the present consists. Thus, for instance, if a province sends a present of horses, there are nine times nine, or eighty-one head in the drove; so also of gold, or of cloth, nine times nine pieces. By such means his majesty receives at this festival no fewer than an hundred thousand horses. On this day it is that all his elephants, amounting to five thousand, are exhibited in procession, covered with housings of cloth, fancifully and richly worked with gold and silk, in figures of birds and beasts. Each of these supports upon its shoulders two coffers filled with vessels of plate and other apparatus for the use of the court. Then follows a train of camels, in like manner laden with various necessary articles of furniture. When the whole are properly arranged, they pass in review before his majesty, and form a pleasing spectacle.

On the morning of the festival, before the tables are spread, all the princes, the nobility of various ranks, the cavaliers, astrologers, physicians, and falconers, with many others holding public offices, the prefects of the people and of the lands, together with the officers of the army, make their entry into the grand hall, in front of the emperor. Those who cannot find room within, stand on the outside of the building, in such a situation as to be within sight of their sovereign. The assemblage is marshalled in the following order. The first places are assigned to the sons and grandsons of his majesty and all the imperial family. Next to these are the provincial kings and the nobility of the empire, according to their several degrees, in regular succession. When all have been disposed in the places appointed for them, a person of high dignity, or as we should express it, a great prelate, rises and says with a loud voice : " Bow down and do reverence ; " when instantly all bend their bodies until their foreheads touch the floor. Again the prelate cries : " God bless our lord, and long preserve him in the enjoyment of felicity." To which the people answer : " God grant it." Once more the prelate says : " May God increase the grandeur and prosperity of his empire ; may he preserve all those who are his subjects in the blessings of peace and contentment ; and in all their lands may abundance prevail." The people again reply : " God grant it." They then make their prostrations four times. This being done, the prelate advances to an altar, richly adorned, upon which is placed a red tablet inscribed with the name of the grand khan. Near to this stands a censer of burning incense, with which the prelate, on the behalf of all who are assembled, perfumes the tablet and the altar, in a reverential manner; when every one present humbly prostrates himself before the tablet. This ceremony being concluded, they return to their places, and then make the presentation of their respective gifts ; such as have been mentioned. When a display has been made of these, and the grand khan has cast his eyes upon them, the tables are prepared for the feast, and the company, as well women as men, arrange themselves there in the manner and order described in a former chapter. Upon the removal of the victuals, the musicians and theatrical performers exhibit for the amusement of the court, as has been already related. But on this occasion a lion is conducted into the presence of his majesty, so tame, that it is taught to lay itself down at his feet. The sports being finished, every one returns to his own home.

ZENO

It is impossible to say with exactness what the brothers Nicolo and Antonio Zeno discovered. Even if one accepts the contentions of their most ardent supporters, one is at a loss, because their nomenclature was so different from our own that it is quite impossible to identify the sea coast on which it is claimed they settled for so many years. It may be taken for granted, however, that Frisland, their most important discovery, was the southern end of Greenland, and that various other place-names pertain to capes of the North American mainland near Labrador, which they took to be islands for lack of fuller exploration.

The account here printed is taken from Hakluyt, and is supposed to have been gathered, as it says, "out of their letters by M. Francisco Marcolino" in the middle of the sixteenth century, though the events described began in the year 1380.

ZENO

In the year of our Lord 1200 there was in the city of Venice a famous gentleman named Messer Marino Zeno, who for his great virtue and singular wisdom was called and elected governor in certain commonwealths of Italy: in the administration whereof he bore himself so discreetly that he was beloved of all men, and his name greatly reverenced of those that never knew or saw his person. And amongst sundry his worthy works, this is recorded of him, that he pacified certain grievous civil dissensions that arose among the citizens of Verona: whereas otherwise, if by his grave advice and great diligence they had not been prevented, the matter was likely to break out into hot broils of war. He was the first Podesta or ruler that the Commonwealth of Venice appointed in Constantinople in the year 1205 when our state had rule thereof with the French barons. This gentleman had a son named Messer Pietro, who was the father of the Duke Rinieri, which Duke dying without issue, made his heir M. Andrea, the son of M. Marco his brother. This M. Andrea was Captain General and Procurator, a man of great reputation for many rare parts that were in him. He had a son M. Rinieri, a worthy senator and prudent councillor: of whom descended M. Pietro, Captain General of the league of the Christians against the Turks, who was called Dragon, for that in his shield, instead of a "manfrone" which was his arms at the first, he bare a dragon. He was father to M. Carlo Il Grande, the famous Procurator and Captain General against the Genoese in those cruel wars whenas almost all the chief princes of Europe did oppugne and seek to overthrow our Empire and liberty, wherein by his great valiancy and prowess; as Furius Camillus delivered Rome, so he delivered his country from the present peril it was in, being ready to become a prey and spoil unto the enemy: wherefore he was afterward surnamed the lion, and for an eternal remembrance of his fortitude and valiant exploits he gave the lion in his arms. M. Carlo had two bretheren, M. Nicolo the knight and M. Antonio the father of M. Dragon, of whom issued M. Caterino, the father of M. Pietro dai Grocecchieri. This M. Pietro had sons M. Caterino, that died the last year, being brother unto M. Francisco, M. Carlo, M. Battista and M. Vincenzo : which M. Caterino was father to M. Nicolo that is yet living.

Now M. Nicolo, the knight, being a man of great courage, after this aforesaid Genoese war of Chioggia that troubled so our predecessors, entered into a great desire and fancy to see the fashions of the world and to travel and acquaint himself with the manners of sundry nations and learn their languages, whereby afterwards upon occasions he might be the better able to do service to his country and purchase to himself credit and honour. Wherefore he caused a ship to be made, and having furnished her at his proper charges (as he was very wealthy) he departed out of our seas and passing the Straits of Gibraltar he sailed for certain days upon the ocean, keeping his course still to the northwards with intent to see England and Flanders. Where being assaulted in those seas by a terrible tempest, he was so tossed for the space of many days with the sea and wind that he knew not where he was till at length he discovered land, and not being able any longer to sustain the violence of the tempest the ship was cast away upon the Isle of Frislande. The men were saved and most part of the goods that were in the ship. And this was in the year 1380. The inhabitants of the island came running in great multitudes with weapons to set upon M. Nicolo and his men, who being sore weatherbeaten and over-laboured at sea, and not knowing in what part of the world they were, were not able to make any resistance at all, much less to defend themselves courageously, as it behoved them in such a dangerous case. And they should have been doubtless very discourteously entreated and cruelly handled if by good hap there had not been hard by the place a prince with armed people. Who understanding that there was even at that present a great ship cast away upon the island, came running at the noise and outcries that they made against our poor mariners, and driving away the inhabitants, spake in Latin and asked them what they were and from whence they came, and perceiving that they came from Italy and that they were men of the said country he was surprised with marvellous great joy. Wherefore promising them all that they should receive no discourtesy, and that they were come into a place where they should be well used and very welcome, he took them into his protection upon his faith. This was a great lord, and possessed certain islands called Porland lying on the south side of Frislande, being the richest and most populous of all those parts; his name was Zichmni: and beside the said little islands he was Duke of Sorani, lying over against Scotland.

Of these north parts I thought good to draw the copy of a sea card, which amongst other antiquities I have in my house, which although it be rotten through many years, yet it falleth out indifferent well: and to those that are delighted in these things, it may serve for some light to the understanding of that which without it cannot so easily be conceived. Zichmni being lord of those signories (as is said) was a very warlike and valiant man and above all things famous in sea causes. And having the year before given the overthrow to the King of Norway, who was lord of the island, being desirous to win fame by feats of arms, he was come on land with his men to give the attempt for the winning of Frislande, which is an island much bigger than Ireland. Wherefore seeing that M. Nicolo was a man of judgement and discretion and very expert both in sea matters and martial affairs, he gave him commission to go aboard his navy with all his men, charging the captain to honour him and in all things to use his counsel.

This navy of Zichmni was of thirteen vessels, whereof two only were rowed with oars, the rest small barks and one ship, with the which they sailed to the westwards and with little pains won Ledovo and Ilofe and divers other small islands : and turning into a bay called Sudero, in the haven of the town named Sanestol, they took certain small barks laden with fish.

And here they found Zichmni, who came by land with his army conquering all the country as he went : they stayed here but a while and led on their course to the westwards till they came to the other cape of the gulf or bay, then turning again they found certain islands and broken lands which they reduced all unto the signory and possession of Zichmni. These seas, forasmuch as they sailed, were in manner nothing but shoals and rocks, in so much that if M. Nicolo and the Venetian mariners had not been their pilots, the whole fleet in judgement of all that were in it, had been cast away, so small was the skill of Zichmni's men, in respect of ours, who had been trained up in the art and practice of navigation all the days of their life.

Now the fleet having done such things as are declared, the captain, by the counsel of M. Nicolo, determined to go aland, at a town called Bondendon, to understand what success Zichmni had in his wars : where they heard to their great content that he had fought a great battle and put to flight the army of his enemy : by reason of which victory they sent ambassadors from all parts of the island to yield the country up into his hands, taking down their ensigns in every town and castle : they thought good to stay in that place for his coming, it being reported for certain that he would be there very shortly. At his coming there was great congratulation and many signs of gladness showed, as well for the victory by land as for that by sea : for the which the Venetians were honoured and extolled of all men, in such sort that there was no talk but of them, and of the great valour of M. Nicolo. Wherefore the prince, who was a great favourer of valiant men and especially of those that could behave themselves well at sea, caused M. Nicolo to be brought before him, and after having commended him with many honourable speeches and praised his great industry and dexterity of wit, by the which two things he acknowledged himself to have received an inestimable benefit, as the saving of his fleet and the winning of many places without any great trouble, he made him knight, and rewarded his men with many rich and bountiful gifts. Then departing from thence they went in triumphing manner toward Frislande, the chief city of that island, situate on the southeast side of the isle, within a gulf, as there are many in that island. In this gulf or bay there is such great abundance of fish taken that many ships are laden therewith to serve Flanders, Britain, England, Scotland, Norway and Denmark, and by this trade they gather great wealth.

And thus much is taken out of a letter that M. Nicolo sent to M. Antonio his brother, requesting that he would seek some means to come to him. Wherefore he who had as great desire to travel as his brother bought a ship and directed his course that way: and after he had sailed a great while and escaped many dangers he arrived at length in safety with M. Nicolo, who received him very joyfully, for that he was his brother not only in flesh and blood, but also in valour and good qualities. M. Antonio remained in Frislande and dwelt there for the space of fourteen years, four years with M. Nicolo, and ten years alone. Where they came in such grace and favour with the Prince that he made M. Nicolo captain of his navy, and with great preparation of war they were sent forth for the enterprise of Estland, which lieth upon the coast between Frislande and Norway, where they did many damages: but hearing that the King of Norway was coming towards them with a great fleet, they departed with such a terrible flaw of wind that they were driven upon certain shoals: where a great part of their ships were cast away; the rest were saved upon Grisland, a great island but uninhabited. The King of Norway his fleet being taken with the same storm did utterly perish in those seas. Whereof Zichmni having

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notice by a ship of his enemies that was cast by chance upon Grisland, having repaired his fleet and perceiving himself northerly near unto the islands, determined to set upon Islande, which together with the rest was subject to the King of Norway : but he found the country so well fortified and defended that, his fleet being so small and very ill appointed both of weapons and men, he was glad to retire. And so he left that enterprise without performing anything at all ; and in the same channel he assaulted the other isles called Islande, which are seven : Talas, Broas, Iscant, Trans, Mimant, Dambere and Bres ; and having spoiled them all, he built a fort in Bres, where he left M. Nicolo with certain small barks and men and munition. And now thinking he had done well for this voyage, with those few ships which were left he returned safe into Frislande. M. Nicolo remaining now in Bres determined in the spring to go forth and discover land : wherefore arming out three small barks in the month of July, he sailed to the northwards and arrived in Engroneland. Where he found a monastery of friars of the order of the Predicators, and a church dedicated to Saint Thomas, hard by a hill that casteth forth fire like Vesuvius and Etna.

There is a fountain of hot burning water with the which they heat the church of the monastery and the friars' chambers ; it cometh also into the kitchen so boiling hot that they use no other fire to dress their meat : and putting their bread into brass pots without any water, it doth bake as it were in an hot oven. They have also small gardens covered over in the winter time, which being watered with this water, are defended from the force of the snow and cold, which in those parts being situate far under the pole, is very extreme, and by this means they produce flowers and fruits and herbs of sundry sorts, even as in other temperate countries in their seasons, in such sort that the rude and savage people of those parts seeing these supernatural effects, do take those friars for gods, and bring them many presents, as chickens, flesh and divers other things, and have them all in great reverence as lords.

When the frost and snow is great they heat their houses in manner beforesaid, and will by letting in the water or opening the windows at an instant temper the heat and cold at their pleasure. In the buildings of the monastery they use no other matter but that which is ministered unto them by the fire : for they take the burning stones that are cast out as it were sparkles or cinders at the fiery mouth of the hill, and when they are most inflamed cast water upon them, whereby they are dissolved and become excellent white lime and so tough that being contrived in building it lasteth forever. And the very sparkles after the fire is out of them do serve instead of stone to make walls and vaults : for being once cold they will never dissolve or break except they be cut with some iron tool, and the vaults that are made of them are so light that they need no sustentacle or prop to hold them up and they will endure continually very fair and whole. By reason of these great commodities the friars have made there so many buildings and walls that it is a wonder to see. The coverts or roofs of their houses for the most part are made in manner following : first they raise up the wall to his full height, then they make it inclining or bowing in by little and little in form of a vault. But they are not greatly troubled with rain in those parts, because the climate (as I have said) is extreme cold : for the first snow being fallen, it thaweth no more for the space of nine months, for so long dureth their winter. They feed of the flesh of wild fowl and of fish : for whereas the warm water falleth into the sea there is a large and wide haven, which by reason of the heat of the water doth never freeze all the winter, by means whereof there is such concourse and flocks of sea fowl and such abundance of fish that they take thereof infinite multitudes, whereby they maintain a great number of people round about, which they keep in continual work, both in building and taking of fowls and fish, and in a thousand other necessary affairs and business about the monastery.

Their houses are built about the hill on every side, in form round and twenty-five feet broad, and in mounting upwards they go narrower and narrower, leaving at the top a little hole, whereat the air cometh in to give light to the house, and the floor of the house is so hot, that being within they feel no cold at all. Hither in the summer time come many barks from the islands thereabout, and from the cape above Norway, and from Trondon, and bring the friars all manner of things that may be desired, taking in change thereof fish, which they dry in the sun or in the cold, and skins of divers kinds of beasts. For the which they have wood to burn and timber very artificially carved, and corn and cloth to make them apparel. For in change of the two aforesaid commodities all the nations bordering round about them covet to traffic with them, and so they without any travel or expenses have that which they desire.

To this monastery resort friars of Norway, of Suetia and of other countries, but the most part are of Islande. There are continually in that part many barks, which are kept in there by reason of the sea being frozen, waiting for the spring of the year to dissolve the ice. The fishers' boats are made like unto a weaver's shuttle : taking the skins of fishes, they fashion them with the bones of the same fishes, and sewing them together in many doubles they make them so sure and substantial that it is miraculous to see how in tempests they will shut themselves close within and let the sea and wind carry them they care not whither, without any fear either of breaking or drowning. And if they chance to be driven upon any rocks they remain sound without the least bruise in the world : and they have as it were a sleeve in the bottom, which is tied fast in the middle, and when there cometh any water into the boat they put it into the one half of the sleeve, then fastening the end thereof with two pieces of wood and loosing the band beneath, they convey the water forth of the boat : and this they do as often as they have occasion, without any peril or impediment at all.

Moreover, the water of the monastery, being of sulphurious or " brimstonie " nature, is conveyed into the lodgings of the principal friars by certain vessels of brass, tin or stone so hot that it heateth the place as it were a stove, not carrying with it any stink or other noisome smell.

Besides this they have another conveyance to bring hot water with a wall under the ground, to the end it should not freeze, unto the middle of the court, where it falleth into a great vessel of brass that standeth in the middle of a boiling fountain, and this is to heat their water to drink and to water their gardens, and thus they have from the hill the greatest commodities that may be wished : and so these friars employ all their travail and study for the most part in trimming their gardens and in making fair and beautiful buildings, but especially handsome and commodious : neither are they destitute of ingenious and painful artificers for the purpose ; for they give very large payment, and to them that bring them fruits and seeds they are very bountiful and give they care not what. So that there is great resort of workmen and masters in divers faculties, by reason of the good gains and large allowance that is there.

The most of them speak the Latin tongue, and specially the superiors and principals of the monastery. And this is as much as is known of Engroneland, which is all by the relation of M. Nicolo, who maketh also particular description of a river that he discovered, as is to be seen in the card that I drew. And in the end M. Nicolo, not being used and acquainted with these cruel colds, fell sick and a little while after returned into Frislande, where he died. He left behind him in Venice two sons, M. Giovanni and M. Toma, who had two sons, M. Nicolo the father of the famous Cardinal Zeno, and M. Pietro of whom descended the other Zenos that are living at this day.

Now M. Nicolo being dead M. Antonio succeeded him both in his goods and in his dignities and honour : and albeit he attempted divers ways and made great supplication, he could never obtain licence to return into his country. For Zichmni, being a man of great courage and valour, had determined to make himself lord of the sea. Wherefore using always the counsel and service of M. Antonio, he determined to send him with certain barks to the westwards, for that towards those parts some of his fishermen had discovered certain islands very rich and populous : which discovery M. Antonio, in a letter to his brother M. Carlo, recounteth from point to point in this manner, saving that we have changed some old words, leaving the matter entire as it was.

Six and twenty years ago there departed four fisher boats, the which, a mighty tempest arising, were tossed for the space of many days very desperately upon the sea, when at length the tempest ceasing and the weather waxing fair, they discovered an island called Estotiland, lying to the westwards above a thousand miles from Frislande, upon the which one of the boats was cast away, and six men that were in it were taken of the inhabitants and brought into a fair and populous city where the King of the place sent for many interpreters, but there was none could be found that understood the language of the fishermen, except one that spake Latin, who was also cast by chance upon the same island, who in the behalf of the King asked them what countrymen they were : and so understanding their case, rehearsed it unto the King, who willed that they should tarry in the country : wherefore they obeying his commandment, for that they could not otherwise do, dwelt five years in the island and learned the language, and one of them was in divers parts of the island and reporteth that it is a very rich country, abounding with all the commodities of the world, and that it is little less than Islande, but far more fruitful, having in the middle thereof a very high mountain from the which there spring four rivers that pass through the whole country.

The inhabitants are very witty people and have all arts and faculties as we have : and it is credible that in time past they have had traffic with our men, for he said that he saw Latin books in the King's library, which they at this present do not understand: they have a peculiar language, and letters or characters to themselves. They have mines of all manner of metals, but especially they abound with gold. They have their trade in Engroneland, from whence they bring furs, brimstone and pitch: and he saith that to the southwards, there is a great populous country very rich of gold. They sow corn and make beer and ale, which is a kind of drink that north people do use as we do wine. They have mighty great woods, they make their buildings with walls and there are many cities and castles. They build small barks and have sailing, but they have not the lodestone nor know not the use of the compass. Wherefore these fishers were had in great estimation, insomuch that the King sent them with twelve barks to the southwards to a country which they call Drogio: but in their voyage they had such contrary weather that they thought to have perished in the sea: but escaping that cruel death they fell into another more cruel: for they were taken in the country and the most part of them eaten by the savage people, which fed upon man's flesh as the sweetest meat in their judgements that is.

But the fisher with his fellows showing them the manner of taking fish with nets, saved their lives: and would go every day afishing to the sea and in fresh rivers and take great abundance of fish and give it to the chief men of the country, whereby he got himself so great favour that he was very well beloved and honoured of everyone.

The fame of this man being spread abroad in the country, there was a lord thereby that was very desirous to have him with him and to see how he used his miraculous art of catching fish, insomuch that he made war with the other lord with whom he was before, and in the end prevailing, for that he was more mighty and a better warrior, the fisherman was sent unto him with the rest of his company. And for the space of thirteen years that he dwelt in those parts, he saith that he was sent in this order to more than twenty-five lords, for they had continual war amongst themselves, this lord with that lord, and he with another, only to have him to dwell with them : so that wandering up and down the country without any certain abode in one place, he knew almost all those parts. He saith that it is a very great country and as it were a new world : the people are very rude and void of all goodness ; they go all naked so that they are miserably vexed with cold, neither have they the wit to cover their bodies with beasts' skins which they take in hunting ; they have no kind of metal, they live by hunting. They carry certain lances of wood made sharp at the point. They have bows, the strings whereof are made of beasts' skins. They are very fierce people ; they make cruel wars one with another and eat one another. They have governors and certain laws very diverse among themselves. But the farther to the south-westwards, the more civility there is, the air being somewhat temperate, so that there they have cities and temples to idols, wherein they sacrifice men and afterwards eat them. They have there some knowledge and use of gold and silver.

Now this fisherman having dwelt so many years in those countries, purposed, if it were possible, to return home into his country, but his companions despairing ever to see it again let him go in God's name and they kept themselves where they were. Wherefore he bidding them farewell, fled through the woods towards Drogio, and was very well received of the lord that dwelt next to that place ; who knew him and was a great enemy of the other lord ; and so running from one lord to another, being those by whom he had passed before, after long time and many travels he came at length to Drogio, where he dwelt three years. Whenas by good fortune he heard by the inhabitants that there were certain boats arrived upon the coast : wherefore entering into good hope to accomplish his intent, he went to the sea side, and asking them of what country they were they answered of Estotiland, whereat he was exceeding glad and requested that they would take him in to them, which they did very willingly, and for that he had the language of the country and there was none that could speak it they used him for their interpreter.

And afterwards he frequented that trade with them in such sort that he became very rich, and so furnishing out a bark of his own, he returned into Frislande, where he made report unto this Lord of that wealthy country.

And he is thoroughly credited because of the mariners who approve many strange things that he reporteth to be true. Wherefore this Lord is resolved to send me forth with a fleet towards those parts, and there are so many that desire to go in the voyage for the novelty and strangeness of the thing that I think we shall be very strongly appointed without any public expense at all. And this is the tenor of the letter before mentioned, which I have here set down to give intelligence of another voyage that M. Antonio made, being set out with many barks and men ; notwithstanding he was not captain, as he had thought at the first he should, for Zichmni went in his own person : and concerning that matter I have a letter in form following.

One great preparation for the voyage of Estotiland was begun in an unlucky hour : for three days before our departure the fisherman died that should have been our guide. Notwithstanding, this Lord would not give over the enterprise, but instead of the fisherman took certain mariners that returned out of the island with him : and so making our navigation to the westwards we discovered certain islands subject to Frislande, and having passed certain " shelves " we stayed at Ledovo for the space of seven days to refresh ourselves and to furnish the fleet with necessary provision.

Departing from thence we arrived the first of July at the Isle of Ilofe : and for that the wind made for us we stayed not there, but passed forth, and being upon the main sea there arose immediately a cruel tempest, wherewith for eight days' space we were miserably vexed, not knowing where we were : and a great part of the barks were cast away. Afterwards the weather waxing fair, we gathered up the broken pieces of the barks that were lost, and sailing with a prosperous wind we discovered land at west. Wherefore keeping our course directly upon it, we arrived in a good and safe harbour, where we saw an infinite company of people ready in arms come running very furiously to the water side, as it were for defence of the island. Wherefore Zichmni causing his men to make signs of peace unto them, they sent ten men unto us that could speak ten languages, but we could understand none of them, except one that was of Islande.

He being brought before our prince and asked what was the name of the island, and what people inhabited it, and who governed it, answered that the island was called Icaria and that all the kings that reigned there were called Icari after the name of the first king of that place, which as they say was the son of Dedalus King of Scotland, who conquered that island, left his son there for king, and left them those laws that they retain to the present; and after this, he desiring to sail further, in a great tempest that arose, was drowned, wherefore for a memorial of his death they call those seas yet the Icarian Sea and the kings of the island Icari; and for that they were contented with that state which God had given them, neither would they alter one jot of their laws and customs, they would not receive any stranger: wherefore they requested our Prince that he would not seek to violate their laws, which they had received from that king of worthy memory and observed very duly to that present: which if he did attempt, it would redound to his manifest destruction, they being all resolutely bent rather to leave their life than to loose in any respect the use of their laws. Notwithstanding, that we should not think they did altogether refuse conversation and traffic with other men, they told us for conclusion that they would willingly receive one of our men and prefer him to be one of the chief amongst them, only to learn my language, the Italian tongue, and to be informed of our manners and customs, as they had already received those other ten of ten sundry nations that came into their island.

To these things our Prince answered nothing at all, but causing our men to seek some good harbour, he made signs as though he would depart, and sailing round about the island, he espied at length a harbour on the east side of the island where he put in with all his fleet : the mariners went on land to take in wood and water, which they did with as great speed as they could, doubting lest they should be assaulted by the inhabitants, as it fell out indeed, for those that dwelt thereabouts, making signs unto the other with fire and smoke, put themselves presently in arms and the other coming to them, they came all running down to the sea side upon our men with bows and arrows and other weapons, so that many were slain and divers sore wounded. And we made signs of peace unto them, but it was to no purpose, for their rage increased more and more, as though they had fought for land and living. Wherefore we were forced to depart, and to sail along in a great circuit about the island, being always accompanied upon the hill tops and the sea coasts with an infinite number of armed men : and so doubling the cape of the island towards the north we found many shoals, amongst the which for the space of ten days we were in continual danger of losing our whole fleet, but that it pleased God all that while to send us fair weather.

Wherefore proceeding on till we came to the east cape we saw the inhabitants still on the hill tops and by the sea coast keep with us, and in making great outcries and shooting at us afar off, they uttered their old spiteful affection towards us. Wherefore we determined to stay in some safe harbour and see if we might speak once again with the Islander, but our determination was frustrate : for the people more like unto beasts than men, stood continually in arms with intent to beat us back if we should come on land. Wherefore Zichmni seeing he could not prevail and thinking if he should have persevered and followed obstinately his purpose their victuals would have failed them, he departed with a fair wind and sailed six days to the westwards, but the wind changing to the south-west and the sea waxing rough, we sailing four days with the wind in the poop, and at length discovering land, were afraid to approach near unto it, the sea being grown and we not knowing what land it was. But God so provided for us that the wind ceasing there came a great calm.

Wherefore some of our company rowing to land with oars returned and brought us news to our great comfort that they had found a very good country and a better harbour : upon which news we towed our ships and small barks to land, and being entered into the harbour we saw afar off a great mountain that cast forth smoke, which gave us good hope that we should find some inhabitants in the island, neither would Zichmni rest, although it were a great way off, but sent a hundred soldiers to search the country and bring report what people they were that inhabited it, and in the meantime they took in wood and water for the provision of the fleet and caught great store of fish and sea fowl and found such abundance of birds' eggs that our men that were half famished were filled therewithal.

Whilst we were riding here began the month of June, at which time the air in the island was so temperate and pleasant as is impossible to express : but when we could see no people at all we suspected greatly that this pleasant place was desolate and uninhabited. We gave name to the haven calling it Trin, and the point that stretched out into the sea, we called Capo de Trin. The hundred soldiers that were sent forth, eight days after returned, and brought word that they had been through the island and at the mountain, and that the smoke was a natural thing proceeding from a great fire that was in the bottom of the hill, and that there was a spring from which issued a certain water like pitch which ran into the sea, and that thereabouts dwelt great multitudes of people half wild, hiding themselves in caves of the ground, of small stature and very fearful ; for as soon as they saw them they fled into their holes ; and that there was a great river and a very good and safe harbour.

Zichmni being thus informed, and seeing that it had a wholesome and pure air and a very fruitful soil and fair rivers with sundry commodities, fell into such liking of the place that he determined to inhabit it and built there a city. But his people being weary and faint with long and tedious travel began to murmur, saying that they would return into their country, for that the winter was at hand, and if they entered into the harbour they should not be able to come out again before the next summer. Wherefore he retaining only the barks with oars and such as were willing to stay with him, sent all the rest with the ships back again, and willed that I (though unwilling) should be their captain. I therefore departing, because I could not otherwise choose, sailed for the space of twenty days to the eastwards without sight of any land ; then turning my course towards the south-east in five days I discovered land, and found myself upon the Isle of Neome, and knowing the country I perceived I was past Islande : wherefore taking in some fresh victuals of the inhabitants being subject to Zichmni, I sailed with a fair wind in three days to Frislande, where the people, who thought they had lost their Prince because of his long absence in this our voyage received us very joyfully.

What followed after this letter I know not but by conjecture, which I gather out of a piece of another letter which I will set down here underneath : that Zichmni built a town in the port of the island that he discovered, and that he searched the country very diligently and discovered it all and also the rivers on both sides of Engroneland, for that I see it particularly described in the sea card, but the discourse or narration is lost. The beginning of the letter is thus :

Concerning those things that you desire to know of me, as of the men and their manners and customs, of the beasts and of the countries adjoining, I have made thereof a particular book, which by God's help I will bring with me : wherein I have described the country, the monstrous fishes, the customs and laws of Frislande, Islande, Estland, the Kingdom of Norway, Estotiland, Drogio, and in the end the life of M. Nicolo, the knight our brother, with the discovery which he made, and the state of Groneland. I have also written the life and acts of Zichmni, a Prince as worthy of immortal memory as any that ever lived for his great valiancy and singular humanity, wherein I have described the discovery of Engroneland on both sides and the city that he builded. Therefore I will speak no further hereof in this letter, hoping to be with you very shortly, and to satisfy you in sundry other things by word of mouth.

All these letters were written by M. Antonio to Messer Carlo his brother : and it grieveth me that the book and divers other writings concerning these purposes are miserably lost : for being but a child when they came to my hands, and not knowing what they were, (as the manner of children is) I tore them and rent them in pieces, which I cannot call to remembrance but to my exceeding great grief. Notwithstanding, that the memory of so many good things should not be lost, whatsoever I could get of this matter I have disposed and put in order in the former discourse, to the end that this age might be partly satisfied, to the which we are more beholden for the great discoveries made in those parts than to any other of the time past, being most studious of the new relations and discoveries of strange countries made by the great minds and industry of our ancestors.

For the more credit and confirmation of the former history of Messer Nicolo and Messer Antonio Zeni (which for some few respects may perhaps be called in question) I have here annexed the judgement of that famous cosmographer Abraham Ortelius, or rather the yielding and submitting of his judgement thereunto : who in his *Theatrum Orbis*, fol. 6. next before the map of Mar del Zur, borroweth proof and authority out of this relation to show that the north-east part of America called Estotiland, and in the original always affirmed to be an island, was about the year 1390 discovered by the aforesaid

Venetian gentleman Messer Antonio Zeno above a hundred years before ever Christopher Columbus set sail for those western regions ; and that the northern seas were even then sailed by our European pilots through the help of the lodestone : with divers other particulars concerning the customs, religion and wealth of the Southern Americans, which are most evidently confirmed by all the late and modern Spanish histories of Nueva Espanna and Peru.

And here I shall not (as I suppose) commit any great inconvenience or absurdity in adding unto this History of the New World certain particulars as touching the first discovery thereof, not commonly known. Which discovery all the writers or our time ascribe (and that not unworthily) unto Christopher Columbus. For by him it was in a manner first discovered, made known and profitably communicated unto the Christian world in the year of our Lord 1492. Howbeit I find that the north part thereof called Estotiland, (which most of all extendeth toward our Europe and the islands of the same, namely, Groneland Islande and Frislande,) was long ago found out by certain fishers of the Isle of Frislande, driven by tempest upon the shore thereof : and was afterward about the year 1390 discovered anew by one Antonio Zeno, a gentleman of Venice ; which sailed thither under the conduct of Zichmni, King of the said Isle of Frislande, a Prince in those parts of great valour and renowned for his martial exploits and victories. Of which expedition of Zichmni there are extant in Italian certain collections or abridgements gathered by Francisco Marcolino out of the letters of M. Nicolo and Antonio Zeni, two gentlemen of Venice which lived in those parts. Out of which collections I do add concerning the description of Estotiland aforesaid these particulars following :

Estotiland (saith he) aboundeth with all things necessary for mankind. In the midst thereof standeth an exceeding high mountain, from which issue four rivers that moisten all the country. The inhabitants are witty and most expert in all mechanical arts. They have a kind of peculiar language and letters. Howbeit in this King's library are preserved certain Latin books, which they understand not, being perhaps left there not many years before by some Europeans which trafficked thither. They have all kind of metals, but especially gold, wherewith they mightily abound. They traffick with the people of Groneland : from whence they fetch skins, pitch and brimstone. The inhabitants report that towards the south there are regions abounding with gold and very populous : they have many and huge woods, from whence they take timber for the building of ships and cities, whereof and of castles there are great store. The use of the lodestone for navigation is unknown unto them. They make relation also of a certain region toward the south called Drogio, which is inhabited by cannibals unto whom man's flesh is delicate meat : whereof being destitute they live by fishing, which they use very much. Beyond this are large regions and as it were a new world : but the people are barbarous and go naked : howbeit against the cold they clothe themselves in beasts' skins. These have no kind of metal and they live by hunting. Their weapons are certain long staves with sharp points, and bows. They wage wars one against another. They have governors and obey certain laws. But from hence more towards the south the climate is much more temperate : and there are cities and temples of idols unto whom they sacrifice living men, whose flesh they afterwards devour. These nations have the use of silver and gold.

Thus much of this tract of lands out of the aforesaid collections or abridgements. Wherein this also is worthy the observation, that even then our European pilots sailed those seas by the help of the lodestone. For concerning the use thereof in navigation I suppose there is not to be found a more ancient testimony. And these things I have annexed the rather unto this table of Mar del Zur, considering that none of those authors which have written the histories of the New World have in any part of the writings mentioned one word thereof. Hitherto Ortelius.

COLUMBUS

The discoverer himself is so explicit in the matter of places and dates that the reader can follow his story without difficulty. There is one slight error in the beginning, when the Latin translator gives Cadiz as the port of embarkation. The sailing took place from Palos on the 3rd August, 1492; on the 8th September the Canaries were left behind, and on the 12th October one of the smaller islands of the Bahamas reached. Columbus sent his despatch from Lisbon on his return voyage, as he says himself, "the day before the Ides of March," i.e. the 4th.

Many versions exist, as stated in the Introduction, of the letter which Columbus sent overland from Lisbon to the Spanish Court. The present translation is taken from what is known as the Pictorial Edition in the Lennox Library of New York.

COLUMBUS

Because my undertakings have attained success, I know that it will be pleasing to you: these I have determined to relate, so that you may be made acquainted with everything done and discovered in this our voyage. On the thirty-third day after I departed from Cadiz, I came to the Indian sea, where I found many islands inhabited by men without number, of all which I took possession for our most fortunate king, with proclaiming heralds and flying standards, no one objecting. To the first of these I gave the name of the blessed Saviour, on whose aid relying I had reached this as well as the other islands. But the Indians call it Guanahany. I also called each one of the others by a new name. For I ordered one island to be called Santa Maria of the Conception, another Fernandina, another Isabella, another Juana, and so on with the rest. As soon as we had arrived at that island which I have just now said was called Juana, I proceeded along its coast towards the west for some distance; I found it so large and without perceptible end, that I believed it to be not an island, but the continental country of Cathay; seeing, however, no towns or cities situated on the sea-coast, but only some villages and rude farms, with whose inhabitants I was unable to converse, because as soon as they saw us they took flight, I proceeded farther, thinking that I would discover some city or large residences.

At length, perceiving that we had gone far enough, that nothing new appeared, and that this way was leading us to the north, which I wished to avoid, because it was winter on the land, and it was my intention to go to the south, moreover the winds were becoming violent, I therefore determined that no other plans were practicable, and so, going back, I returned to a certain bay that I had noticed, from which I sent two of our men to the land, that they might find out whether there was a king in this country, or any cities. These men travelled for three days, and they found people and houses without number, but they were small and without any government, therefore they returned.

Now in the meantime I had learned from certain Indians, whom I had seized there, that this country was indeed an island, and therefore I proceeded towards the east, keeping all the time near the coast, for 322 miles, to the extreme ends of this island. From this place I saw another island to the east, distant from this Juana 54 miles, which I called forthwith Hispana ; and I sailed to it ; and I steered along the northern coast, as at Juana, towards the east, 564 miles. And the said Juana and the other islands there appear very fertile. This island is surrounded by many very safe and wide harbours, not excelled by any others that I have ever seen. Many great and salubrious rivers flow through it. There are also many very high mountains there. All these islands are very beautiful, and distinguished by various qualities ; they are accessible, and full of a great variety of trees stretching up to the stars ; the leaves of which I believe are never shed, for I saw them as green and flourishing as they are usually in Spain in the month of May ; some of them were blossoming, some were bearing fruit, some were in other conditions ; each one was thriving in its own way. The nightingale and various other birds without number were singing, in the month of November, when I was exploring them. There are besides in the said island Juana seven or eight kinds of palm trees, which far excel ours in height and beauty, just as all the other trees, herbs, and fruits do.

There are also excellent pine trees, vast plains and meadows, a variety of birds, a variety of honey, and a variety of metals, excepting iron. In the one which was called Hispana, as we said above, there are great and beautiful mountains, vast fields, groves, fertile plains, very suitable for planting and cultivating, and for the building of houses. The convenience of the harbours in this island, and the remarkable number of rivers contributing to the healthfulness of man, exceed belief, unless one has seen them. The trees, pasturage, and fruits of this island differ greatly from those of Juana.

This Hispana, moreover, abounds in different kinds of spices, in gold, and in metals. On this island, indeed, and on all the others which I have seen, and of which I have knowledge, the inhabitants of both sexes go always naked, just as they came into the world, except some of the women, who use a covering of a leaf or some foliage, or a cotton cloth, which they make themselves for that purpose. All these people lack, as I said above, every kind of iron; they are also without weapons, which indeed are unknown; nor are they competent to use them, not on account of deformity of body, for they are well formed, but because they are timid and full of fear. They carry for weapons, however, reeds baked in the sun, on the lower ends of which they fasten some shafts of dried wood rubbed down to a point; and indeed they do not venture to use these always; for it frequently happened when I sent two or three of my men to some of the villages, that they might speak with the natives, a compact troop of the Indians would march out, and as soon as they saw our men approaching, they would quickly take flight, children being pushed aside by their fathers, and fathers by their children. And this was not because any hurt or injury had been inflicted on any one of them, for to every one whom I visited and with whom I was able to converse, I distributed whatever I had, cloth and many other things, no return being made to me; but they are by nature fearful and timid. Yet when they perceive that they are safe, putting aside all fear, they are of simple manners and trustworthy, and very liberal with everything they have, refusing no one who asks for anything they may possess, and even themselves inviting us to ask for things. They show greater love for all others than for themselves; they give valuable things for trifles, being satisfied even with a very small return, or with nothing; however, I forbade that things so small and of no value should be given to them, such as pieces of plates, dishes and glass, likewise keys and shoe-straps; although if they were able to obtain these, it seemed to them like getting the most beautiful jewels in the world. It happened, indeed, that a certain sailor obtained in exchange for a shoe-strap as much worth of gold as would equal three golden coins ; and likewise other things for articles of very little value, especially for new silver coins, and for some gold coins, to obtain which they gave whatever the seller desired, as for instance an ounce and a half and two ounces of gold, or thirty and forty pounds of cotton, with which they were already acquainted. They also traded cotton and gold for pieces of bows, bottles, jugs and jars, like persons without reason, which I forbade because it was very wrong ; and I gave to them many beautiful and pleasing things that I had brought with me, no value being taken in exchange, in order that I might the more easily make them friendly to me, that they might be made worshippers of Christ, and that they might be full of love towards our king, queen, and prince, and the whole Spanish nation ; also that they might be zealous to search out and collect, and deliver to us those things of which they had plenty, and which we greatly needed.

These people practise no kind of idolatry ; on the contrary they firmly believe that all strength and power, and in fact all good things are in heaven, and that I had come down from thence with these ships and sailors ; and in this belief I was received there after they had put aside fear. Nor are they slow or unskilled, but of excellent and acute understanding ; and the men who have navigated that sea give an account of everything in an admirable manner ; but they never saw people clothed, nor these kind of ships.

As soon as I reached that sea, I seized by force several Indians on the first island, in order that they might learn from us, and in like manner tell us about those things in these lands of which they themselves had knowledge ; and the plan succeeded, for in a short time we understood them and they us, sometimes by gestures and signs, sometimes by words ; and it was a great advantage to us. They are coming with me now, yet always believing that I descended from heaven, although they have been living with us for a long time, and are living with us to-day. And these men were the first who announced it wherever we landed, continually proclaiming to the others in a loud voice, " Come, come, and you will see the celestial people." Whereupon both women and men, both children and adults, both young men and old men, laying aside the fear caused a little before, visited us eagerly, filling the road with a great crowd, some bringing food, and some drink, with great love and extraordinary goodwill.

On every island there are many canoes of a single piece of wood ; and though narrow, yet in length and shape similar to our row-boats, but swifter in movement. They steer only by oars. Some of these boats are large, some small, some of medium size. Yet they row many of the larger row-boats with eighteen cross-benches, with which they cross to all those islands, which are innumerable, and with these boats they perform their trading, and carry on commerce among them. I saw some of these row-boats or canoes which were carrying seventy and eighty rowers. In all these islands there is no difference in the appearance of the people, nor in the manners and language, but all understand each other mutually ; a fact that is very important for the end which I suppose to be earnestly desired by our most illustrious king, that is, their conversion to the holy religion of Christ, to which in truth, as far as I can perceive, they are very ready and favourably inclined.

I said before how I proceeded along the island Juana in a straight line from west to east 322 miles, according to which course and the length of the way, I am able to say that this Juana is larger than England and Scotland together; for besides the said 322 thousand paces, there are two more provinces in that part which lies towards the west, which I did not visit ; one of these the Indians call Anan, whose inhabitants are born with tails. They extend to 180 miles in length, as I have learned from those Indians I have with me, who are all acquainted with these islands. But the circumference of Hispana is greater than all Spain from Colonia to Fontarabia. This is easily proved, because its fourth side, which I myself passed along in a straight line from west to east, extends 540 miles.

This island is to be desired and is very desirable, and not to be despised ; in which, although as I have said, I solemnly took possession of all the others for our most invincible king, and their government is entirely committed to the said king, yet I especially took possession of a certain large town, in a very convenient location, and adapted to all kinds of gain and commerce, to which we give the name of our Lord of the Nativity. And I commanded a fort to be built there forthwith, which must be completed by this time ; in which I left as many men as seemed necessary, with all kinds of arms, and plenty of food for more than a year. Likewise one caravel, and for the construction of others men skilled in this trade and in other professions ; and also the extraordinary good will and friendship of the king of this island toward us. For those people are very amiable and kind, to such a degree that the said king gloried in calling me his brother. And if they should change their minds, and should wish to hurt those who remained in the fort, they would not be able, because they lack weapons, they go naked, and are too cowardly. For that reason those who hold the said fort are at least able to resist easily this whole island, without any imminent danger to themselves, so long as they do not transgress the regulations and command which we gave.

In all these islands, as I have understood, each man is content with only one wife, except the princes or kings, who are permitted to have twenty. The women appear to work more than the men. I was not able to find out surely whether they have individual property, for I saw that one man had the duty of distributing to the others, especially refreshments, food, and things of that kind. I found no monstrosities among them, as very many supposed, but men of great reverence, and friendly. Nor are they black like the Ethiopians. They have straight hair, hanging down. They do not remain where the solar rays send out the heat, for the strength of the sun is very great here, because it is distant from the equinoctial line, as it seems, only twenty-six degrees. On the tops of the mountains too the cold is severe, but the Indians, however, moderate it, partly by being accustomed to the place, and partly by the help of very hot victuals, of which they eat frequently and immoderately.

And so I did not see any monstrosity, nor did I have knowledge of them any where, excepting a certain island named Charis, which is the second in passing from Hispana to India. This island is inhabited by a certain people who are considered very warlike by their neighbours. These eat human flesh. The said people have many kinds of row-boats, in which they cross over to all the other Indian islands, and seize and carry away everything that they can. They differ in no way from the others, only that they wear long hair like the women. They use bows and darts made of reeds, with sharpened shafts fastened to the larger end, as we have described. On this account they are considered warlike, wherefore the other Indians are afflicted with continual fear, but I regard them as of no more account than the others. These are the people who visit certain women, who alone inhabit the island Mateunin, which is the first in passing from Hispana to India. These women, moreover, perform no kind of work of their sex, for they use bows and darts, like those I have described of their husbands; they protect themselves with sheets of copper, of which there is great abundance among them.

They tell me of another island greater than the aforesaid Hispana, whose inhabitants are without hair, and which abounds in gold above all the others. I am bringing with me men of this island and of the others that I have seen, who give proof of the things that I have described. Finally, that I may compress in few words the brief account of our departure and quick return, and the gain, I promise this, that if I am supported by our most invincible sovereigns with a little of their help, as much gold can be supplied as they will need, indeed as much of spices, of cotton, of chewing gum (which is only found in Chios), also as much of aloes wood, and as many slaves for the navy, as their majesties will wish to demand. Likewise rhubarb and other kinds of spices, which I suppose these men whom I left in the said fort have already found, and will continue to find ; since I remained in no place longer than the winds forced me, except in the town of the Nativity, while I provided for the building of the fort, and for the safety of all. Which things, although they are very great and remarkable, yet they would have been much greater, if I had been aided by as many ships as the occasion required.

Truly great and wonderful is this, and not corresponding to our merits, but to the holy Christian religion, and to the piety and religion of our sovereigns, because what the human understanding could not attain, that the divine will has granted to human efforts. For God is wont to listen to his servants who love his precepts, even in impossibilities, as has happened to us on the present occasion, who have attained that which hitherto mortal men have never reached. For if anyone has written or said anything about these islands, it was all with obscurities and conjectures ; no one claims that he had seen them ; from which they seemed like fables. Therefore let the king and queen, the princes and their most fortunate kingdoms, and all other countries of Christendom give thanks to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who has bestowed upon us so great a victory and gift. Let religious processions be solemnised ; let sacred festivals be given ; let the churches be covered with festive garlands. Let Christ rejoice on earth, as he rejoices in heaven, when he foresees coming to salvation so many souls of people hitherto lost. Let us be glad also, as well on account of the exaltation of our faith, as on account of the increase of our temporal affairs, of which not only Spain, but universal Christendom will be partaker. These things that have been done are thus briefly related. Farewell. Lisbon, the day before the ides of March.

Christopher Columbus, admiral of the Ocean fleet.

VASCO DA GAMA

The account of Vasco da Gama's voyage is taken from Gaspar Correa's Lendas da India *in the edition prepared by the Hakluyt Society in* 1869 *and translated by the Hon. Henry E. G. Stanley. Correa's account was written in the early fifteenth century, but was not generally known until the nineteenth. Da Gama sailed from Lisbon on the* 25*th March*, 1497, *arrived at St. Helena Bay on* 18*th August, doubled the Cape after many efforts in November, met with the storm described in the narrative in the second week of December, quelled the mutiny later in the same month, and reached Mozambique (which is as far as this excerpt goes) at the end of March* 1498. *He sighted India on the* 26*th August, and returned to Lisbon on* 18*th September*, 1499.

The portion of the narrative here given is undoubtedly the most interesting, both from the point of view of discovery and of bringing out Da Gama's character. The two companions referred to are Da Gama himself and his brother Paulo.

VASCO DA GAMA

Of the navigation which the ships performed, and of the storms which they underwent, until they doubled the Cape of Good Hope which they did not see.

The two companions, standing out to sea, as I have said, made their way towards Cape Verde, and for that purpose they stood well out to sea to make the coast, which they knew they would find, as it advanced much to seawards, as they learned from the sailors who had been in the caravels of Janinfante ; and they ran as far as they could to sea in the direction of the wind, to double the land without difficulty ; and thus they navigated until they made the coast, and having reconnoitred it, they tacked and stood out to sea, hauling on the bowline as much as they could, and so they ran for many days. And as it seemed to them that now they could double the land, they again tacked towards the coast, also on the bowline, against the wind, until they again saw the coast, much farther on than where the caravels had reached, which the masters knew from the soundings which they had got written down from the voyage of Janinfante, and the days which they found to have less sun by the clocks. Having well ascertained this, they stood out again to sea ; thus forcing the ships to windward, they went so far out to sea towards the south, that there was almost not six hours of sunlight in the day ; and the wind was very powerful, so that the sea was very fearful to see, without ever being smooth either by day or night, but they always met with storms, so that the crews suffered much hardship. After a month that they had run on this tack, they stood in to shore and went as long as they could, all praying to the Lord that they might have doubled beyond the land ; but when they again saw it, they were very sad, though they found themselves much advanced by the signs of the soundings which the pilots took, and they saw land of another shape which they had not before seen. Seeing that the coast ran out to sea, the masters and pilots were in great confusion, and doubtful of standing out again to sea, saying that that land went across the sea and had no end to it. This being heard of by Vasco da Gama, (according as it was presumed, to the information he had from the Jew Çacuto), he told the pilots that they should not imagine such a thing, and that without doubt they would find the end of that land, and beyond it much sea and lands to run by, and he said to them : " I assure you that the Cape is very near, and with another tack standing out to sea, when you return, you will find the Cape doubled." This Vasco da Gama said to encourage them, because he saw that they were much disheartened, and with the inclination to wish to put back to Portugal. So he ordered them to put the ships about to sea, which they did much against their will ; for which reason Vasco da Gama determined to stand on this tack so long as to be able to double the end of the land ; and besought all not to take account of their labours, since for that purpose they had ventured upon them ; and that they should put their trust in the Lord that they would double the Cape.

Thus he gave them great encouragement, without ever sleeping or taking repose, but always taking part with them in hardship, coming up at the boatswain's pipe as they all did. So they went on standing out to sea till they found it all broken up with the storm, with enormous waves, and darkness. As the days were very short, it always seemed night ; the masts and shrouds were stayed, because with the fury of the sea the ships seemed every moment to be going to pieces. The crews grew sick with fear and hardship, because also they could not prepare their food, and all clamoured for putting back to Portugal, and that they did not choose to die like stupid people who sought death with their own hands ; thus they made clamour and lamentation, of which there was much more in the other ships. But the captains excused themselves, saying that they would do nothing except what Vasco da Gama did ; and he and his companions underwent great labour.

As he was a very choleric man, at times with angry words he made them be silent, although he well saw how much reason they had at every moment to despair of their lives ; and they had been going for about two months on that tack, and the masters and pilots cried out to him to take another tack ; but the captain-major did not choose, though the ships were now letting in much water, by which their labours were doubled, because the days were short and the nights long, which caused them increased fear of death ; and at this time they met with such cold rains that the men could not move. All cried out to God for mercy upon their souls, for now they no longer took heed of their lives. It now seemed to Vasco da Gama that the time was come for making another tack, and he comported himself very angrily, swearing that if they did not double the Cape, he would stand out to sea again as many times until the Cape was doubled, or there should happen whatever should please God. For which reason, from fear of this, the masters took much more trouble to advance as much as they could ; and they took more heart on nearing the land, and escaping from the tempest of the sea : and all called upon God for mercy, and to give them guidance, when they saw themselves out of such great dangers. Thus approaching the land, they found their labour less, and the seas calmer, so they went on running for a long time, steering so as to make the land and to ease the ships, which they were better able to do at night when the captain slept, which the other ships did also, as they followed the lantern which Vasco da Gama carried : at night the ships showed lights to one another so as not to part company. Seeing how much they had run, and did not find the land, they sailed larger so as to make it ; and as they did not find it, and the sea and wind more moderate knew that they had doubled the Cape ; on which great joy fell upon them, and they gave great praise to the Lord on seeing themselves delivered from death. The pilots continued to sail more free, spreading all the sails ; and running in this manner, one morning they sighted some mountain peaks which seemed to touch the clouds ; at which their pleasure was so great that all wept with joy, and all devoutly on their knees said the *Salve*. After running all day till night, they were not able to reach it, and discovered great mountain ridges, so as it was night they ran along the coast which lay from east to west ; and they took in all the sails only running under the large sails, for these were the orders of the captain-major. The next day at dawn they again set all the sails and ran to the land, so that at mid-day they saw a beach which was all rocky and running along it, they saw deep creeks, and such large bays, that they could not see the land at the end of them ; they also found the mouths of great rivers, from which water came forth to the sea with a powerful current ; here also, near the land, they found many fish which they killed with fish-spears. The watchmen in the tops were always on the look out to see if there were shoals ahead. The crews grew sick with fever from the fish which they ate, on which account they ate no more. The pilots, on heaving the lead, found no bottom : so they ran on for three days, and at night they kept away from the land, and shortened sail. Sailing in this manner they fell in with the mouth of a large river, and the captain-major ordered a boat to be lowered, and the pilot to sound the entrance of the river ; and he said that it was superfluous, because if there was a shoal it would be burst through. Then they took in the sails, excepting the great one, with which they entered the river, which was very large : and they went up it, the boat going before and sounding, and approaching land, where they found twelve fathoms, they anchored. There they found very good fish, for the river was of fresh water ; but in the whole of the river they found no beach, for there was nothing but rocks and crags. Then Vasco da Gama went to see his brother, and so did Nicolas Coelho, and they all dined with great satisfaction, talking of the hardships they had gone through.

When they had finished dining, Vasco da Gama ordered Nicolas Coelho to go in his boat up the river to see if he found any village. He went up more than five leagues, without finding anything besides many streams which came from between the mountains to pour into the river ; there were no woods in the country, nothing but stones on both sides of the river : upon which he returned to the captain-major. Then the following day, before the morning, Vasco da Gama again ordered Nicolas Coelho to go in a boat with sails and oars, and with provisions to eat, and told him to go as far as the head of the river, to see if he could find anyone to speak to, to learn what country they were in. He went up the river a distance of more than twenty leagues, and returned without having found anything. Then they decided on going out again, and they took in water and wood of the dry trees, which it seems the river brings down when it comes from the mountain. On that account the captain-major wished himself in person to discover the river up to its head, to see whence could come those trees which they found there dry, but the masters said this would be a labour without profit, and that they ought to go out of the river and make for the country which they wished to seek, and they would find it. This seemed good to the captain-major, and they came out of the river, with much labour, as the wind was contrary, and entered the mouth of the river. The strong current of the river, which went out to sea, alone assisted them, and with it they went outside without sails, only towing with the boats which guided them.

How the ships saw land within the Cape, and ran along it, and of what they found, and the winter overtook them at sea, where they weathered great storms, and Vasco da Gama put the pilots in irons.

When the ships returned to sea they ran along the coast with great precaution, and a good look-out not to run upon any shoals, and they entered other great rivers and bays ; and they explored everywhere and searched without ever being able to meet with people, nor boats in the sea, for all the country was uninhabited ; and in entering and leaving the rivers they endured much fatigue, and were much vexed at not being able to learn in what country they were. With these detentions and delays they wasted much time, and spent all the summer of that country, so they had to run along the coast because the winds were favourable for going ahead ; for they were westerly. And because they found everything desolate, without people by land or sea, they agreed unanimously not to enter any more rivers, but to run ahead ; and thus they did ; for by day they ran under full sail, drawing as near to the land as possible to see if they could make out any village or beach, which as yet they had not seen ; and by night they stood away to sea, and ran under shortened sail.

Navigating in this manner, the wind began to moderate, and fell calm altogether, which happened in November, when they had to struggle with another wind, with which they stood out to sea, fearing that some contrary storm might arise ; then, taking in all sail, they lay waiting for the springing up of another wind, so they went increasing their distance from the land till they lost sight of it ; for the wind increased continually, and the sea rose gently, for then the winter of that country was setting in. The masters, seeing that the weather was freshening, took counsel as to returning to land and putting into some river until meeting with a change of weather. This they did, and putting about to the land, the wind increased so much that they were afraid of not finding a river in which to shelter, and of being lost. On which account they again stood out to sea, and made ready the ships to meet the storm which they saw rising every moment, so that the water should not come in, with ropes made fast to the masts, and with the shrouds passed over the yards so that the masts should remain more secure ; and they took away all the pannels from the tops, and the sails, so as not to hold the wind ; the small sails and the lower sails all struck, and with the foresails only they prepared to weather the storm.

Seeing the weather in this state, the pilot and master told the captain-major that they had great fear on account of the weather because it was becoming a tempest, and the ships were weak, and that they thought they ought to put in to land and run along the coast and return to seek the great river into which they had first entered, because the wind was blowing that way, and they could enter it for all that there was a storm. But when the captain-major heard of turning backwards, he answered them, that they " should not speak such words, because as he was going out of the bar of Lisbon, he had promised to God in his heart not to turn back a single span's breadth of the way which he had made, that on that account they should not speak in that wise, as he would throw into the sea whomsoever spoke such things."

At which the crew, in despair, abandoned themselves to the chances of the sea which was broken up with the increase of the tempest and rising of the gale which many times chopped round, and blew from all parts, and at times fell ; so that the ships were in great peril from their great labouring in the waves, which ran very high. Then the storm would again break with such fury, that the seas rose towards the sky, and fell back in heavy showers which flooded the ships. The storm raging thus violently, the danger was doubled ; for suddenly the wind died out, so that the ships lay dead between the waves, lurching so heavily that they took in water on both sides ; and the men made themselves fast not to fall from one side to the other ; and everything in the ships was breaking up, so that all cried to God for mercy. Before long the sea came in with more violence, which increased their misfortune, with the great difficulty of working the pumps ; for they were taking in much water, which entered both above and below ; so they had no repose for either soul or body, and the crews began to sicken and die of their great hardships.

At this the pilots and masters and all the people poured out cries and lamentations to the captains, urgently requiring them to put back and seek an escape from death, which there they were certain of meeting with by their own will if they did not put about. To which the captains gave no other reply than that they would do no such thing unless the captain-major did it. The captain-major, seeing the clamours of his crew, answered them with brave words, saying, that he had already told them that backwards he would not go, even though he saw a hundred deaths before his eyes : thus he had vowed to God ; and let them look to it that it was not reasonable that they should lose all the labours which they had gone through up to this time, that the Lord who had delivered them until now, would have mercy upon them ; they should remember that they had already doubled the Cape of Storms and were in the region which they had come to seek, to discover India, on accomplishing which and returning to Portugal, they would gain such great honour and recompenses from the King of Portugal for their children ; and they should put their trust in God, who is merciful, and who, from one hour to another, would come with His mercy, and give them fair weather, and that they should not talk like people who distrusted the mercy of God.

But, although the captain-major always spoke to them these and other words of great encouragement, they did not cease from their loud clamour and protestations that he would give an account to God of their deaths of which he would be the cause, and of the leaving desolate their wives and children : all this accompanied by weeping and cries, and calls to God for mercy. Whilst they went on this way with their souls in their mouths, the sea began to go down a little, and the wind also, so that the ships could approach to speak one another, and all clamoured with loud cries that they should put about to seek some place where they could refit the ships, as they could not keep them afloat with the pumps. The crews of the other ships spoke with more audacity, saying that the captain was but one man, and they were many ; and they feared death while the captains did not fear it, nor took any account of losing their lives.

The captain-major chose that the two other ships should know his design, and he said and swore by the life of the king his sovereign that from the spot where he then was he had not to turn back one span's breadth, even though the ships were laden with gold, unless he got information of that which they had come to seek, and that even if he had near there a very good port he would not go ashore, lest some of them should retire to a certain death on shore, allowing themselves to remain there, rather than go on with the ships trusting to the mercy of God, in which they had such small reliance that they made such exclamations from the weakness of their hearts, as if they were not Portuguese ; on which account he would deceive them all, for to Portugal they would not return unless they brought word to the king of that which he had so strongly commended to them, and that he took the same account of death as did any one of them.

While they were at this point a sudden wind arose, with so great a concussion of thunder and darkness, and a stronger blast than they had yet experienced, and the sea rose so much that the ships could not see one another, except when they were upheaved by the seas, when they seemed to be amongst the clouds ; and they hung out lights so as not to part company, for the anxiety and fear which the captain-major felt was the losing one of the ships from his company, so that the seamen would put back to Portugal by force, as indeed they had very much such a desire in their hearts. But the captains took very great care of this, because Vasco da Gama, before going out of Lisbon, when conversing alone with the Jew Çacuto in the monastery, had received from him much information as to what he should do during his voyage, and especially recommendations of great watchfulness never to let the ships part company, because if they separated it would be the certain destruction of all of them. Vasco da Gama took great care of this, personally, and by means of his servants and relations in whom he trusted: and this they attended to with much greater solicitude after they had heard the sailors say that they were many, and the captains only a few single men; and in fact they had in their minds such an intention of rising up against the captains, and by force putting back to Portugal, and they thought that if it became necessary to arrest them for this and bring them before the king, he would have mercy upon them, and should they not find mercy, they preferred rather to die there where their wives and children and fathers were, and in their native country, and not in the sea to be eat by the fishes.

With such thoughts they all spoke to one another secretly, determining to carry it out, and trusting that the king would not hang them all for the good reasons which they would all give him; or else to secure their lives they would go to Castile until they were pardoned: and this was the greatest insolence they were guilty of; and so they decided upon executing their plan. In taking this decision they did not perceive the danger of death, into which they were going more than ever.

In the ship of Nicolas Coelho there was a sailor who had a brother who lived with Nicolas Coelho, and was foster-brother of a son of his; and the sailor brother told this boy of what they had all determined to do. This boy being very discreet, said to his brother that they should all preserve great secrecy, so as not to be found out, for it was a case of treason, and he warned his brother not to tell any one that he had mentioned such a thing to him. The boy, on account of the affection which he had for his master Nicolas Coelho, discovered the matter to him in secret, and he at once gave the boy a serious warning to be very discreet in this matter, that they should not perceive that he had told him anything of the kind. With the firm determination which Nicolas Coelho at once formed to die sooner than allow himself to be seized upon, he became very vigilant both by day and night, and warned the boy to try to learn with much dissimulation all that they wanted to do, and by what means. The boy told him that they would not do it unless they could first concert with the other ships, so that all should mutiny ; at that Nicolas Coelho remained more at ease, but was always very much on his guard for himself.

As the storm did not abate, but rather seemed to increase, and as the cries and clamour of the people were very great, beseeching him to put back, Nicolas Coelho dissembled with them, saying : " Brothers, let us strive to save ourselves from this storm, for I promise you that as soon as I can get speech with the captain-major, I will require him to put back, and you will see how I will require it of him." With this they remained satisfied. Some days having passed thus with heavy storms, the Lord was pleased to assuage the tempest a little and the sea grew calm, so that the ships could speak one another : and Nicolas Coelho coming up to speak, shouted to the captain-major that : " It would be well to put about, since every moment they had death before their eyes, and if they who were captains did not choose to do so, and so many men who went in their company were so piteously begging with tears and cries to put back the ships, and they did not choose to do so, it would be well if they should kill or arrest us, and then they would put back or go where it was convenient to save their lives ; which we also ought to do, and if we do not do it, let each one look out for himself, for thus I do for my part, and for my conscience sake, for I would not have to give an account of it to the Lord. Paulo da Gama, who also had come up within speaking distance, heard all this.

When they had heard these words of Nicolas Coelho, who, on ending his speech, at once begun to move away, the captain-major answered him that he would hold a consultation with the pilot and his crew, and that whatever he determined to do, he would make a signal to him of his resolution. During this time they lay hove to in the smooth water, because the wind never changed from its former point. Vasco da Gama, as he was very quick-witted, at once understood what Nicolas Coelho's words meant, and called together all the crew, and said to them that he was not so valiant as not to have the fear of death like themselves, neither was he so cruel as not to feel grieved at heart at seeing their tears and lamentations, but that he did not wish to have to give account to God for their lives, and for that reason he begged them to labour for their safety, because if the bad weather came again he had determined to put back, but to disculpate himself with the king, it was incumbent upon him to draw up a document of the reasons for putting back, with their signatures.

At this all raised their hands to heaven, saying that its mercy was already descending upon them, since it was softening the heart of the captain-major and inclining him to put back, and they said that all would sign the great service which he would render to God and to the king by putting back. Then the captain-major said that there was no need of the signatures of all, but only of those who best understood the business of the sea. Then the pilot and master named them, and they were three seamen. Upon this the captain-major retired to his cabin, and told his servants to stand at the door of the cabin, and put inside the clerk to draw up the document, and ordered the three seamen to enter ; and dissembling, he made inquiries as to returning to port, and all was written down and they signed it. He then ordered them to go down below to another cabin which he had beneath his own for a store-cabin, and he ordered the clerk to go down also with them, and he summoned the master and pilot and ordered them below also, telling them to go and sign, as the clerk was there. Then he called up the seamen one by one, and ordered them to be put in irons by his servants in his cabin, and heavy irons for the master and pilot.

All being well ironed and bound, the captain-major turned them out, and called all the men, ordering the master and pilot at once to give up to him all the articles which they had belonging to the art of navigation, or if not, that he would at once execute them; of which being greatly afraid, they gave everything up to him. Then Vasco da Gama, holding them all in his hand, flung them into the sea, and said—" See here, men, that you have neither master nor pilot, nor any one to show you the way from henceforward, because these men whom I have arrested will return to Portugal below the deck, if they do not die before that," (for he was aware that they had agreed amongst one another to rise up and return by force to Portugal, and on that account had cast everything into the sea), " and I do not require master nor pilot, nor any man who knows the art of navigation, because God alone is the master and pilot who had to guide and deliver them by His mercy if they deserved it, and if not, let His will be done. To him you must commend yourselves and beg mercy. Henceforward let no one speak to me of putting back, for know from me of a certainty, that if I do not find information of what I have come to seek, that to Portugal I do not return."

Seeing and hearing these things, the crew became much more terrified, and with much greater fear of death, which they held as certain, not having either pilot or master, nor any one who knew how to navigate a ship. Then the prisoners and all the crew on their knees begged him for mercy with loud cries ; the prisoners saying that they, being ignorant men and of faint heart, had come to an understanding to put the ship about and return to the king and offer themselves for death, if he chose to give it them, and they would have taken him a prisoner, that the king might see that he was not to blame for putting back ; but this was not to have been done, except with the will of all the people of the other ships : but since God had discovered this to him before they had carried it out, let him show them clemency ; for well they saw that they deserved death from him, which was more than the chains which they bore. All the crew frequently called out to him for clemency, and not to put the prisoners below the decks, where they would soon die.

Then the captain-major, showing that he only did it at their entreaty, and not for any need which he had of them, ordered them to remain in their cabins in the forecastle still in irons, and forbade their giving any directions for the navigation of the ship, except only for the trimming of the sails and the work of the ship. Vasco da Gama then ran alongside of the other ships and spoke them, saying that he had put his pilot and master in irons, in which he would bring them back to the kingdom, if God pleased that they should return there ; and that they should not imagine that he had any need of their knowledge, he had flung into the sea all the implements of their art of navigation, because he placed his hopes in God alone, who would direct them and deliver them from the perils amongst which they were going ; and on that account, since he had now made his men secure, let them secure themselves as they pleased : and without waiting for an answer he sheered off.

Nicolas Coelho felt great joy in his heart on hearing from the captain-major that he had got his pilot and master thus secured from rising against him, since he had put them in irons ; and with much dissimulation he spoke to his master and pilot and seamen, saying that he was much grieved at the captain-major's way of treating his ship's officers, whom he stood so much in need of in the labours they were undergoing, but what he had done was because of his being of so strong and thorough a temperament, as they all knew, and he had not chosen to wait for them to make entreaty for the liberty of the prisoners, but that whenever the ships again spoke one another he would do it. This all the crew begged him to do, with loud cries of mercy, since they would follow the flagship wherever it went. This Nicolas Coelho promised them, so they remained contented. Paulo da Gama had other conversations with the officers of his ship, with much urbanity, for he was a man of gentle disposition ; he also promised them that he would entreat his brother on behalf of the prisoners, and bade all pray God for the saving of their lives, and that all would end well, so that all remained consoled.

How the ships entered a beautiful river in which they refitted the two ships and burned the other, and they named this river the River of Mercy.

Whilst these things were happening the wind did not shift its direction, but the sea being smoother the ships were more easy, though they let in so much water that they never left off pumping. The captain-major saw this, and that the ships had an absolute need of repairs ; and also because they had no more water to drink, because, with the tossing about in the storm, many barrels had broken and given way under such great pressure, he stood in to land under sail, for the weather was moderate and was beginning to be favourable : all were praying to God for mercy, and that He would grant them a haven of safety. Which God was pleased to do in His mercy, for presently He showed them land, at which it seemed that all were resuscitated from the death which they looked upon as certain if the ships were not repaired. After that the wind came free, and they sailed along the land for several days without finding where to put in ; this was now in January of the year 1498. Thus they ran close to the land, with a careful look out, for they did not dare to leave the land, from the great peril in which the ships were from the great leakage. Proceeding in this way, one day they found themselves at dawn in the mouth of a large river, into which the captain-major entered, for he always went first ; and all entered, and found within a large bay sheltered from all winds, in which they anchored, and all exclaimed three times—" The mercy of the Lord God ! " for which reason they gave this river the name of the River of Mercy.

Here they soon caught much good fish, with which the sick improved, as it was fresh food, and the water of the river was very good. Now, at this time, in all the ships there were not more than a hundred and fifty men, for all the rest had died. Soon after arriving at this place the captain-major went to see his brother and Nicolas Coelho, and they conversed, relating their hardships ; and Nicolas Coelho related the treason which his men were preparing, to take him prisoner and return to Portugal, and they did not do it from the fear they had that the captain-major would follow after them, and if he caught them would have hung them all ; and they only waited for all to agree together to mutiny ; and he had sought those feigned words which he had spoken, and it had pleased God that Vasco da Gama had understood them, so that by his imprisoning his officers at once all had remained secure. So all gave praise to the Lord for having delivered them from such great perils.

Then they settled about refitting the ships, for they had all that was necessary for doing it. Although they had a beach and tides for laying the ships aground, for greater security it was ordered that they should be heeled over whilst afloat, and thus it was arranged for by all of them. While they were on the quarter-deck, Paulo da Gama entreated his brother to set the prisoners at liberty, which he did, setting free the sailors, and the master and pilot, with the condition that, if God should bring them back to Lisbon, when he went before the king he would present them to him in the same manner in chains, not to do them any harm, but only that his difficulties might be credited, and that for this he would give him greater favours : at which all the crews felt much satisfaction. Afterwards they spoke with all the officers, and arranged for careening the ships, and went to look at them.

They found that there was no repairing the ship of Nicolas Coelho, as it had many of the ribs and knees broken. For that reason they at once decided to break it up : and then they cut out its masts, and much timber and planks of the upper works, which, with the yards and spars of the other ships lashed together and fastened, made a great frame, which they put under the side of the ship to raise it more out of the water : for this purpose they then discharged from the captain-major's ship into that of his brother, which was brought alongside, all that they could of the stores and goods ; and everything heavy below decks they put on one side of the ship, which caused it to heel over very much, and with the timber under the side, and the tackle fitted to the main-mast, they canted the ship over on one side so much that they laid her keel bare ; and on the outer side they put planks upon which all the crew got to work at the ship, some cleaning the planks from the growth of sea-weed, others extracting the caulking, which was quite rotten, from the seams ; and the caulkers put in fresh oakum and then pitched it over, for they had a stove in a boat where they boiled the pitch. The captains were occupied with their own work day and night, and gave much food and drink to the crews, so that they used such dispatch, that in one day and one night, by morning they had finished one side of the ship, very well executed, though with great labour in drawing out the water from the ship, which leaked very much lying thus on one side.

When she was upright, they turned her over on the other side, and did the same work much better performed, because the ship did not leak so much ; and when it was completed and the ship upright, it was so sound and water-tight that for two days there was no water in the pump. Then they loaded it again with its stores, and trans-shipped to it the stores of the other ship, upon which they executed the before-mentioned caulking and repairs, so that it became like new. They then fitted them inside with several knees, and ribs, and inner planking, and all that was requisite, with great perfection, and collected the yards, spars, and all that they had need of belonging to the ship *San Miguel* ; and the captain-major took Nicolas Coelho on board of his ship, entertaining him well. They then took away from the ship much wood for their use, and beached the ship, and took away its rudder, and undid it, and stowed away its wood and iron-works, in case of its being wanted for the other ships, because they had all been built of the same pattern and size, as a precaution that all might be able to take advantage of any part of them. Then they burned the ship in order to recover the nails, which were in great quantity, and a great advantage for other necessities which they met with later.

After they had thus repaired the ships, the captain-major sent Nicolas Coelho with twenty men in a boat to go and discover the river : and he, after ascending it for two leagues, found woods and verdure, and further on he found some canoes which were fishing, and the men in them were dark, but not very black ; they were naked, having only their middles covered with leaves of trees or grass. These men, when they saw the boat, came to it, and entered it in a brutish manner, and were in a state of amazement. No one knew how to speak to them, and they did not understand the signs which were made to them. So Nicolas Coelho made them go back to their canoes, and returned to the ships, but of the canoes one followed after the boat, and the others returned to take the news to their villages. These men who came with the boat, at once, without any fear, entered the ship and sat down to rest, as if they were old acquaintance ; no one knew how to speak to them. Then they gave them biscuit and cakes and slices of bread with marmalade : this they did not understand until they saw our people eat, then they ate it, and as they liked the taste, they ate in a great hurry, and would not share with one another. Whilst this was going on they saw many canoes coming, and larger ones, with many of those people also naked, with tangled hair like Cafres, without any other arms than some sticks like half lances, hardened in the fire with sharp points greased over.

The captain-major, seeing the other canoes coming, ordered the first come to go to their canoe, which they did unwillingly, and went out and remained to speak with those that were arriving and went their way. The others arrived, and all wanted to come on board ; as they were more than a hundred, the captain-major would not allow them, only ten or twelve, who brought some birds which were something like hens, and some yellow fruit of the size of walnuts, a very well tasted thing to eat, which our men would not touch, and they seeing that, ate them for our people to see, who, on tasting them, were much pleased with them : they killed one of the birds, and found it very tender and savoury to eat, and all its bones were like those of a fowl. The captain-major ordered biscuit and wine to be given them, which they would not touch till they saw our people drink. He also ordered a looking-glass to be given them ; when they saw it they were much amazed, and looked at one another, and again looked at the mirror, and laughed loudly and made jokes, and spoke to the others who were in the canoes. They went away with the looking-glass highly delighted, and left six birds and much of the fruit, and all went away ; and in the afternoon they came again, but bringing a quantity of those birds, at which our men rejoiced very much, and filled hen-coops with them, because they gave them and were satisfied with anything that was given them, especially white stuffs ; so that the seamen cut their shirts in pieces, with which they bought so many of these birds that they killed and dried them in the sun, and they kept very well.

Here it was observed that in this river there were no flies, for they never saw any all the time they were there, which was twenty days ; and they went away because the crew began to fall ill. It seems that it was from that fruit which was very delicious to eat ; and the principal ailment was that their gums swelled and rotted, so that their teeth fell out, and there was such a foul smell from the mouth that no one could endure it. The captain-major provided a remedy for this, for he ordered that each one should wash his mouth with his own water each time that he passed it, by doing which in a few days they obtained health.

The captain-major made a hole with pickaxes in a stone slab at the entrance of this river, and set up a marble pillar, of which he had brought many for that purpose, which had two escutcheons, one of the arms of Portugal, and another on the other side, of the sphere, and letters engraved in the stone which said : " Of the lordship of Portugal, kingdom of Christians." The captain-major, seeing how much the seamen and masters and pilots worked, especially his own, notwithstanding the imprisonment which he had inflicted upon them, when he was about to quit this river of Mercy, made them all come to his ship, where he addressed them all, beseeching them not to suffer weakness to enter their hearts, which would induce them to wish to commit another such error, by harbouring thoughts of treason, which is so hideous before God, and always brings a bad end to those who engage in it : he said that he well saw that faint-heartedness was the cause of what had passed, and that he forgave all. And that since the Lord had been pleased to deliver them from so many dangers as they had passed up to that time, by His great mercy, therefore they should put their trust in Him, who would conduct them in such manner as to obtain the result which they were going in search of ; by which they would gain such great honours and favours as the king would grant them on their return to Portugal ; and he would present them to the king, and would relate their great labours and services, and that they ought to bear in remembrance these great advantages, which would be such a cause of rejoicing for all of them. They, with tears of joy, all answered, Amen, Amen, may the Lord so will it of His great mercy. And they weighed anchors and went out of the river with a land breeze.

How the two ships left the River of Mercy, and ran along the coast of Mozambique, and of what they found and did before they arrived there.

Vasco da Gama made that caressing speech to the crews from apprehension that some of them might run away on finding some country with which they might be satisfied, in which case it would be the most certain perdition that might be. And he was fearful of the vagabonds whom he brought with him, because he had begged the king to order some men who had been condemned to death to be given to him, in order to risk them in sending them ashore in certain countries of doubtful safety ; in which also, and wherever it was expedient, he would leave them, as he might greatly benefit by what they learned when he found them later. The king had highly approved of this, and had commanded to put six such men on board each ship, of whom some were already dead.

Then, with the favourable wind which they had, and the ships well repaired, they sailed with much satisfaction along the coast, with a good look-out by day and night. Running in this manner, they sighted a sail, which was making from the sea to the land : at which they felt great satisfaction, and gave great thanks to the Lord for having brought them into a region of navigation. The ships at once made after the sail, which, on seeing our ships, fled to seawards, and our people lost sight of it at night, at which they were very sad, and continued on their course as they saw it no more. Running along the coast, as close in to land as they could, on passing a point they saw a large creek, and then alongside the point they saw a zambuk at anchor. Vasco da Gama, on seeing it, hove to, and quickly ordered men to go in a boat with sails and oars after a canoe which was leaving the zambuk and escaping to shore. They soon overtook it, upon which six Cafres who were in it threw themselves into the sea, and there remained in it one Moor, who did not take to flight because he could not swim : he was dressed in a shirt of white stuff, with a silk girdle, and a coloured cloth folded on his shoulders, with which he covered himself, and on his head a round cap, which did not cover his ears, made of many squares of silk of various colours sewn with gold thread, and small gold rings in his ears. Our men took him into their boat and went to the zambuk, and found nothing, because the Moor had got to freight it and embark in it much property which he had on shore, in the possession of a great merchant, of whom this Moor was the agent. So they returned to the ship with great satisfaction at having found a man of whom they could ask questions and learn in what country they were ; and at once they set sail and went their way.

The Moor was well entertained, but in speaking to him no one understood him, for there was no other interpreter than an African slave, who spoke Arabic to him, of which the Moor understood few words. He told us by signs that further on there were people who knew that speech. The captain-major ordered them to give him to eat cakes of sugar and olives, and to give him wine. He ate of everything, but would not drink the wine. Then Vasco da Gama gave him a long robe to cover him, and he was like one amazed looking at what he had never seen before. The captain-major felt great satisfaction in his heart with this Moor whom they had brought, and by his demeanour he seemed to be an honourable man, and he made him welcome, and ordered them to give him very good food ; and speaking to him by means of signs, he showed him spices, and the Moor said that he would fill his ships with them. The Moor, as indeed he was a broker, and gained his livelihood thereby, soon desired to make himself broker of our people, because by loading our ships he would make much profit ; and he would form good friendship with our people and provide for them, and conduct them to Cambay, of which he was a native, where he would make much profit ; and with these reflections he showed much satisfaction at going with them.

Navigating thus for some days, they came in sight of the shoals and bank of Sofala, and the Moor by signs had told them to be on the watch for them ; and the captain-major rejoiced greatly at finding that truth and sincerity in the Moor : and they stood out to sea until they had passed them, and they did not see the river of Sofala, for it seems they passed it by night, although the Moor tried to tell them with his signs, and they did not understand. Having passed the bank they returned towards the shore, continuing their voyage; and going on thus they sighted a sail ahead, which was also going along the coast, at which all were much pleased. Then the captain-major edged out to sea, so that the sail might not escape in that direction. That ship did not alter its course, and our people soon overhauled it, and hove to and sent a boat to it, into which two Cafres entered, whom they brought to the captain-major, at which the Moor rejoiced, for they were from Mozambique: with these men they obtained speech by means of a Cafre of Guiné, who was with Paulo da Gama, and the boat went to fetch him, and brought him, and he spoke with the Cafres, and they understood each other well, at which there was much satisfaction. The zambuk was laden with pigeons' dung, which there was in some islands, and they were transporting it, as it was merchandise in Cambay with which they dyed stuffs. The captain-major ordered them to give biscuit and salt fish and wine to the Cafres, which they eat and drank with much pleasure.

Then the Moor, by the speech of the Cafre, and with the two Cafres whom he communicated with in another language, said to the captain-major that further on they would find a place in which there were many people and much trade, where he would conduct them, and give them all that they required, because his office was to be a broker, and he knew about all sorts of merchandise, and would take him to his country, Cambay, where he would load the ships with as much drugs and spices as they desired; for Cambay was a very rich country, and the greatest kingdom in the world. To which the captain-major replied with many thanks, and swore to him by the life of the king his sovereign that he would so well pay him for his work that he should for ever esteem himself very fortunate in having come into his company. Then the Moor told him to order a good look-out to be kept upon the zambuk, which would guide them by a safe road amongst the many shoals there were, because it always sailed in those parts, and knew them all. This seemed good to the captain-major, and he ordered four of his men to go in the zambuk, and six of the Cafres to be brought to the ship, and ordered them to keep a strict watch by night, and if they saw any shoals, to point them out to the Cafres, and that they should let themselves be guided wherever they chose ; and that they should always show a light with the lantern which was given them. With this order they navigated astern of the zambuk, which carried sails of matting, with which it sailed more than the ships. Thus they navigated more than twenty days, when they arrived at Mozambique, which was at the end of March of 1498.

How the ships arrived at Mozambique, and what happened to them there.

On arriving at Mozambique, which is subject to the King of Quiloa, they came to three islands, which are outside of it ; Vasco da Gama sent his pilot in a boat to follow the zambuk and take soundings of the entrance of the port : and taking in the large sails, they entered the port under foresails and mizens, astern of the zambuk ; there they found a good bottom and the roadstead sheltered from the sea winds. They saw on shore a large town of houses covered with thatch ; so that our men gave great thanks to the Lord for having brought them into port where they could now see houses and people. Having thus arrived, the captain-major went to his brother's ship to tell him to enter the port with the standard at his peak, which he accordingly did : they there conversed, and Vasco da Gama gave him an account of the good words he had heard from the Moor, and all that he had told him. He then bade them take the Cafres to the zambuk, and they went away much pleased with pieces of white stuff which were given them, and they brought back the sailors who were on board the zambuk.

The Cafres went to the shore, where many people collected on the beach to question them, and in a short time they returned to the ship in a canoe, with cocoanuts and two hens, which they gave to the captain-major, and begged of him some biscuit and wine to take on shore, which he ordered to be given them, and they returned ashore well satisfied. Then they spoke to the Moor, whose name was Davané, and gave him a scarlet cap and a string of small coral beads, and told him to go on shore, and assist them as foreign men who came as wanderers from a very distant country. The Moor went ashore, and Nicolas Coelho carried him in his boat, which went until he jumped into the water, and then returned to the ship. The Moor was surrounded by very many people, and so he went to the house of the Sheikh, who is the captain of the country on behalf of the King of Quiloa, and who was in this town as agent collecting the duties from the merchant ships, which are many in number, and come from many countries, with much goods of various kinds which they trade with in this town of Mozambique, and they pay large duties ; and with these goods they go along the coast, and up many rivers which they find, in which they effect much barter of silver and gold, ivory and wax ; especially in Sofala, where they carry on extensive barter of the gold which is in that country, in which these merchants trade ; and they are almost all of them Moors, and being thus traders, on account of their extensive commerce they remain like natives of the country ; and the greater number of the kings and rulers of all these countries are Moors of the sect of Mohamed.

The Moor, on speaking to the Sheikh, gave him an account of all that had happened to him with our people up to that time, and that they were making their voyage to Cambay to ship pepper and drugs. The Sheikh inquired much of him as to whether our men were Turks, because he knew that they were white men, and that they had ships of another fashion, and not like those of India. The Moor assured him that they were not Moors, and that it was asserted that they were Christians. This the Sheikh did not rely upon, and he desired to visit our people in person, and told the Moor to return to the captains and ask them if they were willing that he should come to see them : and he sent them fowls and cocoa-nuts, and figs, and a sheep.

The Moor had there a pagan, a native of the country, whom he knew from the many times that he came to Mozambique, and he used to lodge in his house, and this man had a boy who spoke very well the language of the Cafres, who are the natives of the country, and he took this boy with him to the ship to interpret. And with these delays he did not return to the ship till late, when the captains rejoiced very much on seeing him come back with refreshments, which was a proof of good faith. On speaking with him, and hearing the message of the Sheikh, they were much pleased, since the principal reason for their coming was to discover new countries, and establish good terms of peace and amity. Therefore they told the Moor that they would be very glad to see the Sheikh, because they were men who were going about as lost amongst countries which they did not know, and that they would be glad to hold friendship and peace with all peoples, and to buy and sell whatever might satisfy them ; and that the principal article which they would desire to buy was drugs, which were a merchandise which would not spoil however much it remained at sea. Upon which the Moor Davané returned next day to the Sheikh.

He, on hearing the reply of our people, was pleased, as also with the further information which the Moor related to him. In the afternoon the Sheikh came to the ship in two canoes lashed together, and upon them poles and planks, covered over with mats which gave shade : in this came ten Moors sitting down, and the Sheikh sitting on a low round stool, covered with a silk cloth, and a cushion on which he sat ; he was a dark man, well-made, and of good presence, and was dressed in a jacket of Mekkah velvet with many plaits, and a blue cloth with braid and gold thread, wrapped round him, which covered him to the knees, and drawers of white stuff down to the ankles, and the body bare; above the cloth wrapped round him was a silk sash, in which he wore a dagger mounted with silver, and in his hand a sword, also mounted with silver. On his head he wore a turban of silk stuff of many colours, with braid and fringes of gold thread, wrapped round a dark coloured skull-cap of Mekkah velvet. The Moors who came with him were dressed in the same fashion ; they were fair men, and dark men, and others swarthy, because they were sons of Cafre women of the country and white Moorish merchants who since a long time have established their commerce throughout all the countries of India, so that they have remained as natives.

The captains dressed themselves, and placed chairs on the quarter-deck, and a bench with a carpet on it for the Moors to sit upon : and when they arrived at the ship they sounded the trumpets for them, and they were much pleased to hear them. When the Sheikh entered, many of the sailors assisted him to ascend on board, and the captains received him at the entrance of the quarter-deck with great salutations. The Moorish Sheikh took the right hand of Paulo da Gama and pressed it between both of his, and raised it to his breast, which is a mark of great courtesy, and they sat down on the chairs, the Sheikh in the middle, and the Moors on the bench. The Moor Davané was standing, and with his interpreter spoke what was said. The Sheikh was looking all round, seeing things which he had never seen, and said that he was very fortunate that they had come to his port, and that he would be happy to do for them all that they required on account of the great pleasure which he felt in seeing that which he had never seen before, and as they were foreign merchants he should be very glad to know from what country they were, and what they had come in search of.

Vasco da Gama, taking off his cap and making a bow to his brother, as though he begged his leave to speak, replied that they were from another country, and servants of the greatest king of Christians that existed in the world, and they had set out in a great fleet, which his king had sent to another country to seek for merchandise, such as he would show him, and whilst proceeding on their voyage they had separated from their companions in a storm, and two years had passed that they were going about the sea as lost men, for their pilots did not know that land to which they were going for cargo. The Sheikh said : " And if you do not find that country what will you do ? " They replied that they would go about the sea until they died, because if they returned before their king without bringing him what they had come to seek, he would cut off their heads. The Sheikh told them to show him the merchandise which they were going in search of. They then showed him pepper, cinnamon, and ginger.

The Sheikh, on seeing it, laughed to his own people, and answered that they should be satisfied, since he would give them pilots who would conduct them whither they could fill their ships as much as they pleased ; but what merchandise did they bring for the purchase of what they wanted. Vasco da Gama replied that the merchandise went in the other ships, but that they had gold and silver for buying and selling. The Sheikh said that with gold and silver they would obtain what they sought all over the world : and he asked him to order the trumpets to sound, as they very much liked to hear them ; and thus he took leave of him, saying that he would at once send him the pilots who would serve him well ; upon which they separated with many courtesies and salutations.

The Moor Davanê remained on board ; then the captain-major gave him a present to carry to the Sheikh, five ells of fine scarlet cloth, and five of satin, and two scarlet caps, four sheaths of knives made in Flanders, very handsome, and a mirror ; and he also bade him beg pardon for the present not being as much as he would have desired it to have been. And he sent twenty cruzados in gold and twenty testoons in silver for the *malemos* who were the pilots, for of those coins he would give each month whatever he should direct. The Moor Davané remained amazed when he heard the things which our people said, and was filled with a great desire never to separate from our men until they should return to their own country. Then he went on shore with the present, which he gave to the Sheikh, who was much pleased with it; and he told the Sheikh that the captain-major besought him very much to send him pilots; in which matter the Sheikh showed good will and readiness, and found them and spoke with them, arranging that each of them should be paid four cruzados of gold, and should have good quarters in which to carry his provisions; on which account half the money, two cruzados and two testoons, were given at once to each of the pilots, whom the Moor brought at once to the ship with his bundle, at which the captain-major was much pleased.

The Moor then returned on shore, for they sent him to buy cows and sheep, and whatever he could find to eat. The Moor said that he would look about and bring whatever he could find, but that in this country there was nothing but maize, which they eat boiled with fish, and that the sheep came from other places outside, and that they would find them further on along the coast, and that there were no cows, but he would bring what he found: upon which he went ashore in a canoe, because the captain-major did not choose that the boat should go ashore. When the Moor was gone, the captain-major talked to the pilots who knew how to speak Arabic with a Portuguese man who had been in Africa, and could speak it well; and he asked them about many things, of which they gave a good account, and they were lodged in the forecastle in the pilot's cabin. The Moor, when on shore, despatched the business he had gone about, and the Sheikh when alone with him asked him many questions, as to how many men came in the ships, and if they were healthy or sick, and what weapons of war they had, and whether they had brought many such things as they had sent him.

The Moor told him that the men-at-arms might be about sixty men, and that many of them were sick, and that their weapons were the swords which he had seen that they wore at their belts, and they had lances ; and he had not seen their body armour, much less their merchandise, as they kept it below the decks ; but our men were well-conditioned people, and seemed to him men who would do good to those who did it to them : and as this was his opinion, he would take them to Cambay, and there would do their business and assist them in whatever they required, since he thought without any doubt that they would pay him well for his work. As to the people of the other ship, he had not been on board of her, and did not know what it contained.

The Sheikh having heard this from the Moor, then harboured treachery in his heart against our men, coveting what he might be able to take from the ships, and dissembled with the Moor, showing that he intended to do good to our people. He told the Moor to look for and take to them all that they had sent for, and that when they should be about to depart, then he on his own part would send them what could be got. Then he bade the Moor return to the ship with a message to the captain-major that he would be much pleased if he would do him the honour to consent to come on shore to amuse himself and dine with him, and if he would send the sick to get them cured, and this he begged much of him. The Moor (in whose heart the Lord was pleased to put much good faith towards our men), seeing these questions and many others which the Sheikh put to him, at once understood that he intended treachery to our people, and that if it should be that he should take the ships and kill or capture our people, he would lose the advantages which he hoped for from our men for the good service which he had determined on performing for them : and with this reflection, and because the Lord was so pleased, he settled in his heart to act with all sincerity towards our men, as if they were his own brothers.

So he went to the ship, and went apart with the captain-major alone, and gave him an account in the Arabic language, which the interpreter spoke, of all that had occurred with the Sheikh, and that according to his understanding it seemed to him that he was intending treachery ; and he told him this that no harm might happen to them. Upon this the captain-major embraced him, promising and vowing to him that he would recompense him as he deserved, besides the good which God would do him for having thus kept faith with them who were strange and foreign men ; and whilst they had done no harm to that Moor, he had wished to injure them.

Then he sent an answer to the Sheikh, consisting of many thanks, but that they could not disembark in any country, except in that one to which their King was sending them, neither could they send the sick on shore, because he wished to depart immediately ; and as the men were used to being always at sea, he was afraid that the land would do them harm, and they might die shortly after : but he would ask him to send to show him where there was water, to fetch some with the boat. The captain-major had disposed this with the design of taking the boat well armed, and of doing them all the harm in his power if he found there any one who attempted to ill-treat them ; because, if the Moor had rightly perceived any treachery on the part of the Sheikh, it would discover itself there at the watering place ; because, where they would have to take in water was on the mainland, in a place with brushwood, for Mozambique is entirely an island surrounded by sea water.

The Sheikh, on hearing the reply of the captain-major that he would not come ashore, nor send the sick, and that he wished to take in water, determined to seize his boat there, and kill his men, and to go with four Moorish ships which were in the port, and many men, and board the ships, and capture them. For this purpose he made ready secretly, and called the captains of the ships who were Moors, giving them an explanation of how he intended to capture our ships and kill all those on board, because they were Christians, enemies of the Moors, and of their prophet Mohamed. The Moors offered themselves for this with good will. The Moor Davané heard and understood all this, and came off to the ship and gave an account of the whole to the captain-major, who held a council with his brother and the pilots and masters, at which it was decided that in no possible event should they risk that a single man should be killed or wounded, on account of their great want and scarcity of men : and as they had no water, and of necessity must go and fetch it, the men should go in the boat well armed, because in the sea they had nothing to fear, and must be on their guard on shore. Then the captain-major ordered two cannons to be placed in the boat, and to make shelters for the gunwales with a small sail, which they could raise when they wished, to shelter themselves from arrows : and he sent in it Nicolas Coelho with ten sailors and twelve men with crossbows, well armed, because at this time they had not as yet got firelocks. He questioned the pilots if they knew where the watering place was, one said yes, but that they could not take in water except at high tide, which was at midnight ; at which the captain-major rejoiced, because the boat would not go by day when the Moors would see it, and would go with greater security.

Thus they carried it out; but the pilot, who, it seems, knew part of the treachery, would never conduct the boat to the watering place, and kept going up creeks and under trees, making delays, so that the tide might go down, and they might remain high and dry. The master paid great attention to the tide, because the captain-major had warned him to do so ; and when he saw that it was ebbing he returned, and the pilot then endeavoured to get them to go into other estuaries ; but our men understanding his falseness, guessed rightly the way by which they had come, and at once went back. Nicolas Coelho wished to kill the pilot, but did not venture, and thought to bring him to the captain-major that he might order him to be hung, so that the people on shore might see. But the pilot, who was taking good care of himself, when the boat came out into the bay and it was already morning, threw himself into the sea and dived, and came up again a long way from the boat, making away for the shore: our men rowed after him, shooting arrows at him, at which many people flocked to the beach with arms, discharging many arrows at the boat, and stones from slings. This was seen from the ships, and the captain-major put up a flag in the poop of the ship, at which the boat went to the ship, and they took counsel, for Vasco da Gama wanted to go at once and burn the ships since there were already many people in them.

In the council they decided not to do such a thing, not to expose any of their men, and that they could easily send them to the bottom with their artillery, but that if they did so in a new country, and in the first where they had put into port, a bad reputation would be spread abroad about them, and it would be said that they were robbers and pirates who came to deceive and rob, which would be the cause of great hindrance to what they had come to perform; for which reason it was better to dissemble and act as cowards and send to complain to the Sheikh as though they knew nothing of his treachery. This seemed the best course to all. When they wished to send the Moorish broker he did not choose to go on shore, saying that he was afraid they would kill him.

Then they made sail and went out of the port, when they saw a canoe with four Cafres and a Moor with a white cloth raised upon a pole, who called out, and the captain-major hove to, and the Moor spoke in Arabic. He said that the Sheikh was amazed at our people trying to kill his pilot, and at their going away like men who were irritated, the cause of which was not known; because if anyone had done them any injury let them send and say so, and he would do them strict justice in the matter. The captain-major ordered them to put into the canoe the property of the pilot who had fled, and he ordered one

Joan Machado, a convict, to enter the canoe, and, because he understood a little Arabic, he bade him tell the Sheikh, that he, like a good friend, and from affection, had given him two pilots to direct him, and he had ordered them to show where he could get water, and they had gone a whole night and the pilot had not pointed it out, and for that had fled to the shore and our people had tried to catch him ; and his people had come out with arms to fight : and as they were not going about to do mischief, nor to fight, but only to seek for what their king had ordered them ; and as they had not found sincerity there, in the Sheikh's country, on that account they went away without communicating with him.

With this message he sent this Joan Machado, who had been banished for ever, he and ten others ; for Vasco da Gama on leaving the kingdom, had asked the king to give him a few prisoners who were condemned to death, in order to adventure them, or leave them in desolate countries, where, if they lived, they might be of great advantage when he returned and found them again. This seemed good to the king and he sent him ten men who were condemned to death, and he had them as banished to desolate countries. One of these was this Joan Machado, whom he sent thus in the canoe, with the design of leaving him in the country, because if he lived when Portuguese returned there they might learn from him the affairs of the country and of the people. While the ship was lying to it drifted, and struck upon some shoals from which it got off with much difficulty. These banks were afterwards named the Banks of St. Raphael, from Vasco da Gama's ship. He was much irritated at being unable to pay off the Sheikh, which it was in his power to do, and he gave orders to put the pilot in irons to prevent his escaping.

MAGELLAN

The story of Magellan's circumnavigation is told by a young Italian, Francisco Antonio Pigafetta, who set out, as he says, from St. Luca on the 20th September, 1519. *The earlier part of his narrative, describing the preparations for the voyage, is omitted, as is the portion which describes the return of the* Victoria *under Juan Sebastian del Cano after Magellan's death in the Philippines.*

Pigafetta's narrative first appeared in a French abridgment in 1525; *the original Italian version did not appear until* 1536. *If the reader will follow this story in conjunction with the Agnese map reproduced in the text at pages* 208–209, *with the whole route of the circumnavigation as traced, he will have a fairly accurate idea of the whole course of this momentous voyage.*

The present translation is taken from the Hakluyt Society's The First Voyage Round the World, *edited by Lord Stanley of Alderley*, 1574.

MAGELLAN

TUESDAY, the 20th September of the said year (1519), we set sail from St. Lucar, making the course of the south-west otherwise named Labeiche; and on the twenty-sixth of the said month we arrived at an island of great Canaria, named Teneriphe, which is in twenty-eight degrees latitude; there we remained three days and a half to take in provisions and other things which were wanted. After that we set sail thence and came to a port named Monterose, where we sojourned two days to supply ourselves with pitch, which is a thing necessary for ships. It is to be known that among the other isles which are at the said great Canaria, there is one, where not a drop of water is to be found proceeding from a fountain or a river, only once a day at the hour of midday, there descends a cloud from the sky which envelops a large tree which is in this island, and it falls upon the leaves of the tree, and a great abundance of water distils from these leaves, so that at the foot of the tree there is so large a quantity of water that it seems as if there was an ever-running fountain. The men who inhabit this place are satisfied with this water; also the animals, both domestic and wild, drink of it.

Monday, the third of October of the said year, at the hour of midnight, we set sail, making the course auster, which the levantine mariners call Siroc, entering into the ocean sea. We passed the Cape Verd and the neighbouring islands in fourteen-and-a-half degrees, and we navigated for several days by the coast of Guinea or Ethiopia; where there is a mountain called Sierra Leona, which is in eight degrees latitude according to the art and science of scomography and astrology. Sometimes we had the wind contrary and at other times sufficiently good, and rains without wind. In this manner we navigated with rain for the space of sixty days until the equinoctial line, which was a thing very strange and unaccustomed to be seen, according to the saying of some old men and those who had navigated here several times. Nevertheless, before reaching this equinoctial line we had in fourteen degrees a variety of weather and bad winds, as much on account of squalls as for the head winds and currents which came in such a manner that we could no longer advance. In order that our ships might not perish nor broach to (as it often happens when the squalls come together), we struck our sails, and in that manner we went about the sea hither and thither until the fair weather came. During the calm there came large fishes near the ships which they called *Tiburoni* (sharks), which have teeth of a terrible kind, and eat people when they find them in the sea either alive or dead. These fishes are caught with a device which the mariners call hamc, which is a hook of iron. Of these, some were caught by our men. However, they are worth nothing to eat when they are large ; and even the small ones are worth but little. During these storms the body of St. Anselme appeared to us several times ; amongst others, one night that it was very dark on account of the bad weather, the said saint appeared in the form of a fire lighted at the summit of the mainmast, and remained there near two hours and a half, which comforted us greatly, for we were in tears, only expecting the hour of perishing ; and when that holy light was going away from us it gave out so great a brilliancy in the eyes of each, that we were near a quarter-of-an-hour like people blinded, and calling out for mercy. For without any doubt nobody hoped to escape from that storm. It is to be noted that all and as many times as that light which represents the said St. Anselme shows itself and descends upon a vessel which is in a storm at sea, that vessel never is lost. Immediately that this light had departed the sea grew calmer, and then we saw divers sorts of birds, amongst others there were some which had no fundament. There is also another kind of bird of such a nature that when the female wishes to lay her eggs she goes and lays them on the back of the male, and there it is that the eggs are hatched. This last kind have no feet and are always in the sea. There is another kind of bird which only lives on the droppings of the other birds, this is a true thing, and they are named Cagaselo, for I have seen them follow the other birds until they had done what nature ordered them to do; and after it has eat this dirty diet it does not follow any other bird until hunger returns to it; it always does the same thing. There are also fish which fly, and we saw a great quantity of them together, so many that it seemed that it was an island in the sea.

After that we had passed the equinoctial line, towards the south, we lost the star of the tramontana, and we navigated between the south and Garbin, which is the collateral [wind or point] between south and west; and we crossed as far as a country named Verzin, which is in twenty-four degrees and a half of the antarctic sky. This country is from the cape St. Augustine, which is in eight degrees in the antarctic sky. At this place we had refreshments of victuals, like fowls and meat of calves, also a variety of fruits, called battate, pigne (pine-apples), sweet, of singular goodness, and many other things, which I have omitted mentioning, not to be too long. The people of the said place gave, in order to have a knife, or a hook for catching fish, five or six fowls, and for a comb they gave two geese, and for a small mirror, or a pair of scissors, they gave so much fish that ten men could have eaten of it. And for a bell (or hawk's-bell) they gave a full basket of the fruit named battate; this has the taste of a chestnut, and is of the length of a shuttle. For a king of cards, of that kind which they used to play with in Italy, they gave me five fowls, and thought they had cheated me. We entered into this port the day of Saint Lucy [13th December], before Christmas, on which day we had the sun on the zenith, which is a term of astrology. This zenith is a point in the sky, according to astrologers, and only in imagination, and it answers to over our head in a straight line, as may be seen by the treatise of the sphere, and by Aristotle, in the first book, *De Cœlo et Mondo*. On the day that we had the sun in the zenith we felt greater heat, as much as when we were on the equinoctial line.

The said country of Verzin is very abundant in all good things, and is larger than France, Spain, and Italy together. It is one of the countries which the King of Portugal has conquered [acquired]. Its inhabitants are not Christians, and adore nothing, but live according to the usage of nature, rather bestially than otherwise. Some of these people live a hundred, or a hundred and twenty, or a hundred and forty years, and more ; they go naked, both men and women. Their dwellings are houses that are rather long, and which they call " boy " ; they sleep upon cotton nets, which they call, in their language, " amache." These nets are fastened to large timbers from one end of their house to the other. They make the fire to warm themselves right under their bed. It is to be known that in each of these houses, which they call " boy," there dwells a family of a hundred persons, who make a great noise. In this place they have boats, which are made of a tree, all in one piece, which they call " canoo." These are not made with iron instruments, for they have not got any, but with stones, like pebbles, and with these they plane and dig out these boats. Into these thirty or forty men enter, and their oars are made like iron shovels : and those who row these oars are black people, quite naked and shaven, and look like enemies of hell. The men and women of this said place are well made in their bodies. They eat the flesh of their enemies, not as good meat, but because they have adopted this custom. Now this custom arose as follows : an old woman of this place of Verzin had an only son, who was killed by his enemies, and, some days afterwards, the friends of this woman captured one of the said enemies who had put her son to death, and brought him to where she was. Immediately the said old woman, seeing the man who was captured, and recollecting the death of her child, rushed upon him like a mad dog, and bit him on the shoulder. However, this man who had been taken prisoner found means to run away, and told how they had wished to eat him, showing the bite which the said old woman had made in his shoulder. After that those who were caught on one side or other were eaten. Through that arose this custom in this place of eating the enemies of each other. But they do not eat up the whole body of the man whom they take prisoner ; they eat him bit by bit, and for fear that he should be spoiled, they cut him up into pieces, which they set to dry in the chimney, and every day they cut a small piece, and eat it with their ordinary victuals in memory of their enemies. I was assured that this custom was true by a pilot, named John Carvagio, who was in our company, and had remained four years in this place ; it is also to be observed that the inhabitants of this place, both men and women, are accustomed to paint themselves with fire, all over the body, and also the face. The men are shaven, and wear no beard, because they pluck it out themselves, and for all clothing they wear a circle surrounded with the largest feathers of parrots, and they only cover their posterior parts, which is a cause of laughter and mockery. The people of this place, almost all, excepting women and children, have three holes in the lower lip, and carry, hanging in them, small round stones, about a finger in length. These kind of people, both men and women, are not very black, but rather brown, and they openly show their shame, and have no hair on the whole of their bodies. The king of this country is called Cacich, and there are here an infinite number of parrots, of which they give eight or ten for a looking-glass ; there are also some little cat-monkeys having almost the appearance of a lion ; they are yellow, and handsome, and agreeable to look at. The people of this place make bread, which is of a round shape, and they take the marrow of certain trees which are there, between the bark and the tree, but it is not at all good, and resembles fresh cheese. There are also some pigs which have their navel on the back, and large birds which have their beak like a spoon, and they have no tongue.

For a hatchet or for a knife they used to give us one or two of their daughters as slaves, but their wives they would not give up for anything in the world. According to what they say the women of this place never render duty to their husbands by day, but only at night ; they attend to business out of doors, and carry all that they require for their husband's victuals inside small baskets on their heads, or fastened to their heads. Their husbands go with them, and carry a bow of vergin, or of black palm, with a handful of arrows of cane. They do this because they are very jealous of their wives. These carry their children fastened to their neck, and they are inside a thing made of cotton in the manner of a net. I omit relating many other strange things, not to be too prolix ; however, I will not forget to say that mass was said twice on shore, where there were many people of the said country, who remained on their knees, and their hands joined in great reverence, during the mass, so that it was a pleasure and a subject of compassion to see them. In a short time they built a house for us, as they imagined that we should remain a long time with them, and, at our departure thence, they gave us a large quantity of verzin. It is a colour which proceeds from the trees which are in this country, and they are in such quantity that the country is called from it Verzin.

It is to be known that it happened that it had not rained for two months before we came there, and the day that we arrived it began to rain, on which account the people of the said place said that we came from heaven, and had brought the rain with us, which was great simplicity, and these people were easily converted to the Christian faith. Besides the above-mentioned things which were rather simple, the people of this country showed us another, very simple ; for they imagined that the small ships' boats were the children of the ships, and that the said ships brought them forth when the boats were hoisted out to send the men hither and thither ; and when the boats were alongside the ship they thought that the ships were giving them suck.

A beautiful young girl came one day inside the ship of our captain, where I was, and did not come except to seek for her luck : however, she directed her looks to the cabin of the master, and saw a nail of a finger's length, and went and took it as something valuable and new, and hid it in her hair, for otherwise she would not have been able to conceal it, because she was naked, and, bending forwards, she went away ; and the captain and I saw this mystery.

We remained thirteen days in this country of Verzin, and, departing from it and following our course, we went as far as thirty-four degrees and a third towards the Antarctic pole ; there we found, near a river, men whom they call " cannibals," who eat human flesh, and one of these men, great as a giant, came to the captain's ship to ascertain and ask if the others might come. This man had a voice like a bull, and whilst this man was at the ship his companions carried off all their goods which they had to a castle further off, from fear of us. Seeing that, we landed a hundred men from the ships, and went after them to try and catch some others ; however they gained in running away. This kind of people did more with one step than we could do at a bound. In this same river there were seven little islands, and in the largest of them precious stones are found. This place was formerly called the Cape of St. Mary, and it was thought there that from thence there was a passage to the Sea of Sur ; that is to say, the South Sea. And it is not found that any ship has ever discovered anything more, having passed beyond the said cape. And now it is no longer a cape, but it is a river which has a mouth seventeen leagues in width, by which it enters into the sea. In past time, in this river, these great men named Canibali ate a Spanish captain, named John de Sola, and sixty men who had gone to discover land, as we were doing, and trusted too much to them.

Afterwards following the same course towards the Antarctic pole, going along the land, we found two islands full of geese and goslings, and sea wolves, of which geese the large number could not be reckoned ; for we loaded all the five ships with them in an hour. These geese are black, and have their feathers all over the body of the same size and shape, and they do not fly, and live upon fish ; and they were so fat that they did not pluck them, but skinned them. They have beaks like that of a crow. The sea wolves of these two islands are of many colours, and of the size and thickness of a calf, and have a head like that of a calf, and the ears small and round. They have large teeth, and have no legs, but feet joining close on to the body, which resemble a human hand ; they have small nails to their feet, and skin between the fingers like geese. If these animals could run they would be very bad and cruel, but they do not stir from the water, and swim and live upon fish. In this place we endured a great storm, and thought we should have been lost, but the three holy bodies, that is to say, St. Anselmo, St. Nicolas, and Sta. Clara, appeared to us, and immediately the storm ceased.

Departing thence as far as forty-nine degrees and a half in the Antarctic heavens (as we were in the winter), we entered into a port to pass the winter, and remained there two whole months without ever seeing anybody. However, one day, without anyone expecting it, we saw a giant, who was on the shore of the sea, quite naked, and was dancing and leaping, and singing, and whilst singing he put the sand and dust on his head. Our captain sent one of his men towards him, whom he charged to sing and leap like the other to reassure him, and show him friendship. This he did, and immediately the sailor led this giant to a little island where the captain was waiting for him ; and when he was before us he began to be astonished, and to be afraid, and he raised one finger on high, thinking that we came from heaven. He was so tall that the tallest of us only came up to his waist ; however he was well built. He had a large face, painted red all round, and his eyes also were painted yellow around them, and he had two hearts painted on his cheeks ; he had but little hair on his head, and it was painted white. When he was brought before the captain he was clothed with the skin of a certain beast, which skin was very skilfully sewed. This beast has its head and ears of the size of a mule, and the neck and body of the fashion of a camel, the legs of a deer, and the tail like that of a horse, and its neigh like a horse. There is a great quantity of these animals in this same place. This giant had his feet covered with the skin of this animal in the form of shoes, and he carried in his hand a short and thick bow, with a thick cord made of the gut of the said beast, with a bundle of cane arrows, which were not very long, and were feathered like ours, but they had no iron at the end, though they had at the end some small white and black cut stones, and these arrows were like those which the Turks use. The captain caused food and drink to be given to this giant, then they showed him some things, amongst others, a steel mirror. When the giant saw his likeness in it, he was greatly terrified, leaping backwards, and made three or four of our men fall down.

After that the captain gave him two bells, a mirror, a comb, and a chaplet of beads, and sent him back on shore, having him accompanied by four armed men. One of the companions of this giant, who would never come to the ship on seeing the other coming back with our people, came forward and ran to where the other giants dwelled. These came one after the other all naked, and began to leap and sing, raising one finger to heaven, and showing to our people a certain white powder made of the roots of herbs, which they kept in earthen pots, and they made signs that they lived on that, and that they had nothing else to eat than this powder. Therefore our people made them signs to come to the ship and that they would help them to carry their bundles. Then these men came, who carried only their bows in their hands ; but their wives came after them laden like donkeys, and carried their goods. These women are not as tall as the men, but they are very sufficiently large. When we saw them we were all amazed and astonished, for they had the breasts half an ell long, and had their faces painted, and were dressed like the men. But they wore a small skin before them to cover themselves. They brought with them four of those little beasts of which they make their clothing, and they led them with a cord in the manner of dogs coupled together. When these people wish to catch these animals with which they clothe themselves, they fasten one of the young ones to a bush, and afterwards the large ones come to play with the little one, and the giants are hid behind some hedge, and by shooting their arrows they kill the large ones. Our men brought eighteen of these giants, both men and women, whom they placed in two divisions, half on one side of the port, and the other half at the other, to hunt the said animals. Six days after, our people on going to cut wood, saw another giant, with his face painted and clothed like the above-mentioned, he had in his hand a bow and arrows, and approaching our people he made some touches on his head and then on his body, and afterwards did the same to our people. And this being done he raised both his hands to heaven. When the captain-general knew all this, he sent to fetch him with his ship's boat, and brought him to one of the little islands which are in the port, where the ships were. In this island the captain had caused a house to be made for putting some of the ships' things in whilst he remained there. This giant was of a still better disposition than the others, and was a gracious and amiable person, who liked to dance and leap. When he leapt he caused the earth to sink in a palm depth at the place where his feet touched. He was a long time with us, and at the end we baptised him, and gave him the name of John. This giant pronounced the name of Jesus, the Pater noster, Ave Maria, and his name as clearly as we did : but he had a terribly strong and loud voice. The captain gave him a shirt and a tunic of cloth, and seaman's breeches, a cap, a comb, some bells, and other things, and sent him back to where he had come from. He went away very joyous and satisfied. The next day this giant returned, and brought one of those large animals before mentioned, for which the captain gave him some other things, so that he should bring more. But afterwards he did not return, and it is to be presumed that the other giants killed him because he had come to us.

Fifteen days later we saw four other giants, who carried no arrows, for they had hid them in the bushes, as two of them showed us, for we took them all four, and each of them was painted in a different way. The captain retained the two younger ones to take them to Spain on his return ; but it was done by gentle and cunning means, for otherwise they would have done a hurt to some of our men. The manner in which he retained them was that he gave them many knives, forks, mirrors, bells, and glass, and they held all these things in their hands. Then the captain had some irons brought, such as are put on the feet of malefactors : these giants took pleasure in seeing the irons, but they did not know where to put them, and it grieved them that they could not take them with their hands, because they were hindered by the other things which they held in them. The other two giants were there, and were desirous of helping the other two, but the captain would not let them, and made a sign to the two whom he wished to detain that they would put those irons on their feet, and then they would go away : at this they made a sign with their heads that they were content. Immediately the captain had the irons put on the feet of both of them, and when they saw that they were striking with a hammer on the bolt which crosses the said irons to rivet them, and prevent them from being opened, these giants were afraid, but the captain made them a sign not to doubt of anything. Nevertheless when they saw the trick which had been played them, they began to be enraged, and to foam like bulls, crying out very loud Setebos, that is to say, the great devil, that he should help them. The hands of the other two giants were bound, but it was with great difficulty ; then the captain sent them back on shore, with nine of his men to conduct them, and to bring the wife of one of those who had remained in irons, because he regretted her greatly, as we saw by signs. But in going away one of those two who were sent away, untied his hands and escaped, running with such lightness that our men lost sight of him, and he went away where his companions were staying; but he found nobody of those that he had left with the women because they had gone to hunt. However he went to look for them, and found them, and related to them all that had been done to them. The other giant whose hands were tied struggled as much as he could to unfasten himself, and to prevent his doing so, one of our men struck him, and hurt him on the head, at which he got very angry; however he led our people there where their wives were. Then John Cavagio, the pilot who was the chief conductor of these two giants, would not bring away the wife of one of the giants who had remained in irons on that evening, but was of opinion that they should sleep there, because it was almost night. During this time the one of the giants who had untied his hands came back from where he had been, with another giant, and they seeing their companion wounded on the head, said nothing at that moment, but next morning they spoke in their language to the women, and immediately all ran away together, and the smallest ran faster than the biggest, and they left all their chattels. Two of these giants being rather a long way off shot arrows at our men, and fighting thus, one of the giants pierced with an arrow the thigh of one of our men, of which he died immediately. Then seeing that he was dead, all ran away. Our men had cross-bows and guns, but they never could hit one of these giants, because they did not stand still in one place, but leaped hither and thither. After that, our men buried the man who had been killed, and set fire to the place where those giants had left their chattels. Certainly these giants run faster than a horse, and they are very jealous of their wives.

When these giants have a stomach-ache, instead of taking medicine they put down their throats an arrow about two feet long; then they vomit a green bile mixed with blood: and the reason why they throw up this green matter is because they sometimes eat thistles. When they have head-aches they make a cut across the forehead, and also on the arms and legs, to draw blood from several parts of their bodies. One of the two we had taken, and who was in our ship, said that the blood did not choose to remain in the place and spot of the body where pain was felt. These people have their hair cut short and clipped in the manner of monks with a tonsure: they wear a cord of cotton round their head, to this they hang their arrows when they go a-hunting. . . .

When one of them dies, ten or twelve devils appear and dance all round the dead man. It seems that these are painted, and one of these enemies is taller than the others, and makes a greater noise, and more mirth than the others: that is whence these people have taken the custom of painting their faces and bodies, as has been said. The greatest of these devils is called in their language Setebos, and the others Cheleule. Besides the above-mentioned things, this one who was in the ship with us, told us by signs that he had seen devils with two horns on their heads, and long hair down to their feet, and who threw out fire from their mouths and rumps. The captain named this kind of people Pataghom, who have no houses, but have huts made of the skins of the animals with which they clothe themselves, and go hither and thither with these huts of theirs, as the gypsies do; they live on raw meat, and eat a certain sweet root, which they call Capac. These two giants that we had in the ship ate a large basketful of biscuit, and rats without skinning them, and they drank half a bucket of water at each time.

We remained in this port, which was called the port of St. Julian, about five months, during which there happened to us many strange things, of which I will tell a part. One was, that immediately that we entered into this port, the masters of the other four ships plotted treason against the captain-general, in order to put him to death. These were thus named : John of Carthagine, conductor of the fleet ; the treasurer, Loys de Mendoza ; the conductor, Anthony Cocha ; and Gaspar de Casada. However, the treason was discovered, for which the treasurer was killed with stabs of a dagger, and then quartered. This Gaspar de Casada had his head cut off, and afterwards was cut into quarters ; and the conductor having a few days later attempted another treason, was banished with a priest, and was put in that country called Pattagonia. The captain-general would not put this conductor to death, because the Emperor Charles had made him captain of one of the ships. One of our ships, named St. James, was lost in going to discover the coast ; all the men, however, were saved by a miracle, for they were hardly wet at all. Two men of these, who were saved, came to us and told us all that had passed and happened, on which the captain at once sent some men with sacks full of biscuit for two months. So, each day we found something of the ship of the other men who had escaped from the ship which was lost ; and the place where these men were was twenty-five leagues from us, and the road bad and full of thorns, and it required four days to go there, and no water to drink was to be found on the road, but only ice, and of that little. In this port of St. Julian there were a great quantity of long capres, called Missiglione ; these had pearls in the midst. In this place they found incense, and ostriches, foxes, sparrows, and rabbits a good deal smaller than ours. We set up at the top of the highest mountain which was there a very large cross, as a sign that this country belonged to the King of Spain ; and we gave to this mountain the name of Mount of Christ.

Departing thence, we found in fifty-one degrees less one-third (50° 40′ S.), in the Antarctic, a river of fresh water, which was near causing us to be lost, from the great winds which it sent out ; but God, of his favour, aided us. We were about two months in this river, as it supplied fresh water and a kind of fish an ell long, and very scaly, which is good to eat. Before going away, the captain chose that all should confess and receive the body of our Lord like good Christians.

. . . .

After going and taking the course to the fifty-second degree of the said Antarctic sky, on the day of the Eleven Thousand Virgins [October 21], we found, by a miracle, a strait which we called the Cape of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, this strait is a hundred and ten leagues long, which are four hundred and forty miles, and almost as wide as less than half a league, and it issues in another sea, which is called the peaceful sea ; it is surrounded by very great and high mountains covered with snow. In this place it was not possible to anchor with the anchors, because no bottom was found, on which account they were forced to put the moorings of twenty-five or thirty fathoms length on shore. This strait was a round place surrounded by mountains, as I have said, and the greater number of the sailors thought that there was no place by which to go out thence to enter into the peaceful sea. But the captain-general said that there was another strait for going out, and said that he knew it well, because he had seen it by a marine chart of the King of Portugal, which map had been made by a great pilot and mariner named Martin of Bohemia. The captain sent on before two of his ships, one named *St. Anthony* and the other the *Conception*, to seek for and discover the outlet of this strait, which was called the Cape de la Baya. And we, with the other two ships, that is to say, the flagship named *Trinitate*, and the other the *Victory*, remained waiting for them within the Bay, where in the night we had a great storm, which lasted till the next day at midday, and during which we were forced to weigh the anchors and let the ships go hither and thither about the bay. The other two ships met with such a head wind that they could not weather a cape which the bay made almost at its extremity ; wishing to come to us, they were near being driven to beach the ships. But, on approaching the extremity of the bay, and whilst expecting to be lost, they saw a small mouth, which did not resemble a mouth but a corner, and (like people giving up hope) they threw themselves into it, so that by force they discovered the strait. Seeing that it was not a corner, but a strait of land, they went further on and found a bay, then going still further they found another strait and another bay larger than the first two, at which, being very joyous, they suddenly returned backwards to tell it to the captain-general. Amongst us we thought that they had perished : first, because of the great storm ; next, because two days had passed that we had not seen them. And being thus in doubt we saw the two ships under all sail, with ensigns spread, come toward us : these, when near us, suddenly discharged much artillery, at which we, very joyous, saluted them with artillery and shouts. Afterwards, all together, thanking God and the Virgin Mary, we went to seek further on.

After having entered inside this strait we found that there were two mouths, of which one trended to the Sirocco (S.E.), and the other to the Garbin (S.W.). On that account the captain again sent the two ships, *St. Anthony* and *Conception*, to see if the mouth which was towards Sirocco had an outlet beyond into the said peaceful sea. One of these two ships, named *St. Anthony*, would not wait for the other ship, because those who were inside wished to return to Spain ; this they did, and the principal reason was on account of the pilot of the said ship being previously discontented with the said captain-general, because that before this armament was made, this pilot had gone to the Emperor to talk about having some ships to discover countries. But, on account of the arrival of the captain-general, the Emperor did not give them to this pilot, on account of which he agreed with some Spaniards, and the following night they took prisoner the captain of their ship, who was a brother of the captain-general, and who was named Alvar de Meschite ; they wounded him, and put him in irons. So they carried him off to Spain. And in this ship, which went away and returned, was one of the two above-mentioned giants whom we had taken, and when he felt the heat he died. The other ship, named the *Conception*, not being able to follow that one, was always waiting for it, and fluttered hither and thither. But it lost its time, for the other took the road by night for returning. When this happened, at night the ship of the captain and the other ship went together to discover the other mouth to Garbin (S.W.), where, on always holding on our course, we found the same strait. But at the end we arrived at a river which we named the River of Sardines, because we found a great quantity of them. So we remained there four days to wait for the other two ships. A short time after we sent a boat well supplied with men and provisions to discover the cape of the other sea : these remained three days in going and coming. They told us that they had found the cape, and the sea great and wide. At the joy which the captain-general had at this he began to cry, and he gave the name of Cape of Desire to this cape, as a thing which had been much desired for a long time. Having done that we turned back to find the two ships which were at the other side, but we only found the *Conception*, of which ship we asked what had become of her companion. To this the captain of the said ship, named John Serrano (who was pilot of the first ship which was lost, as has been related), replied that he knew nothing of her, and that he had never seen her since she entered the mouth. However, we sought for her through all the strait, as far as the said mouth, by which she had taken her course to return. Besides that, the captain-general sent back the ship named the *Victory* as far as the entrance of the strait to see if the ship was there, and he told the people of this ship that if they did not find the ship they were looking for, they were to place an ensign on the summit of a small hill, with a letter inside a pot placed in the ground near the ensign, so that if the ship should by chance return, it might see that ensign, and also find the letter which would give information of the course which the captain was holding. This manner of acting had been ordained by the captain from the commencement, in order to effect the junction of any ship which might be separated from the others. So the people of the said ship did what the captain had commanded them, and more, for they set two ensigns with letters ; one of the ensigns was placed on a small hill at the first bay, the other on an islet in the third bay, where there were many sea wolves and large birds. The captain-general waited for them with the other ship near the river named Isles : and he caused a cross to be set upon a small island in front of that river, which was between high mountains covered with snow. This river comes and falls into the sea near the other river of the Sardines.

If we had not found this strait the captain-general had made up his mind to go as far as seventy-five degrees towards the antarctic pole ; where at that height in the summer time there is no night, or very little : in a similar manner in the winter there is no daylight, or very little, and so that every one may believe this, when we were in this strait the night lasted only three hours, and this was in the month of October.

The land of this strait on the left hand side looked towards the Sirocco wind, which is the wind collateral to the Levant and South ; we called this strait Pathagonico. In it we found at every half league a good port and place for anchoring, good waters, wood all of cedar, and fish like sardines, missiglioni, and a very sweet herb named appio (celery). There is also some of the same kind which is bitter. This herb grows near the springs, and from not finding anything else we ate of it for several days. I think that there is not in the world a more beautiful country, or better strait than this one. In this ocean sea one sees a very amusing chase of fish, which are of three sorts, of an ell or more in length, and they call these fish Dorades, Albacores, and Bonitos ; these follow and pursue another sort of fish which flies, which they call Colondriny, which are a foot long or more, and are very good to eat. When these three sorts of fish find in the water any of these flying fish, immediately they make them come out of the water, and they fly more than a cross-bow shot, as long as their wings are wet; and whilst these fishes fly the other three run after them under the water, seeing the shadow of those that fly: and the moment they fall into the water they are seized upon and eaten by the others which pursue them, which is a thing marvellous and agreeable to see.

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Wednesday, the 28th of November, 1520, we came forth out of the said strait, and entered into the Pacific sea, where we remained three months and twenty days without taking in provisions or other refreshments, and we only ate old biscuit reduced to powder, and full of grubs, and stinking from the dirt which the rats had made on it when eating the good biscuit, and we drank water that was yellow and stinking. We also ate the ox hides which were under the main-yard, so that the yard should not break the rigging: they were very hard on account of the sun, rain, and wind, and we left them for four or five days in the sea, and then we put them a little on the embers, and so ate them; also the sawdust of wood, and rats which cost half-a-crown each, moreover enough of them were not to be got. Besides the above-named evils, this misfortune which I will mention was the worst, it was that the upper and lower gums of most of our men grew so much that they could not eat, and in this way so many suffered, that nineteen died, and the other giant, and an Indian from the country of Verzin. Besides those who died, twenty-five or thirty fell ill of divers sicknesses, both in the arms and legs, and other places, in such manner that very few remained healthy. However, thanks be to the Lord, I had no sickness. During those three months and twenty days we went in an open sea, while we ran fully four thousand leagues in the Pacific sea. This was well named Pacific, for during this same time we met with no storm, and saw no land except two small uninhabited islands, in which we found only birds and trees. We named them the Unfortunate Islands ; they are two hundred leagues apart from one another, and there is no place to anchor, as there is no bottom. There we saw many sharks, which are a kind of large fish which they call Tiburoni. The first isle is in fifteen degrees of austral latitude, and the other island is in nine degrees. With the said wind we ran each day fifty or sixty leagues, or more ; now with the wind astern, sometimes on a wind or otherwise. And if our Lord and his Mother had not aided us in giving us good weather to refresh ourselves with provisions and other things, we should all have died of hunger in this very vast sea, and I think that never man will undertake to perform such a voyage.

When we had gone out of this strait, if we had always navigated to the west we should have gone without finding any land except the Cape of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, which is the eastern head of the strait in the ocean sea, with the Cape of Desire at the west in the Pacific sea. These two capes are exactly in fifty-two degrees of latitude of the antarctic pole.

The antarctic pole is not so covered with stars as the arctic, for there are to be seen there many small stars congregated together, which are like to two clouds a little separated from one another, and a little dimmed, in the midst of which are two stars, not very large, nor very brilliant, and they move but little : these two stars are the antarctic pole. Our compass needle still pointed a little to its arctic pole ; nevertheless it had not as much power as on its own side and region. Yet when we were in the open sea, the captain-general asked of all the pilots, whilst still going under sail, in what direction they were navigating and pointing the charts. They all replied, by the course he had given, punctually [pricked in] ; then he answered, that they were pointing falsely (which was so), and that it was fitting to arrange the needle of navigation, because it did not receive so much force as in its own quarter. When we were in the middle of this open sea we saw a cross of five stars, very bright, straight, in the west, and they are straight one with another.

During this time of two months and twelve days we navigated between west and north-west (maestral), and a quarter west of north-west, and also north-west, until we came to the equinoctial line, which was at [a point] one hundred and twenty-two degrees distant from the line of repartition. This line of delimitation is thirty degrees distant from the meridian, and the meridian is three degrees distant from the Cape Verd towards the east. In going by this course we passed near two very rich islands ; one is in twenty degrees latitude in the antarctic pole, and is called Cipanghu ; the other, in fifteen degrees of the same pole, is named Sumbdit Pradit. After we had passed the equinoctial line we navigated between west, and north-west and a quarter west, by north-west. Afterwards we made two hundred leagues to westwards, then changed the course to a quarter of south-west, until in thirteen degrees north latitude, in order to approach the land of Cape Gaticara, which cape (under correction of those who have made cosmography), (for they have never seen it), is not placed where they think, but is towards the north, in twelve degrees or thereabouts.

After having navigated sixty leagues by the said course in twelve degrees latitude, and a hundred and forty-six of longitude, on Wednesday, the 6th of March, we discovered a small island in the north-west direction, and two others lying to the south-west. One of these islands was larger and higher than the other two. The captain-general wished to touch at the largest of these three islands to get refreshments of provisions ; but it was not possible because the people of these islands entered into the ships and robbed us, in such a way that it was impossible to preserve oneself from them. Whilst we were striking and lowering the sails to go ashore, they stole away with much address and diligence the small boat called the skiff, which was made fast to the poop of the captain's ship, at which he was much irritated, and went on shore with forty armed men, burned forty or fifty houses, with several small boats, and killed seven men of the island; they recovered their skiff. After this we set sail suddenly, following the same course. Before we went ashore some of our sick men begged us that if we killed man or woman, that we should bring them their entrails, as they would see themselves suddenly cured.

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It must be known that when we wounded any of this kind of people with our arrows, which entered inside their bodies, they looked at the arrow, and then drew it forth with much astonishment, and immediately afterwards they died. Immediately after we sailed from that island, following our course, and those people seeing that we were going away followed us for a league, with a hundred small boats, or more, and they approached our ships, showing to us fish, and feigning to give it to us. But they threw stones at us, and then ran away, and in their flight they passed with their little boats between the boat which is towed at the poop and the ship going under full sail; but they did this so quickly, and with such skill that it was a wonder. And we saw some of these women, who cried out and tore their hair, and I believe that it was for the love of those whom we had killed.

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These people live in liberty and according to their will, for they have no lord or superior; they go quite naked, and some of them wear beards, and have their hair down to the waist. They wear small hats, after the fashion of the Albanians; these hats are made of palm leaves. The people are as tall as us, and well made: they adore nothing, and when they are born they are white, later they become brown, and have their teeth black and red. The women also go naked, except that they cover their nature with a thin bark, pliable like paper, which grows between the tree and the bark of the palm. They are beautiful and delicate, and whiter than the men, and have their hair loose and flowing, very black and long, down to the earth. They do not go to work in the fields, nor stir from their houses, making cloth and baskets of palm leaves. Their provisions are certain fruits named Cochi, Battate; there are birds, figs a palm long, sweet canes, and flying fish. The women anoint their bodies and their hair with oil of cocho and giongioli (sesame). Their houses are constructed of wood, covered with planks, with fig leaves, which are two ells in length : they have only one floor : their rooms and beds are furnished with mats, which we call matting, which are made of palm leaves, and are very beautiful, and they lie down on palm straw, which is soft and fine. These people have no arms, but use sticks, which have a fish bone at the end. They are poor, but ingenious, and great thieves, and for the sake of that we called these three islands the Ladrone Islands. The pastime of the men and the women of this place, and their diversion, is to go with their little boats to catch those fish which fly, with hooks made of fish bones. The pattern of their small boats is painted here-after, they are like the fuseleres, but narrower. Some of them black and white, and others red. On the opposite side to the sail, they have a large piece of wood, pointed above, with poles across, which are in the water, in order to go more securely under sail : their sails are of palm leaves, sewed together, and of the shape of a lateen sail, fore and aft. They have certain shovels like hearth shovels, and there is no difference between the poop and the prow in these boats, and they are like dolphins bounding from wave to wave. These thieves thought, according to the signs they made, that there were no other men in the world besides them.

Saturday, the 16th of March, 1521, we arrived at daybreak in sight of a high island, three hundred leagues distant from the before-mentioned Thieves' island. This isle is named Zamal. The next day the captain-general wished to land at another uninhabited island near the first, to be in greater security and to take water, also to repose there a few days. He set up there two tents on shore for the sick, and had a sow killed for them.

Monday, the 18th of March, after dinner, we saw a boat come towards us with nine men in it : upon which the captain-general ordered that no one should move or speak without his permission. When these people had come into this island towards us, immediately the principal one amongst them went towards the captain-general with demonstrations of being very joyous at our arrival. Five of the most showy of them remained with us, the others who remained with the boat went to call some men who were fishing, and afterwards all of them came together. The captain seeing that these people were reasonable, ordered food and drink to be given them, and he gave them some red caps, looking-glasses, combs, bells, ivory, and other things. When these people saw the politeness of the captain, they presented some fish, and a vessel of palm wine, which they call in their language Uraca ; figs more than a foot long, and others smaller and of a better savour, and two cochos. At that time they had nothing to give him, and they made signs to us with their hands that in four days they would bring us Umai, which is rice, cocos, and many other victuals.

To explain the kind of fruits above-named it must be known that the one which they call cochi, is the fruit which the palm trees bear. And as we have bread, wine, oil, and vinegar, proceeding from different kinds, so these people have those things proceeding from these palm trees only. It must be said that wine proceeds from the said palm trees in the following manner. They make a hole at the summit of the tree as far as its heart, which is named palmito, from which a liquor comes out in drops down the tree, like white must, which is sweet, but with somewhat of bitter. They have canes as thick as the leg, in which they draw off this liquor, and they fasten them to the tree from the evening till next morning, and from the morning to the evening, because this liquor comes little by little. This palm produces a fruit named cocho, which is as large as the head, or thereabouts : its first husk is green, and two fingers in thickness, in it they find certain threads, with which they make the cores for fastening their boats. Under this husk there is another very hard, and thicker than that of a walnut. They burn this second rind, and make with it a powder which is useful to them. Under this rind there is a white marrow of a finger's thickness, which they eat fresh with meat and fish, as we do bread, and it has the taste of an almond, and if anyone dried it he might make bread of it. From the middle of this marrow there comes out a clear sweet water, and very cordial, which, when it has rested a little, and settled, congeals and becomes like an apple. When they wish to make oil they take this fruit, the coco, and let it get rotten, and they corrupt this marrow in the water, then they boil it, and it becomes oil in the manner of butter. When they want to make vinegar, they let the water in the coco nut get bad, and they put it in the sun, when it turns to vinegar like white wine. From this fruit milk also can be made, as we experienced, for we scraped this marrow and then put it with its water, and passed it through a cloth, and thus it was milk like that of goats. This kind of palm tree is like the date-palm, but not so rugged. Two of these trees can maintain a family of ten persons : but they do not draw wine as above-mentioned always from one tree, but draw from one for eight days, and from the other as long. For if they did not, otherwise the trees would dry up. In this manner they last a hundred years.

These people became very familiar and friendly with us, and explained many things to us in their language, and told us the names of some islands which we saw with our eyes before us. The island where they dwelt is called Zuluam, and it is not large. As they were sufficiently agreeable and conversible we had great pleasure with them. The captain seeing that they were of this good condition, to do them greater honour conducted them to the ship, and showed them all his goods, that is to say cloves, cinnamon, pepper, ginger, nutmeg, mace, gold, and all that was in the ship. He also had some shots fired with his artillery, at which they were so much afraid that they wished to jump from the ship into the sea. They made signs that the things which the captain had shown them grew there where we were going. When they wished to leave us they took leave of the captain and of us with very good manners and gracefulness, promising us to come back to see us. The island we were at was named Humunu ; nevertheless because we found there two springs of very fresh water we named it the Watering Place of good signs, and because we found here the first signs of gold. There is much white coral to be found here, and large trees which bear fruit smaller than an almond, and which are like pines. There were also many palm trees both good and bad. In this place there were many circumjacent islands, on which account we named them the archipelago of St. Lazarus, because we stayed there on the day and feast of St. Lazarus. This region and archipelago is in ten degrees north latitude, and a hundred and sixty-one degrees longitude from the line of demarcation.

Friday, the 22nd of March, the above-mentioned people, who had promised us to return, came about midday, with two boats laden with the said fruit cochi, sweet oranges, a vessel of palm wine, and a cock, to give us to understand that they had poultry in their country, so that we bought all that they brought. The lord of these people was old, and had his face painted, and had gold rings suspended to his ears, which they name Schione, and the others had many bracelets and rings of gold on their arms, with a wrapper of linen round their head. We remained at this place eight days : the captain went there every day to see his sick men, whom he had placed on this island to refresh them : and he gave them himself every day the water of this said fruit the cocho, which comforted them much. Near this isle is another where there are a kind of people who wear holes in their ears so large that they can pass their arms through them ; these people are Caphre, that is to say, Gentiles, and they go naked, except that round their middles they wear cloth made of the bark of trees. But there are some of the more remarkable of them who wear cotton stuff, and at the end of it there is some work of silk done with a needle. These people are tawny, fat, and painted, and they anoint themselves with the oil of coco nuts and sesame, to preserve them from the sun and the wind. Their hair is very black and long, reaching to the waist, and they carry small daggers and knives, ornamented with gold, and many other things, such as darts, harpoons, and nets to fish, and their boats are like ours.

The Monday of Passion week, the 25th of March, and feast of our Lady, in the afternoon, and being ready to depart from this place, I went to the side of our ship to fish, and putting my feet on a spar to go down to the store room, my feet slipped, because it had rained, and I fell into the sea without any one seeing me, and being near drowning by luck I found at my left hand the sheet of the large sail which was in the sea, I caught hold of it and began to cry out till they came to help and pick me up with the boat. I was assisted not by my merits, but by the mercy and grace of the fountain of pity. That same day we took the course between west and southwest, and passed amidst four small islands, that is to say, Cenalo, Huinanghar, Ibusson, and Abarien.

Thursday, the 28th of March, having seen the night before fire upon an island, at the morning we came to anchor at this island; where we saw a small boat which they call Boloto, with eight men inside, which approached the ship of the captain-general. Then a slave of the captain's, who was from Sumatra, otherwise named Traprobana, spoke from afar to these people, who understood his talk, and came near to the side of the ship, but they withdrew immediately, and would not enter the ship from fear of us. So the captain seeing that they would not trust to us showed them a red cap, and other things, which he had tied and placed on a little plank, and the people in the boat took them immediately and joyously, and then returned to advise their king. Two hours afterwards, or thereabouts, we saw come two long boats, which they call Balangai, full of men. In the largest of them was their king sitting under an awning of mats ; when they were near the ship of the captain-general, the said slave spoke to the king, who understood him well, because in these countries the kings know more languages than the common people. Then the king ordered some of his people to go to the captain's ship, whilst he would not move from his boat, which was near enough to us. This was done, and when his people returned to the boat, he went away at once. The captain gave good entertainment to the men who came to his ship, and gave them all sorts of things, on which account the king wished to give the captain a rather large bar of solid gold, and a chest full of ginger. However, the captain thanked him very much but would not accept the present. After that, when it was late, we went with the ships near to the houses and abode of the king.

The next day which was Good Friday, the captain sent on shore the before-mentioned slave, who was our interpreter, to the king to beg him to give him for money some provisions for his ships, sending him word that he had not come to his country as an enemy, but as a friend. The king on hearing this came with seven or eight men in a boat, and entered the ship, and embraced the captain, and gave him three china dishes covered with leaves full of rice, and two *dorades*, which are rather large fish, and of the sort above-mentioned, and he gave him several other things. The captain gave this king a robe of red and yellow cloth, made in the Turkish fashion, and a very fine red cap, and to his people he gave to some of them knives, and to others mirrors. After that refreshments were served up to them. The captain told the king, through the said interpreter, that he wished to be with him, *cassi cassi*, that is to say, brothers. To which the king answered that he desired to be the same towards him. After that the captain showed him cloths of different colours, linen, coral, and much other merchandise, and all the artillery, of which he had some pieces fired before him, at which the king was much astonished ; after that the captain had one of his soldiers armed with white armour, and placed him in the midst of three comrades, who struck him with swords and daggers. The king thought this very strange, and the captain told him, through the interpreter, that a man thus in white armour was worth a hundred of his men ; he answered that it was true ; he was further informed that there were in each ship two hundred like that man. After that the captain showed him a great number of swords, cuirasses, and helmets, and made two of the men play with their swords before the king ; he then showed him the sea chart and the ship compass, and informed him how he had found the strait to come there, and of the time which he had spent in coming ; also of the time he had been without seeing any land, at which the king was astonished. At the end the captain asked if he would be pleased that two of his people should go with him to the places where they lived, to see some of the things of his country. This the king granted, and I went with another.

When I had landed, the king raised his hands to the sky, and turned to us two, and we did the same as he did ; after that he took me by the hand, and one of his principal people took my companion, and led us under a place covered with canes, where there was a balangai, that is to say, a boat, eighty feet long or thereabouts, resembling a fusta. We sat with the king upon its poop, always conversing with him by signs, and his people stood up around us, with their swords, spears, and bucklers. Then the king ordered to be brought a dish of pig's flesh and wine. Their fashion of drinking is in this wise, they first raise their hands to heaven, then take the drinking vessel in their right hand, and extend the left hand closed towards the people. This the king did, and presented to me his fist, so that I thought that he wanted to strike me ; I did the same thing towards him ; so with this ceremony, and other signs of friendship, we banqueted, and afterwards supped with him.

I ate flesh on Good Friday, not being able to do otherwise, and before the hour of supper, I gave several things to the king, which I had brought. There I wrote down several things as they name them in their language, and when the king and the others saw me write, and I told them their manner of speech, they were all astonished. When the hour for supper had come, they brought two large china dishes, of which one was full of rice, and the other of pig's flesh, with its broth and sauce. We supped with the same signs and ceremonies, and then went to the king's palace, which was made and built like a hay grange, covered with fig and palm leaves. It was built on great timbers high above the ground, and it was necessary to go up steps and ladders to it. Then the king made us sit on a cane mat, with our legs doubled as was the custom ; after half an hour there was brought a dish of fish roast in pieces, and ginger fresh gathered that moment, and some wine. The eldest son of the king, who was the prince, came where we were, and the king told him to sit down near us, which he did ; then two dishes were brought, one of fish, with its sauce, and the other of rice, and this was done for us to eat with the prince. My companion enjoyed the food and drink so much that he got drunk. They use for candles or torches the gum of a tree which is named Animé, wrapped up in leaves of palms or fig trees. The king made a sign that he wished to go to rest, and left with us the prince, with whom we slept on a cane mat, with some cushions and pillows of leaves. Next morning the king came and took me by the hand, and so we went to the place where we had supped, to breakfast, but the boat came to fetch us. The king, before we went away, was very gay, and kissed our hands, and we kissed his. There came with us a brother of his, the king of another island, accompanied by three men. The captain-general detained him to dine with us, and we gave him several things.

In the island belonging to the king who came to the ship there are mines of gold, which they find in pieces as big as a walnut or an egg, by seeking in the ground. All the vessels which he makes use of are made of it, and also some parts of his house, which was well fitted up according to the custom of the country, and he was the handsomest man that we saw among these nations. He had very black hair coming down to his shoulders, with a silk cloth on his head, and two large gold rings hanging from his ears, he had a cloth of cotton worked with silk, which covered him from the waist to the knees, at his side he wore a dagger, with a long handle which was all of gold, its sheath was of carved wood. Besides he carried upon him scents of storax and benzoin. He was tawny and painted all over. The island of this king is named Zuluan and Calagan, and when these two kings wish to visit one another they come to hunt in this island where we were. Of these kings the painted king is called Raia Calambu, and the other Raia Siani.

On Sunday, the last day of March, and feast of Easter, the captain sent the chaplain ashore early to say mass, and the interpreter went with him to tell the king that they were not coming on shore to dine with him, but only to hear the mass. The king hearing that sent two dead pigs. When it was time for saying mass the captain went ashore with fifty men, not with their arms, but only with their swords, and dressed as well as each one was able to dress, and before the boats reached the shore our ships fired six cannon shots as a sign of peace. At our landing the two kings were there, and received our captain in a friendly manner, and placed him between them, and then we went to the place prepared for saying mass, which was not far from the shore. Before the mass began the captain threw a quantity of musk rose water on those two kings, and when the offertory of the mass came, the two kings went to kiss the cross like us, but they offered nothing, and at the elevation of the body of our Lord they were kneeling like us, and adored our Lord with joined hands. The ships fired all their artillery at the elevation of the body of our

Lord. After mass had been said each one did the duty of a Christian, receiving our Lord. After that the captain had some sword-play by his people, which gave great pleasure to the kings. Then he had a cross brought, with the nails and crown, to which the kings made reverence, and the captain had them told that these things which he showed them were the sign of the emperor his lord and master, from whom he had charge and commandment to place it in all places where he might go or pass by. He told them that he wished to place it in their country for their profit, because if there came afterwards any ships from Spain to those islands, on seeing this cross, they would know that we had been there, and therefore they would not cause them any displeasure to their persons nor their goods ; and if they took any of their people, on showing them this sign, they would at once let them go. Besides this, the captain told them that it was necessary that this cross should be placed on the summit of the highest mountain in their country, so that seeing it every day they might adore it, and that if they did thus, neither thunder, lightning, nor the tempest could do them hurt. The kings thanked the captain, and said they would do it willingly. Then he asked whether they were Moors or Gentiles, and in what they believed. They answered that they did not perform any other adoration, but only joined their hands, looking up to heaven, and that they called their God, Aba. Hearing this, the captain was very joyful, on seeing that, the first king raised his hands to the sky and said that he wished it were possible for him to be able to show the affection which he felt towards him. The interpreter asked him for what reason there was so little to eat in that place, to which the king replied that he did not reside in that place except when he came to hunt and to see his brother, but that he lived in another island where he had all his family. Then the captain asked him if he had any enemies who made war upon him, and that if he had any he would go and defeat them with his men and ships, to put them under his obedience. The king thanked him, and answered that there were two islands the inhabitants of which were his enemies ; however, that for the present it was not the time to attack them. The captain therefore said to him that if God permitted him to return another time to this country, he would bring so many men that he would put them by force under his obedience. Then he bade the interpreter tell them that he was going away to dine, and after that he would return to place the cross on the summit of the mountain. The two kings said they were content, and on that they embraced the captain, and he separated from them.

After dinner we all returned in our dress coats, and we went together with the two kings to the middle of the highest mountain we could find, and there the cross was planted. After that the two kings and the captain rested themselves ; and, while conversing, I asked where was the best port for obtaining victuals. They replied that there were three, that is to say, Ceylon, Zzubu, and Calaghan, but that Zzubu was the largest and of the most traffic. Then the kings offered to give him pilots to go to those ports, for which he thanked them, and deliberated to go there, for his ill-fortune would have it so. After the cross had been planted on that mountain, each one said the Paternoster and Ave Maria, and adored it, and the kings did the like. Then we went down below to where their boats were. There the kings had brought some of the fruit called cocos and other things to make a collation and to refresh us. The captain, being desirous to depart the next day in the morning, asked the king for the pilots to conduct us to the above-mentioned ports, promising him to treat them like themselves, and that he would leave one of his own men as a hostage. The first king said that he would go himself and conduct him to this port, and be his pilot, but that he should wait two days, until he had had his rice gathered in and done other things which he had to do, begging him to lend him some of his men so as to get done sooner. This the captain agreed to.

This kind of people are gentle, and go naked, and are painted. They wear a piece of cloth made from a tree, like a linen cloth, round their body to cover their natural parts : they are great drinkers. The women are dressed in tree cloth from their waists downwards ; their hair is black, and reaches down to the ground ; they wear certain gold rings in their ears. These people chew most of their time a fruit which they call areca, which is something of the shape of a pear ; they cut it in four quarters, and after they have chewed it for a long time they spit it out, from which afterwards they have their mouths very red. They find themselves the better from the use of this fruit because it refreshes them much, for this country is very hot, so that they could not live without it. In this island there is a great quantity of dogs, cats, pigs, fowls, and goats, rice, ginger, cocos, figs, oranges, lemons, millet, wax, and gold mines. This island is in nine degrees and two-thirds north latitude, and one hundred and sixty-two longitude from the line of demarcation : it is twenty-five leagues distant from the other island where we found the two fountains of fresh water. This island is named Mazzava.

We remained seven days in this place ; then we took the tack of Maestral, passing through the midst of five isles, that is to say, Ceylon, Bohol, Canighan, Baibai, and Satighan. In this island of Satighan is a kind of bird called Barbastigly, which are as large as eagles. Of these we killed only one, because it was late. We ate it, and it had the taste of a fowl. There are also in this island doves, tortoises, parrots, and certain black birds as large as a fowl, with a long tail. They lay eggs as large as those of a goose. These they put a good arm's length under the sand in the sun, where they are hatched by the great heat which the heated sand gives out ; and when these birds are hatched they push up the sand and come out. These eggs are good to eat. From this island of Mazzabua to that of Satighan there are twenty leagues, and on leaving Satighan we went by the west ; but the King of Mazzabua could not follow us ; therefore we waited for him near three islands, that is to say, Polo, Ticobon, and Pozzon. When the king arrived he was much astonished at our navigation, the captain-general bade him come on board his ship with some of his principal people, at which they were much pleased. Thus we went to Zzubu, which is fifteen leagues off from Satighan.

Sunday, the 7th of April, about midday, we entered the port of Zzubu, having passed by many villages. There we saw many houses which were built on trees. On approaching the principal town the captain-general commanded all his ships to hang out their flags. Then we lowered the sails in the fashion in which they are struck when going to fight, and he had all the artillery fired, at which the people of this place were greatly frightened. The captain sent a young man whom he had brought up, with the interpreter to the king of this island Zzubu. These having come to the town, found a great number of people and their king with them, all alarmed by the artillery which had been fired. But the interpreter reassured them, saying that it was the fashion and custom to fire artillery when they arrived at ports, to show signs of peace and friendship ; and also, to do more honour to the king of the country, they had fired all the artillery. The king and all his people were reassured. He then bade one of his principal men ask what we were seeking. The interpreter answered him that his master was captain of the greatest king in the world, and that he was going by the command of the said sovereign to discover the Molucca islands. However, on account of what he had heard where he had passed, and especially from the King of Mazzava, of his courtesy and good fame, he had wished to pass by his country to visit him, and also to obtain some refreshment of victuals for his merchandise. The king answered him that he was welcome, but that the custom was that all ships which arrived at his country or port paid tribute, and it was only four days since that a ship called the Junk of Ciama, laden with gold and slaves, had paid him his tribute, and, to verify what he said, he showed them a merchant of the said Ciama, who had remained there to trade with the gold and slaves. The interpreter said to him that this captain, on account of being captain of so great a king as his was, would not pay tribute to any sovereign in the world ; and that if he wished for peace he would have peace, and if he wished for war he would have war. Then the merchant above-mentioned replied to the king in his own language, " Look well, oh king, what you will do, for these people are of those who have conquered Calicut, Malacca, and all greater India ; if you entertain them well and treat them well you will find yourself the better for it, and if ill, it will be so much the worse for you as they have done at Calicut and Malacca." The interpreter, who understood all this discourse, said to them that the king, his master, was a good deal more powerful in ships and by land than the King of Portugal, and declared to him that he was the King of Spain and Emperor of all Christendom, wherefore, if he would not be his friend and treat his subjects well, he would another time send against him so many men as to destroy him. Then the king answered that he would speak to his council, and give an answer the next day. Afterwards the king ordered a collation to be brought of several viands, all of meat, in porcelain dishes, with a great many vessels of wine. When the repast was over, our people returned, and related all to the captain ; and the King of Mazzabua, who was on board the captain's ship, and who was the first king after him of Zzubu, and the lord of several isles, wished to go on shore to relate to the king the politeness and courtesy of our captain.

Monday morning our clerk went with the interpreter to the town of Zzubu, and the king, accompanied by the principal men of his kingdom, came to the open space, where we made our people sit down near him, and he asked whether there was more than one captain in all those ships, and whether he wished that the king should pay tribute to the emperor, his master, to which our people answered, no, but that the captain only wished to trade with the things which he had brought with the people of his country, and not with others. Then the king said that he was content, and as a greater sign of affection he sent him a little of his blood from his right arm, and wished he should do the like. Our people answered that he would do it. Besides that, he said that all the captains who came to his country had been accustomed to make a present to him, and he to them, and therefore they should ask their captain if he would observe the custom. Our people answered that he would ; but as the king wished to keep up the custom, let him begin and make a present, and then the captain would do his duty.

Tuesday morning following the King of Mazzava, with the Moor, came to the ship, and saluted the captain on behalf of the King of Zzubu, and said that the king was preparing a quantity of provisions, as much as he could, to make a present of to him, and that after dinner he would send two of his nephews, with others of his principal people, to make peace with him. Then the captain had one of his men armed with his own armour, and told him that all of us would fight armed in that manner, at which the Moorish merchant was rather astonished ; but the captain told him not to be afraid, and that our arms were soft to our friends and rough to our enemies ; and that as a cloth wipes away the sweat from a man, so our arms destroy the enemies of our faith. The captain said this to the Moor, because he was more intelligent than the others, and for him to relate it all to the King of Zzubu.

After dinner, the nephew of this king, who was a prince, with the King of Mazzava, the Moor, the governor, and the chief of police, and eight of the principal men, came to the ship to make peace with us. The captain-general was sitting in a chair of red velvet, and near him were the principal men of the ships sitting in leather chairs, and the others on the ground on mats. Then the captain bade the interpreter ask the above-mentioned persons if it was their custom to speak in secret or in public, and whether the prince who was come with them had power to conclude peace. They answered yes, that they would speak in public, and that they had the power to conclude peace. The captain spoke at length on the subject of peace, and prayed God to confirm it in heaven. These people replied that they had never heard such words as these which the captain had spoken to them, and they took great pleasure in hearing them. The captain, seeing then that those people listened willingly to what was said to them, and that they gave good answers, began to say a great many more good things to induce them to become Christians. After many other subjects, the captain asked them who would succeed the king in their country after his death. They answered that the king had no son, but several daughters, and that this prince was his nephew, and had for a wife the king's eldest daughter, and for the sake of that they called him prince. They also said that when the father and mother were old they took no further account of them, but their children commanded them. Upon which the captain told them how God had made heaven and earth and all other things in the world, and that He had commanded that everyone should render honour and obedience to his father and mother, and that whoever did otherwise was condemned to eternal fire. He then pointed out to them many other things concerning our faith. The people heard these things willingly, and besought the captain to leave them two men to teach and show them the Christian faith, and they would entertain them well with great honour. To this the captain answered that for the moment he could not leave them any of his people, but that if they wished to be Christians that his priest would baptise them, and that another time he would bring priests and preachers to teach them the faith. They then answered that they wished first to speak to their king, and then would become Christians. Each of us wept for the joy which we felt at the goodwill of these people, and the captain told them not to become Christians from fear of us, or to please us, but that if they wished to become Christian they must do it willingly, and for the love of God, for even though they should not become Christian, no displeasure would be done them, but those who became Christian would be more loved and better treated than the others. Then they all cried out with one voice, that they did not wish to become Christians from fear, nor from complaisance, but of their free will. The captain then said that if they became Christians he would leave them the arms which the Christians use, and that his king had commanded him so to do. At last they said they did not know what more to answer to so many good and beautiful words which he spoke to them, but that they placed themselves in his hands, and that he should do with them as with his own servants. Then the captain, with tears in his eyes, embraced them, and, taking the hand of the prince and that of the king, said to him that by the faith he had in God, and to his master the emperor, and by the habit of St. James which he wore, he promised them to cause them to have perpetual peace with the King of Spain, at which the prince and the others promised him the same. After peace had been concluded, the captain had refreshments served to them. The prince and the King of Mazzava, who was with him, presented to the captain on behalf of his king large baskets full of rice, pigs, goats, and fowls, and desired the captain to be told he should pardon them that their present was not as fine as was fitting for him. The captain gave to the prince some very fine cloth and a red cap, and a quantity of glass and a cup of gilt glass. Glasses are much prized in this country. To the other people belonging to the Prince he gave various things. Then he sent by me and another person to the King of Zzubu a robe of yellow and violet silk in the fashion of a Turkish jubbeh, a red cap, very fine, and certain pieces of glass, and had all of them put in a silver dish, and two gilt glasses.

When we came to the town we found the King of Zzubu at his palace, sitting on the ground on a mat made of palm, with many people about him. He was quite naked, except that he had a cloth round his middle, and a loose wrapper round his head, worked with silk by the needle. He had a very heavy chain round his neck, and two gold rings hung in his ears with precious stones. He was a small and fat man, and his face was painted with fire in different ways. He was eating on the ground on another palm mat, and was then eating tortoise eggs in two china dishes, and he had four vessels full of palm wine, which he drank with a cane pipe. We made our obeisance, and presented to him what the captain had sent him, and told him through the interpreter that it was not as a return for his present which he had sent to the captain, but for the affection which he bore him. That done, his people told him all the good words and explanations of peace and religion which he had spoken to them. The king wished to detain us to supper, but we made our excuses and took leave of him. The prince, nephew of the king, conducted us to his house, and showed us four girls who played on four instruments, which were strange and very soft, and their manner of playing is rather musical. Afterwards he made us dance with them. These girls were naked except from the waist to the knees, where they wore a wrap made of the palm tree cloth, which covered their middles, and some were quite naked. There we made a repast, and then returned to the ships.

Wednesday morning, because the night before one of our men had died, the interpreter and I, by order of the captain, went to ask the king for a place where we might bury the deceased. We found the king accompanied by a good many people, and, after paying him due honour, we told him of the death of our man, and that the captain prayed him that he might be put into the ground. He replied that if he and his people were ready to obey our master, still more reason was there for his land and country being subject to him. After that we said we wished to consecrate the grave in our fashion and place a cross on it. The sovereign said that he was content, and that he would worship that cross as we did. The deceased was buried in the middle of the open space of the town, as decently as possible, and performing the above-mentioned ceremonies to set them a good example, and in the evening we buried another. This done, we brought a good quantity of merchandise into the town of this king, and placed it in a house, and he took it under his charge and promised that no one would do harm or injury to the king. Four of our men were chosen to despatch and sell this merchandise. These people live with justice, and good weight and measure, loving peace, and are people who love ease and pleasure. They have wooden scales, after the fashion of those of north of the Loire, for weighing their merchandise. Their houses are made of wood and beams and canes, founded on piles, and are very high, and must be entered by means of ladders ; their rooms are like ours, and underneath they keep their cattle, such as pigs, goats, and fowls. The young people sound bag-pipes, made like ours, and call them Subin.

In this island of the king's there is a kind of animal carrying a shell called carniolle, fine to look at, which cause the whale to die. For the whale swallows them alive ; then, when they are inside its body, they come out of their shell and go and eat the whale's heart : and the people of this country find this animal alive inside the whale. These animals, the carniolles, have the teeth and skin black, and their shell is white. Their flesh is good to eat, and they call them Laghan.

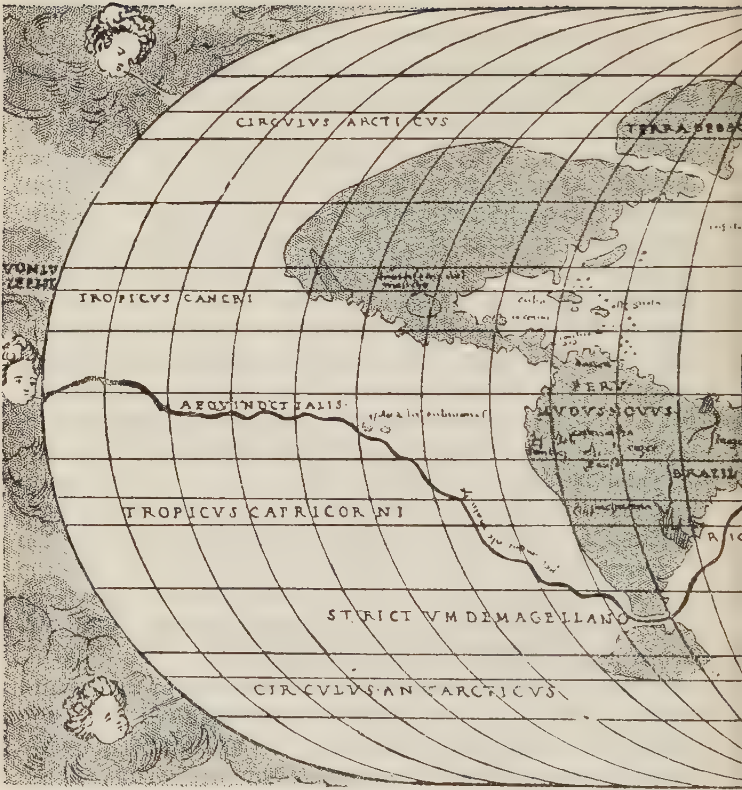
The following Friday we showed them a shop full of our merchandise, which was of various strange sorts, at which they were surprised. For metal, iron, and other big goods they gave us gold, and for the other small and sundry goods they gave us rice, pigs, goats, and other provisions. They gave us ten weights of gold for fourteen pounds of iron ; each weight is a ducat and a half. The captain-general would not allow a large quantity of gold to be taken, so that the sailors should not sell what belonged to them too cheap from thirst for gold, and lest by that means he might be constrained to do likewise with his merchandise, for he wished to sell it better.

Saturday following a scaffolding was made in the open space, fitted with tapestry and palm branches, because the king had promised our captain to become Christian on Sunday. He told him not to be afraid when our artillery fired on that day, for it was the custom to load it on those feasts without firing stones or other balls.

Sunday morning, the fourteenth day of April, we went on shore, forty men, of whom two were armed, who marched before us, following the standard of our king emperor. When we landed the ships discharged all their artillery, and from fear of it the people ran away in all directions. The captain and the king embraced one another, and then joyously we went near the scaffolding, where the captain and the king sat on two chairs, one covered with red, the other with violet velvet. The principal men sat on cushions, and the others on mats, after the fashion of the country. Then the captain began to speak to the king through the interpreter to incite him to the faith of Jesus Christ, and told him that if he wished to be a good Christian, as he had said the day before, that he must burn all the idols of his country, and, instead of them, place a cross, and that everyone should worship it every day on their knees, and their hands joined to heaven : and he showed him how he ought every day to make the sign of the cross. To that the king and all his people answered that they would obey the commands of the captain and do all that he told them. The captain took the king by the hand, and they walked about on the scaffolding, and when he was baptised he said that he would name him Don Charles, as the emperor his sovereign was named ; and he named the prince Don Fernand, after the brother of the emperor, and the King of Mazzava Jehan : to the Moor he gave the name of Christopher, and to the others each a name of his fancy. Thus, before mass, there were fifty men baptised. After mass had been heard the captain invited the king and his other principal men to dine with him, but he would not. He accompanied the captain, however, to the beach, and on his arrival there the ships fired all their artillery. Then, embracing one another, they took leave.

After dinner our chaplain and some of us went on shore to baptise the queen. She came with forty ladies, and we conducted them on to the scaffolding ; then made her sit down on a cushion, and her women around her, until the priest was ready. During that time they showed her an image of our Lady, of wood, holding her little child, which was very well made, and a cross. When she saw it, she had a greater desire to be a Christian, and, asking for baptism, she was baptised and named Jehanne, like the mother of the emperor. The wife of the prince, daughter of this queen, had the name of Catherine, the Queen of Mazzava Isabella, and the others each their name. That day we baptised eight hundred persons of men, women, and children. The queen was young and handsome, covered with a black and white sheet ; she had the mouth and nails very red, and wore on her head a large hat made of leaves of palm, with a crown over it made of the same leaves, like that of the Pope. After that she begged us to give her the little wooden boy to put in the place of the idols. This we did, and she went away. In the evening the king and queen, with several of their people, came to the sea beach, where the captain had some of the large artillery fired, in which they took great pleasure. The captain and the king called one another brother.

At last, in eight days, all the inhabitants of this island were baptised, and some belonging to the neighbouring islands. In one of these we burned a village because the inhabitants would not obey either the king or us. There we planted a cross because the people were Gentiles : if they had been Moors, we should have erected a column, as a sign of their hardness of heart, because the Moors are more difficult to convert than the Gentiles. The captain-general went ashore every day to hear mass, to which there came many of the new Christians, to whom he explained various points of our religion. One day the queen came with all her state. She was preceded by three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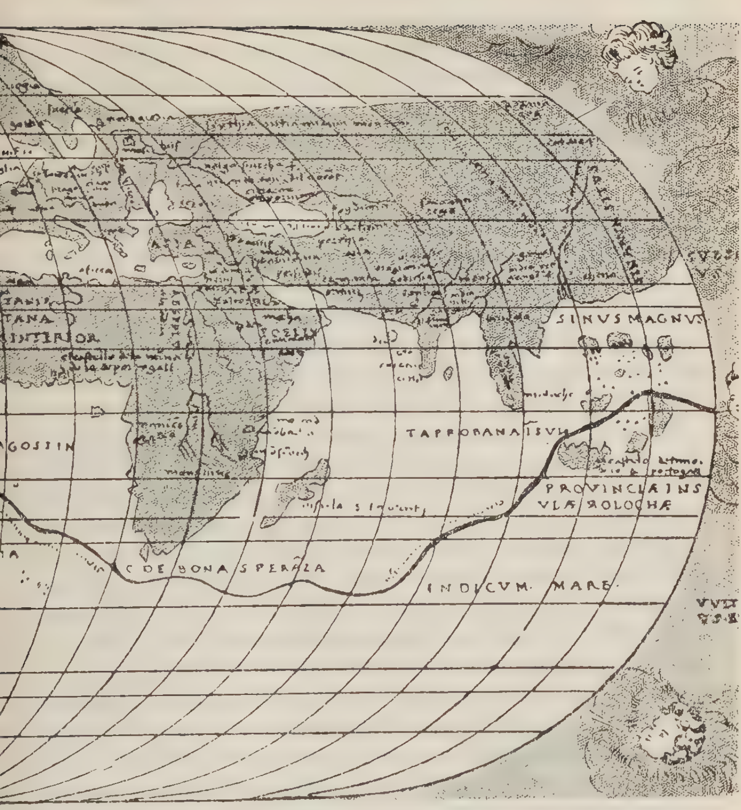
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INDICVM MARE

ista Agnese (1538)
beginning of Sixteenth Century
gellan's Voyage (1519–1522)

damsels, who carried in their hands three of her hats: she was dressed in black and white, with a large silk veil with gold stripes, which covered her head and shoulders. Very many women followed her, with their heads covered with a small veil, and a hat above that: the rest of their bodies and feet were naked, except a small wrapper of palm cloth which covered their natural parts. Their hair fell flowing over their shoulders. The queen, after making a bow to the altar, sat upon a cushion of embroidered silk, and the captain sprinkled over her and over some of her ladies rose water and musk, a perfume which pleases the ladies of this country very much. The captain on that occasion approved of the gift which I had made to the queen of the image of the Infant Jesus, and recommended her to put it in the place of her idols, because it was a remembrancer of the Son of God. She promised to do all this, and to keep it with much care.

In order that the king might be more respected and obeyed, the captain-general got him to come one day at the hour of mass with his silk robe, and summoned his two brothers, one named Bondara, who was the father of the prince, and the other named Cadaro, and some of his chief men, whose names were Simiut, Sibuaia, Sisacai, Magalibe, and others whom it is unnecessary to name separately; and he made them all swear to be obedient to their king, whose hand they all of them kissed. He then asked the king to swear that he would always be obedient and faithful to the King of Spain, and he took the oath. Then the captain drew a sword before the image of the Virgin Mary, and said to the king that when such an oath had been taken by anyone, he should rather die than be wanting to his oath. After that he himself promised to be always faithful to him, swearing by the image of our Lady, by the life of the emperor his sovereign, and by the habit which he wore. He then made a present to the king of a velvet chair, and told him that wherever he went he should always have it carried before him by some of his attendants, and showed him the way in which it should be carried. The king told the captain that he would do all this on account of the affection which he bore him, of which he wished to give him a token, preparing for that purpose some jewels to present to him ; these were two rather large gold rings for the ears, two others for the arms, and two for the ancles, all of them adorned with precious stones. The finest ornaments of the kings of these countries consist in these rings, for otherwise they go naked and barefooted, with only a piece of cloth from the waist to the knees.

The captain-general, who had informed the king and all those who had been baptised of the obligation they were under of burning their idols, which they had promised to do, seeing that they retained them and made them offerings of meat, reproved them severely for it. They thought to excuse themselves sufficiently by saying that they did not do that now on their own account, but for a sick person, for the idols to restore him his health. This sick man was a brother of the prince, and was reputed to be the most valiant and wise man in the island, and his illness was so severe that for four days he had not spoken. Having heard this, the captain, seized with zeal for religion, said that if they had a true faith in Jesus Christ, they should burn all the idols, and the sick man should be baptised, and he would be immediately cured, of which he was so certain that he consented to lose his head if the miracle did not take place. The king promised that all this should be done, because he truly believed in Jesus Christ. Then we arranged, with all the pomp that was possible, a procession from the place to the house of the sick man. We went there, and indeed found him unable to speak or to move. We baptised him, with two of his wives and ten girls. The captain then asked him how he felt, and he at once spoke, and said that by the grace of our Lord he was well enough. This great miracle was done under our eyes. The captain, on hearing him speak, gave great thanks to God. He gave him a refreshing drink to take, and afterwards sent to his house a mattress, two sheets, a covering of yellow wool, and a cushion, and he continued to send him, until he was quite well, refreshing drinks of almonds, rosewater, rosoglio, and some sweet preservers.

On the fifth day the convalescent rose from his bed, and as soon as he could walk, he had burned, in the presence of the king and of all the people, an idol which some old women had concealed in his house. He also caused to be destroyed several temples constructed on the sea shore, in which people were accustomed to eat the meat offered to the idols. The inhabitants applauded this, and, shouting " Castile, Castile," helped to throw them down, and declared that if God gave them life they would burn all the idols they could find, even if they were in the king's own house.

These idols are made of wood, they are concave or hollowed out behind, they have the arms and legs spread out, and the feet turned upwards ; they have a large face, with four very large teeth like those of a wild boar, and they are all painted.

Since I have spoken of the idols, it may please your illustrious Highness to have an account of the ceremony with which, in this island, they bless the pig. They begin by sounding some great drums (tamburi), they then bring three large dishes, two are filled with cakes of rice and cooked millet rolled up in leaves, and roast fish, in the third are Cambay clothes, and two strips of palm cloth. A cloth of Cambay is spread out on the ground : then two old women come, each of whom has in her hand a reed trumpet. They step upon the cloth and make an obeisance to the sun: they then clothe themselves with the above-mentioned cloths. The first of these puts on her head a handkerchief which she ties on her forehead so as to make two horns, and taking another handkerchief in her hand, dances and sounds her trumpet, and invokes the sun. The second old woman takes one of the strips of palm cloth, and dances, and also sounds her trumpet ; thus they dance and sound their trumpets for a short space of time, saying several things to the sun. The first old woman then drops the handkerchief she has in her hand, and takes the other strip of cloth, and both together sounding their trumpets dance for a long time round the pig which is bound on the ground. The first one always speaks in a low tone to the sun, and the second answers her. The second old woman then presents a cup of wine to the first, who, whilst they both continue their address to the sun, brings the cup four or five times near her mouth as though going to drink, and meanwhile sprinkles the wine on the heart of the pig. She then gives up the cup, and receives a lance which she brandishes, whilst still dancing and reciting, and four or five times directs the lance at the pig's heart, at last with a sudden and well aimed blow she pierces it through and through. She withdraws the lance from the wound, which is then closed and dressed with herbs. During the ceremony a torch is always burning, and the old woman who pierced the pig takes and puts it out with her mouth, the other old woman dips the end of her trumpet in the pig's blood, and with it marks with blood the forehead of her husband, and of her companion, and then of the rest of the people. But they did not come and do this to us. That done the old women took off their robes, and ate what was in the two dishes, inviting only women to join them. After that they get the hair off the pig with fire. Only old women are able to consecrate the boar in this manner, and this animal is never eaten unless it is killed in this manner.

When our people went on shore by day or by night, they always met with some one who invited them to eat and drink. They only half cook their victuals, and salt them very much, which makes them drink a great deal; and they drink much with reeds, sucking the wine from the vessels. Their repasts always last from five to six hours.

When one of their chiefs dies they always use the following funeral ceremonies, of which I was witness. The most respected women of the country came to the house of the deceased, in the midst of which lay the corpse in a chest ; round which were stretched cords after the manner of an enclosure, and many branches of trees were tied to these cords : a strip of cotton was fastened to each of these branches like a pennant. Under these the women I have mentioned sat down covered with white cotton cloth. Each of them had a damsel who fanned her with a palm fan. The other women sat sadly round the room. Meanwhile a woman cut off by degrees the hair of the dead man with a knife : another who had been his principal wife, lay extended on him, with her mouth, hands and feet on the mouth, hands and feet of the dead man. When the first woman cut off the hair, she wept, and when she stopped cutting, she sang. Round the room there were many vases of porcelain, with embers in them, on which, from time to time, they threw myrrh, storax, and benzoin, which gave out a good and strong smell in the room. These ceremonies last for five or six days, during which the corpse is kept in the house, and I believe that they anoint it with oil of camphor to preserve it. They afterwards put it in a chest, closed with wooden bolts, and place it in an enclosed place covered with logs of wood.

The islanders told us that every evening towards midnight, there used to come to the city, a black bird of the size of a crow, which perching on the houses whistled, and caused all the dogs to howl, and these double cries lasted four or five hours. They would never tell us the cause of that phenomenon, of which we also were witnesses.

Friday, the 26th of April, Zula, who was one of the principal men or chiefs of the island of Matan, sent to the captain a son of his with two goats to make a present of them, and to say that if he did not do all that he had promised, the cause of that was another chief named

Cilapulapu, who would not in any way obey the King of Spain, and had prevented him from doing so : but that if the captain would send him the following night one boat full of men to give him assistance, he would fight and subdue his rival. On the receipt of this message, the captain decided to go himself with three boats. We entreated him much not to go to this enterprise in person, but he as a good shepherd would not abandon his flock.

We set out from Zubu at midnight, we were sixty men armed with corslets and helmets ; there were with us the Christian king, the prince, and some of the chief men, and many others divided among twenty or thirty balangai. We arrived at Matan three hours before daylight. The captain before attacking wished to attempt gentle means, and sent on shore the Moorish merchant to tell those islanders who were of the party of Cilapulapu, that if they would recognise the Christian king as their sovereign, and obey the King of Spain, and pay us the tribute which had been asked, the captain would become their friend, otherwise we should prove how our lances wounded. The islanders were not terrified, they replied that if we had lances, so also had they, although only of reeds, and wood hardened with fire. They asked however that we should not attack them by night, but wait for daylight, because they were expecting reinforcements, and would be in greater number. This they said with cunning, to excite us to attack them by night, supposing that we were ready ; but they wished this because they had dug ditches between their houses and the beach, and they hoped that we should fall into them.

We however waited for daylight ; we then leaped into the water up to our thighs, for on account of the shallow water and the rocks the boats could not come close to the beach, and we had to cross two good crossbow shots through the water before reaching it. We were forty-nine in number, the other eleven remained in charge of the boats. When we reached land we found the islanders fifteen hundred in number, drawn up in three squadrons ; they came down upon us with terrible shouts, two squadrons attacking us on the flank, and the third in front. The captain then divided his men in two bands. Our musketeers and crossbow-men fired for half an hour from a distance, but did nothing, since the bullets and arrows, though they passed through their shields made of thin wood, and perhaps wounded their arms, yet did not stop them. The captain shouted not to fire, but he was not listened to. The islanders seeing that the shots of our guns did them little or no harm would not retire, but shouted more loudly, and springing from one side to the other to avoid our shots, they at the same time drew nearer to us, throwing arrows, javelins, spears hardened in fire, stones, and even mud, so that we could hardly defend ourselves. Some of them cast lances pointed with iron at the captain-general.

He then, in order to disperse this multitude and to terrify them, sent some of our men to set fire to their houses, but this rendered them more ferocious. Some of them ran to the fire, which consumed twenty or thirty houses, and there killed two of our men. The rest came down upon us with greater fury ; they perceived that our bodies were defended, but that the legs were exposed, and they aimed at them principally. The captain had his right leg pierced by a poisoned arrow, on which account he gave orders to retreat by degrees ; but almost all our men took to precipitate flight, so that there remained hardly six or eight of us with him. We were oppressed by the lances and stones which the enemy hurled at us, and we could make no more resistance. The bombards which we had in the boats were of no assistance to us, for the shoal water kept them too far from the beach. We went thither, retreating little by little, and still fighting, and we had already got to the distance of a crossbow shot from the shore, having the water up to our knees, the islanders following and picking up again the spears which they had already cast, and they threw the same spear five or six times ; as they knew the captain they aimed specially at him, and twice they knocked the helmet off his head. He, with a few of us, like a good knight, remained at his spot without choosing to retreat further. Thus we fought for more than an hour, until an Indian succeeded in thrusting a cane lance into the captain's face. He then, being irritated, pierced the Indian's breast with his lance, and left it in his body, and trying to draw his sword he was unable to draw it more than half way, on account of a javelin wound which he had received in the right arm. The enemies seeing this all rushed against him, and one of them with a great sword, like a great scimetar gave him a great blow on the left leg, which brought the captain down on his face, then the Indians threw themselves upon him, and ran him through with lances and scimitars, and all the other arms which they had, so that they deprived of life our mirror, light, comfort, and true guide. Whilst the Indians were thus overpowering him, several times he turned round towards us to see if we were all in safety, as though his obstinate fight had no other object than to give an opportunity for the retreat of his men. We who fought to extremity, and who were covered with wounds, seeing that he was dead, proceeded to the boats which were on the point of going away. This fatal battle was fought on the 27th of April of 1521, on a Saturday ; a day which the captain had chosen himself, because he had a special devotion to it. There perished with him eight of our men, and four of the Indians, who had become Christians ; we had also many wounded, amongst whom I must reckon myself. The enemy lost only fifteen men.

He died ; but I hope that your illustrious Highness will not allow his memory to be lost, so much the more since I see revived in you the virtue of so great a captain, since one of his principal virtues was constance in the most adverse fortune. In the midst of the sea he was able to endure hunger better than we. Most versed in nautical charts, he knew better than any other the true art of navigation, of which it is a certain proof that he knew by his genius, and his intrepidity, without any one having given him the example, how to attempt the circuit of the globe, which he had almost completed.

CORTEZ

The expedition of Cortez began at Vera Cruz (which he himself had founded) in 1519. The whole story is told in five letters to the Emperor Charles V. The first and the last letters were for long missing, the former having probably been suppressed by Cortez's enemies on the Council for the Indies, but the information contained in both has been made up from copies discovered later.

The second letter, from which the following extract is taken, is dated from Segura de la Frontera, 30th October, 1520. It is the most important of all, since it is the first account ever written of Mexico, and describes in detail, not only the inhabitants and resources of the country, but the measures which the author took to subdue its king, Montezuma. This event took place in the same year, 1520. The places referred to can be traced on the present route from Vera Cruz to Mexico City.

CORTEZ

I SPOKE to the envoys of Muteczuma who were with me concerning the treachery that had been practised in Cholula, and said I had been informed by the leaders that it was done through the advice of Muteczuma; but that it did not appear to me it could have been the act of so great a sovereign as he was, to send his messengers and noble persons to me, declaring that he was my friend, as he had done, and at the same time seeking means to attack me through others, in order that he might avoid censure in case the design did not succeed. But since it was so, and he did not keep his word, nor adhere to the truth, I told them I should change my own purpose; that until then it had been my intention to visit his country as a friend, to see and talk with him, and hold much peaceful intercourse with him; but that now I should enter his dominions in the guise of war, doing all the injury that was in my power, as an enemy; that I was sorry to adopt this course, as I preferred to have his friendship, and to take counsel of him in whatever I had to do in this land.

The envoys replied, that they had now been with me a long time, and that they had known nothing of any such understanding with the Cholulans, more than had been declared in that city since its submission, and they could not believe that it had taken place by the advice or command of Muteczuma; and they entreated that before I renounced his friendship and made war upon him, I would inform myself of the truth, and suffer one of their number to go and confer with him, as he could return very soon, the distance from this city to where Muteczuma resides being but twenty leagues.

I told them that this would be agreeable to me, and I allowed one of them to go, who returned from thence in six days, accompanied by the other envoy who had gone previously. They brought me ten pieces of gold plate, fifteen hundred pieces of cotton cloth, a great number of fowls, and a beverage, in common use among them, which is called panicap ; and they informed me that Muteczuma had been much troubled on account of what had occurred at Churultecal, but that I must not believe it had been done by his advice or command, as he would prove to me with certainty that it was not so ; that the troops in the garrison near the city were, indeed, his, but that they had moved without his orders, at the instigation of the Cholulans, since there were two of his provinces bordering upon Cholula, that had an alliance with that state on account of their proximity to it to aid one another ; one of them was called Acancigo and the other Izcucan, [Acazingo and Izucar,] and that in this way they had gone there, and not by his orders ; that I should see by his actions whether what he had sent to communicate to me was true or not ; but nevertheless, that he begged me not to trouble myself to visit his country, as it was a barren region, and the people were in a suffering condition ; and that he would send to me, wherever I was, to ascertain my wants, which he would supply in the most bountiful manner.

I answered that I could not dispense with visiting his dominions, as I was obliged to transmit an account of them, as well as of himself, to your Majesty ; that I fully believed what he had stated, by his envoys ; nevertheless, since I should not relinquish my purpose of seeing him, that it would be better it should be done in a friendly manner, and that no obstacles be thrown in my way, as otherwise it would be attended with injury to himself, and I should much regret any such occurrence. As soon as he saw that it was my determined desire to visit him and his country, he sent to say that it was well ; that he should expect me in the great city where he was, and that several of his people would join me, as soon as I had entered his territory. These persons desired me to take a certain route, on which they might contrive to have an attack made upon me, as it afterwards appeared ; since a number of

Spaniards whom I afterwards sent through the country saw how it was ; I should have found on that route so many bridges and difficult passes, that as I went through it they would have been able to execute their designs with safety to themselves. But as God has ever seen fit to guide your sacred Majesty from your infancy in the right way and as I and those who accompanied me, were engaged in the royal service, another route was pointed out to us, somewhat rough, indeed, but not so dangerous as the other, and this I took.

Eight leagues from the city of Cholula are two very lofty and remarkable mountains ; in the latter part of August their summits are covered with snow ; and from the highest, by night as well as by day, a volume of smoke arises, equal in bulk to a spacious house ; it ascends above the mountain to the clouds as straight as an arrow, and with such force, that although a very strong wind is always blowing on the mountain, it does not turn the smoke from its course. As I have desired to render your Highness a very minute account of every thing in this part of the world, I wished to ascertain the cause of this phenomenon, as it appeared to me, and I despatched ten of my companions, such as I thought suitable for this purpose, with several natives of the country for guides, charging them to use every endeavor to ascend the mountain and find out the cause of that smoke, whence and how it was produced. They went, and struggled with all their might to reach the summit, but were unable on account of the great quantity of snow that lay on the mountain, and the whirlwinds of ashes that swept over it, and also because they found the cold above insupportable ; but they reached very near the summit, and while they were there the smoke began to issue forth with so much force and noise that it seemed as if the whole Sierra was crumbling to the ground ; so they descended, and brought with them a considerable quantity of snow and icicles, that we might see them, as it was something quite new in this region on account of its being in so warm a latitude, according to the opinion of our pilots, who place it in 20°, which is the same parallel as the Island of Española, where the heat is at all times extreme. While on their way to the mountain, the party discovered a road, and inquired of their Indian companions where it led, who told them to Culua, [Mexico,] and that it was a good road, while the other, which the Culuans wished us to take, was not a good one. The Spaniards followed this road until they began to ascend the mountain, between which and the other elevation it passed ; and from it they discovered the plains of Culua, and the great city of Temixtitan, [Mexico,] and the lakes in that province, of which I shall hereafter give your Highness an account ; they returned overjoyed on having discovered so good a road, and God knows how much joy I felt on the occasion.

Having obtained all the information I could from the Spaniards who had returned from their visit to the mountain, as well as from the natives concerning the road they had discovered, I addressed myself to the envoys of Muteczuma, who accompanied me as guides to their country, and said to them, that I would take the new route instead of that which they had recommended, as it was shorter. They answered that I was right, that the new route was shorter and more level, and that the reason they had not pointed it out to me was, that we should have to pass one day through the territory of Guasucingo, [Guajozingo,] whose inhabitants were their enemies, and would not furnish supplies, as was done in the territory of Muteczuma ; but that since I preferred that route, they would cause provisions to be sent in that direction. And thus we set forth, not without some apprehension that they would persist in their endeavors to entrap us ; but as we had already declared what route it was our intention to take, it did not seem to me worth while to change our plan, or to return on our steps, lest they should imagine that our courage failed us. On the day that I left the city of Cholula, I advanced four leagues to some villages in the state of Guasucingo, where we were well received by the natives, who gave me a number of female slaves, some cotton cloth, and several small pieces of gold, amounting altogether to very little, as the people are not well supplied with it, on account of their belonging to the league and party of the Tlascalans, and being so closely hemmed in on all sides by the territory of Muteczuma, that they could have no trade with any other province but their own ; whence they lived very poorly. The next day I entered the pass between the two mountains already mentioned, and in descending it we discovered the province of Chalco, in the territory of Muteczuma, two leagues from us, and when we had reached the inhabited parts, we found a newly constructed building for our quarters, and so large that all my men and myself were comfortably lodged in it, although I had with me more than four thousand Indians, natives of the provinces of Tlascaltecal, Guasucingo, Churultecal, and Cempoal, for all of whom there was an abundant supply of provisions ; and there were large fires in all the lodging-rooms, with a plenty of wood, as it was very cold on account of the proximity of the two mountains, which were covered with snow.

There came to me at this place several persons, apparently of some rank, among whom was one that I was told was a brother of Mutezcuma. They brought me gold to the value of 3000 *pesos*, and said on behalf of that sovereign, that he had sent me this present, and at the same time requested that I would retrace my steps, and not think of visiting his city, as the country was ill supplied with provisions, and the road that led to it was bad ; and that the city was all on the water, so that I could not enter it except in canoes, and with many other inconveniences that would obstruct my course. They added, that I might have all that I asked, which Muteczuma, their sovereign, had commanded them to give me ; and that they would agree to pay me every year a certain sum (*certum quid*), which they would carry to the sea, or wherever I wished. I received them kindly, and spoke to them of our Spain, of which they had heard much, addressing myself especially to the one who was said to be a brother of Muteczuma.

In answer to their official communication, I said,—that if it was in my power to return, I would do so to oblige Muteczuma ; but that I had come into this country by the command of your Majesty, and that I was particularly charged to render an account of Muteczuma and his great city, of the fame of which your Highness had long since heard—that they might assure him from me, that I was extremely desirous he should take my visit to him in good part, since it would be productive of no injury, but rather of advantage to his person and country ; that after I had seen him, if it was still his wish not to have my company, I would then return ; and that we should be better able to agree in person, as to the homage he should render to your Highness, than through the agency of others, however trustworthy they might be. With this answer they returned. Judging from the appearance of our quarters, and the arrangements made respecting them, it struck me that the Indians intended to attack us that night ; but on perceiving this, I took such precautions as, coming to their knowledge, changed their determination ; and they drew off that night very secretly a large force, which they had placed in the mountains adjacent to our camp, as was observed by many of our scouts and sentinels.

As soon as it was day I set out for a town two leagues distant, called Amaqueruca, in the province of Chalco, which contains a population, including the villages within two leagues of it, of more than twenty thousand inhabitants. In this place they quartered us in the excellent houses of the governor. Many persons, apparently of a superior rank, here waited upon me, and announced that Muteczuma, their sovereign lord, had sent them to receive me at this place, with orders to provide every thing necessary to supply our wants. The governor of this province and town presented me with forty slaves and 3000 castellanos, and during the two days that I was there supplied us with an abundance of provisions. The next day—accompanied by the envoys of Muteczuma who received us here—I departed and reached for the night a small place four leagues distant, situated partly upon a great lake, and partly upon a rough, rocky mountain, where we were well lodged. Here likewise they would have tried our strength, but that they desired to do so without danger to themselves, as it seemed, by attacking us in the night, when they expected to take us by surprise. But as I was well informed of their intentions, they found that I had anticipated their designs.

That night I placed a strong guard, who took and killed fifteen or twenty spies that came in canoes on the lake, or descended the mountain to see whether I was prepared to resist an attack. Thus few of them returned to give the information they were sent to obtain; and finding us always upon our guard, they concluded to change their plans, and to suffer us to proceed in safety. The next morning when I was about leaving that place, there arrived ten or twelve of the most distinguished personages, as I afterwards learned, and among them a young man of about twenty-five years of age, to whom all showed particular marks of respect ; and after he had alighted from a litter in which he came, the others began to remove stones out of his path, and to clear up the ground before him.

As soon as they arrived they announced that they had come on the part of Muteczuma, their liege lord, who had sent them to accompany me, and begged that I would pardon him for not coming himself to receive me, which he was unable to do on account of indisposition ; but that the city was now near at hand, and as I was still determined to visit it, he would receive us there, when I should learn his willingness to do homage to your Highness. But nevertheless, he entreated that if it was possible. I would not go to the city, for I should meet with much trouble and want, and he would be ashamed not to be able to provide for me there in the manner he wished. The envoys also earnestly insisted on the same thing, and were extremely importunate; at the same time assuring me that they would protect us on the route if I persisted in proceeding. I made them a courteous reply, and calmed their anxiety by the mildest language in my power, giving them to understand that my visit would not be attended with injury, but advantage to Muteczuma. And thus they took their leave, after I had made them presents of some things that I had brought with me. I soon followed them, being accompanied by many persons who appeared to be of great consideration, as I afterwards learned was the case.

As I was pursuing the road that led among the shore of the great lake, at the distance of a league from the place of our departure, I discovered upon the surface of the water a small town, that might contain from one to two thousand inhabitants, well fortified and defended with towers, as it appeared on the outside, but without any entrance. A league farther on we came to a causeway of the width of a spear's length, running two thirds of a league into the lake, which led to a city that, although small, was the most beautiful we had yet seen, composed of well-constructed houses and towers, having the foundations laid with great regularity and wholly in the water. In this city, which contains about two thousand inhabitants, we were well received, and entertained with a handsome repast. The chief magistrate and other persons of rank came to see me, and requested that I would pass the night there. But some of Muteczuma's people who were with me advised me not to stop, but to go on to another city, three leagues distant, called Iztapalapa, belonging to a brother of Muteczuma, and I accordingly did so. The road from the city where we had our repast, the name of which does not now occur to me, was by another causeway, which is a full league in length to terra firma. Having arrived at the city of Iztapalapa, the cacique came to receive me at some distance from the town, together with another dignitary of a great city about three leagues off, called Calnaacan, [Culhuacán] accompanied by many other distinguished personages, who were expecting my arrival there, and presented me with 3 or 4000 castellanos, some slaves, and cotton cloth, giving me altogether a very agreeable reception.

The city of Iztapalapa contains twelve or fifteen thousand houses ; it is situated on the shore of a large salt lake, one-half of it being built upon the water, and one-half on terra firma. The governor or chief of the city has several new houses, which, although they are not yet finished, are equal to the better class of houses in Spain—being large and well constructed, in the stone work, the carpentry, the floors, and the various appendages necessary to render a house complete, excepting the reliefs and other rich work usual in Spanish houses. There are also many upper and lower rooms—cool gardens, abounding in trees and odoriferous flowers ; also pools of fresh water, well constructed, with stairs leading to the bottom. There is also a very extensive kitchen garden attached to the house, and over it a belvidere with beautiful corridors and halls ; and within the garden a large square pond of fresh water, having its walls formed of handsome hewn stone ; and adjacent to it there is a promenade, consisting of a tiled pavement so broad that four persons can walk on it abreast, and four hundred paces square, or sixteen hundred paces round ; enclosed on one side towards the wall of the garden by canes, intermingled with *vergas*, and on the other side by shrubs and sweet-scented plants. The pond contains a great variety of fish and water-fowl, as wild ducks, teal, and others so numerous that they often cover the surface of the water.

The next day after my arrival at this city I departed on my route, and having proceeded half a league, I entered upon a causeway that extends two leagues through the centre of the salt lake, until it reaches the great city of Temixtitan, [Mexico,] which is built in the middle of the lake. This causeway is as broad as two spears' length, and well constructed, so that eight horsemen can ride on it abreast ; and within two leagues, on either side of this causeway, there are three cities, one of which, called

Mesicalsingo, is built for the most part on the lake, and the two others, called Nyciaca and Huchilohuchico, are situated along its borders, with many houses on the water. The former of these cities contains about three thousand families, the second more than six thousand, and the third four or five thousand ; in all of them are well built houses and towers, especially the residences of the governors and principal men, and the mosques or temples, in which they have their idols. In these cities there is a considerable trade in salt, which is manufactured from the water of the lake, and from a deposit on the grounds washed by the lake, which they boil in some way, and make into loaves, selling it to the natives and persons out of the district or province.

I pursued my course over the abovementioned causeway, and having proceeded half a league before arriving at the body of the city of Temixtitan, I found at its intersection with another causeway, which extends from this point to terra firma, a very strong fortress with two towers, surrounded by a double wall, twelve feet in height, with an embattled parapet, which commands the two causeways, and has only two gates, one for entering, and the other for departure. There came to meet me at this place nearly a thousand of the principal inhabitants of the great city, all uniformly dressed according to their custom in very rich costumes ; and as soon as they had come within speaking distance, each one, as he approached me, performed a salutation in much use among them, by placing his hand upon the ground and kissing it ; and thus I was kept waiting about an hour, until all had performed the ceremony. Connected with the city is a wooden bridge ten paces wide, where the causeway is open to allow the water free ingress and egress, as it rises and falls ; and also for the security of the city, as they can remove the long and wide beams of which the bridge is formed, and replace them whenever they wish ; and there are many such bridges in different parts of the city, as your Highness will perceive hereafter from the particular account I shall give of it.

When we had passed the bridge, the Señor Muteczuma came out to receive us, attended by about two hundred nobles, all bare-footed and dressed in livery, or a peculiar garb of fine cotton, richer than is usually worn; they came in two processions in close proximity to the houses on each side of the street, which is very wide and beautiful, and so straight that you can see from one end of it to the other, although it is two thirds of a league in length, having on both sides large and elegant houses and temples. Muteczuma came through the centre of the street, attended by two lords, one upon his right, and the other upon his left hand, one of whom was the same nobleman who, as I have mentioned, came to meet me in a litter; and the other was the brother of Muteczuma, lord of the city of Iztapalapa, which I had left the same day; all three were dressed in the same manner, except that Muteczuma wore shoes, while the others were without them. He was supported on the arms of both, and as we approached, I alighted and advanced alone to salute him; but the two attendant lords stopped me to prevent my touching him, and they and he both performed the ceremony of kissing the ground; after which he directed his brother who accompanied him to remain with me; the latter accordingly took me by the arm, while Muteczuma, with his other attendant, walked a short distance in front of me, and after he had spoken to me, all the other nobles also came up to address me, and then went away in two processions with great regularity, one after the other, and in this manner returned to the city. At the time I advanced to speak to Muteczuma, I took off from myself a collar of pearls and glass diamonds, and put it around his neck.

After having proceeded along the street, one of his servants came bringing two collars formed of shell fish, enclosed in a roll of cloth, which were made from the shells of colored prawns or periwinkles, held by them in high estimation; and from each collar depended eight golden prawns, finished in a very perfect manner, about a foot and a half in length. When these were brought, Muteczuma turned towards me and put them round my neck ; he then returned along the street in the order already described, until he reached a very large and splendid palace, in which we were to be quartered, which had been fully prepared for our reception. He there took me by the hand and led me into a spacious saloon, in front of which was a court, through which we entered. Having caused me to sit down on a piece of rich carpeting, which he had ordered to be made for his own use, he told me to wait his return there, and then went away. After a short space of time, when my people were all bestowed in their quarters, he returned with many and various jewels of gold and silver, feather-work, and five or six thousand pieces of cotton cloth, very rich and of varied texture and finish. After having presented these to me, he sat down on another piece of carpet they had placed for him near me, and being seated he discoursed as follows :

" It is now a long time since, by means of written records, we learned from our ancestors that neither myself nor any of those who inhabit this region were descended from its original inhabitants, but from strangers who emigrated hither from a very distant land ; and we have also learned that a prince, whose vassals they all were, conducted our people into these parts, and then returned to his native land. He afterwards came again to this country, after the lapse of much time, and found that his people had intermarried with the native inhabitants, by whom they had many children, and had built towns in which they resided ; and when he desired them to return with him, they were unwilling to go, nor were they disposed to acknowledge him as their sovereign ; so he departed from the country, and we have always heard that his descendants would come to conquer this land, and reduce us to subjection as his vassals ; and according to the direction from which you say you have come, namely, the quarter where the sun rises, and from what you say of the great lord or king who sent you hither, we believe and are assured that he is our natural sovereign, especially as you say that it is a long time since you first had knowledge of us. Therefore be assured that we will obey you, and acknowledge you for our sovereign in place of the great lord whom you mention, and that there shall be no default or deception on our part. And you have the power in all this land, I mean wherever my power extends, to command what is your pleasure, and it shall be done in obedience thereto, and all that we have is at your disposal. And since you are in your own proper land and your own house, rest and refresh yourselves after the toils of your journey, and the conflicts in which you have been engaged, which have been brought upon you, as I well know, by all the people from Puntunchan to this place ; and I am aware that the Cempoallans and Tlascalans have told you much evil of me, but believe no more than you see with your own eyes, especially from those who are my enemies, some of whom were once my subjects, and having revelled upon your arrival, make these statements to ingratiate themselves in your favor. These people, I know, have informed you that I possessed houses with walls of gold, and that my carpets and other things in common use were of the texture of gold ; and that I was a god, or made myself one, and many other such things. The houses you see are of stone and lime and earth." And then he opened his robes and showed his person to me saying, " You see that I am composed of flesh and bone like yourselves, and that I am mortal, and palpable to the touch," at the same time pinching his arm and body with his hands ; " see," he continued, " how they have deceived you. It is true I have some things of gold, which my ancestors have left me ; all that I have is at your service whenever you wish it. I am now going to my other houses where I reside ; you will be here provided with every thing necessary for yourself and your people, and will suffer no embarrassment, as you are in your own house and country."

I answered him in respect to all that he had said, expressing my acknowledgments, and adding whatever the occasion seemed to demand, especially endeavoring to confirm him in the belief that your Majesty was the sovereign they had looked for ; and after this he took his leave, and having gone, we were liberally supplied with fowls, bread, fruits, and other things required for the use of our quarters. In this way I was for six days amply provided with all that was necessary, and visited by many of the nobility.

I mentioned, most Catholic Sire, at the commencement of this letter, that at the time I departed from the city of Vera Cruz in quest of this Señor Muteczuma, I left there one hundred and fifty men to erect a fort, which had been already begun ; and I also stated that I had left many towns and fortified places in the neighborhood of that city in subjection to the royal dominion of your Highness, and the inhabitants secure and decided in their allegiance to your Majesty. While I was in the city of Churultecal, [Cholula,] I received letters from the commander, whom I had stationed in my place at Vera Cruz, informing me that Qualpopoca, lord of the city of Almeria, had sent messengers to announce that he desired to become a subject of your Highness, and if he had not appeared before, and still did not appear, to render that homage which it was his duty to yield, and to offer himself with all his territories as a vassal to your Majesty, the reason was, that he would be compelled to pass through the enemies' country, which he had not done in consequence of his apprehension of an attack from them ; but that if I would despatch to him four Spaniards, they might accompany him, and the people through whose lands they would have to pass, knowing for what purpose they came, would not molest them ; and thus he would be able to come to us at once.

The captain, believing that Qualpopoca was sincere in what he said, as many others had done the same thing, sent four Spaniards to him ; but when he had got them into his power, he ordered them to be put to death, in such a way that it might not appear to have been done through his means; and thus two of them were killed, while the others effected their escape across the mountains, though wounded. Thereupon the captain marched against the city of Almeria with fifty Spaniards, two horsemen, and two pieces of fire-arms, and a force of from eight to ten thousand friendly Indians, with which he fought the inhabitants of that city and killed many of them, driving the rest away, and burning and destroying the city. The Indians who had accompanied him, being enemies to the Almerians, aided in the attack with great spirit and vigor. Qualpopoca himself, together with the other caciques, his allies, who had come to his assistance, escaped by flight, and some prisoners who were taken in the city gave information as to the people engaged in its defence, and the cause of their killing the Spaniards that had been sent to them. They said that Muteczuma had ordered Qualpopoca and the others who had come there as his vassals, (for such they were,) that when I left the city of Vera Cruz, they should fall upon those who had rebelled and entered the service of your Highness; and that they should devise every means of destroying the Spaniards I had left there, so that they might not aid or favor us; and that accordingly, in consequence of these orders, they had done so.

Six days having passed, most powerful Prince, since I entered the great city of Temixtitan, and having seen some things in it, though but a few compared with what there was to be seen and noted, it seemed to me, judging from these things, and from what I had observed of the country, that it would subserve the interests of your Majesty and our own security if Muteczuma was in my power, and not wholly free from restraint; in order that he might not be diverted from the resolution and willing spirit which he showed in the service of your Majesty, especially as we Spaniards were somewhat troublesome and difficult to please; lest feeling annoyed on any occasion, he should do us some serious injury, and even might cause all memory of us to perish, in the exercise of his great power. It also appeared to me that if he was under my control, all the other countries that were subject to him would be more easily brought to the knowledge and service of your Majesty, as afterwards actually happened.

I resolved, therefore, to take him and place him in my quarters, which were of great strength ; and revolving in my mind how this could be effected without occasioning any tumult or disturbance, I recollected what the officer whom I had left in command at Vera Cruz, had written me concerning the occurrences in the city of Almeria, which I have already related, and which, as he was informed, had all taken place in pursuance of orders from Muteczuma.

Having used the precaution to station guards at the corners of the streets, I went to the palace of Muteczuma, as I had before often done to visit him ; and after conversing with him in a sportive manner on agreeable topics, and receiving at his hands some jewels of gold, and one of his own daughters, together with several daughters of his nobles for some of my company, I then said to him, " that I had been informed of what had taken place in the city of Nautecal or Almeria, and of the fate of the Spaniards, who had been killed there ; that Qualpopoca alleged in defence of his conduct, that whatever he had done was in pursuance of orders from him, which, as his vassal, he could not disregard ; that I did not believe it was so, but nevertheless, in order to clear himself from the imputation, it seemed to me proper that he should send for Qualpopoca and the other principal men of that city, who had been concerned in the slaughter of the Spaniards, that the truth of the matter might be known, and those men punished, by which means he would satisfy your Majesty of his loyal disposition beyond all dispute ; lest instead of the rewards which your Majesty would order to be given him, the reports of these outrages might provoke your Majesty's anger against him, on account of his having commanded the injury to be done ;

since I was well satisfied that the truth was contrary to what those men had declared."

Immediately Muteczuma ordered certain of his followers to be called, to whom he gave a small stone resembling a seal, which he wore upon his arm, and ordered them to go to the city of Almeria, which is sixty or seventy leagues from Mextitán, [Mexico,] and conduct Qualpopoca hither; and having ascertained what others were concerned in the murder of the Spaniards, to have them come likewise; that if they refused to come voluntarily, they should be brought as prisoners; and if they resisted, they should call upon the communities adjacent to that city, which he indicated to them, for an armed force to assist in taking the offenders; and that they should by no means return without them.

These persons departed at once, and when they had gone, I said to Muteczuma, that I was pleased with his diligence in this matter, since I should have to render an account to your Majesty of the Spaniards who had been killed. As for what remained of my duty in the premises, I must have him in my quarters until the truth was more clearly ascertained, and himself shown to be free from blame; and I begged him to suffer no uneasiness on this account, as he would not be treated as a prisoner, but left in the full possession of his liberty; that no obstacle should be interposed to his enjoying the service of his followers, who would continue to be at his command; that he might select an apartment, such as would please him, in the palace I occupied, where he would be at his ease; that he might rest assured that nothing should be allowed to give him pain or inconvenience; and that in addition to his own servants, my companions would cheerfully obey all his commands. Much conversation and discourse followed in regard to this arrangement, too long to be described at length, and even to be repeated to your Majesty, being not only prolix, but scarcely material to the case; and, therefore, I shall say no more than that, finally, he expressed his willingness to go with me.

He immediately gave orders to have the apartment he wished to occupy put in order for his use, which was well situated and handsomely fitted up ; and this being done, many nobles came to him, stripped of their robes, which they carried hanging upon their arms, and bare-footed, bringing a litter, not in the best order, on which, with tears in their eyes, they placed him in deep silence ; and in this manner we proceeded to the quarters which I occupied, without exciting any commotion in the city, although some signs of a disturbance began to appear. But as soon as Muteczuma heard of it, he sent orders forbidding any movement ; and thus all remained quiet as before, and continued so during the whole time that Muteczuma was my prisoner, since he was entirely at his ease, with the same attendance that he had been accustomed to in his own palace, which was very large and splendid, as I shall hereafter relate ; and I and my companions did every thing in our power to gratify his wishes.

Fifteen or twenty days after his imprisonment, the messengers arrived that Muteczuma had sent in quest of Qualpopoca and the others concerned in the murder of the Spaniards ; and they brought with them that chief and his sons, together with fifteen persons who were said to be men of rank, and implicated in the affair. Qualpopoca was brought on a litter, much in the style of a governor, as in fact he was. They were delivered into my hands, and I caused them to be placed under a strong guard ; and when they acknowledged that they had killed the Spaniards, I directed them to be asked if they were the vassals of Muteczuma ? Qualpopoca replied—" If I have any other sovereign, who is it ? " as much as to say that he had no other, and that they were his vassals. I also inquired if what had been done by them was by his command ? They answered, no ; although afterwards, when the sentence of death by burning was about to be executed upon them, they all with one voice declared that Muteczuma had sent to command it to be done, and that they had acted in pursuance of his orders.

So they were publicly burned in a square of the city, without creating any disturbance ; and on the day of their execution, as they confessed that Muteczuma had directed them to kill the Spaniards, I caused him to be put in irons, which threw him into great consternation. On the same day, however, after having spoken to him, I caused his irons to be removed, and left him quite satisfied ; and from that time I exerted myself to gratify his wishes, and render him contented by all means in my power. I publicly announced and declared to all the natives of the country, as well to the governors as to the people who came to me, that your Majesty's service would be promoted by Muteczuma's remaining at the head of his government, only acknowledging your Majesty's superiority, and that your Majesty would be pleased by their obeying and respecting Muteczuma as their sovereign, as they had done before my arrival in the country.

Such was the kindness of my treatment towards him, and his own contentment with his situation, that when at different times I tempted him with the offer of his liberty, begging that he would return to his palace, he as often replied that he was well pleased with his present quarters, and did not wish to leave them, as he wanted nothing that he was accustomed to enjoy in his own palace ; and that in case he went away, there would be reason to fear the importunities of the local governors, his vassals, might lead him to act against his own wishes, and in opposition to your Majesty, while he desired in every possible manner to promote your Majesty's service ; that so far he had informed them what he desired to have done, and was well content to remain where he was ; and should they wish to suggest anything to him, he could answer that he was not at liberty, and thus excuse himself from attending to them. Several times he asked permission to visit his pleasure-houses for the purpose of recreation, both within the city and without, and in no instance was his request denied. He often made an excursion, attended by five or six Spaniards, one or two leagues out of the city, and always returned in fine spirits to his quarters where I had placed him ; and whenever he went out, he made many presents of jewels and cotton cloth, both to the Spaniards by whom he was accompanied, and to his own people, who followed him in such numbers that there were never less than three thousand men in his retinue, most of whom were nobles and persons of distinction ; and he also gave many banquets and entertainments to those who accompanied him, which they considered worth relating.

When I discovered that Muteczuma was fully devoted to the service of your Highness, I requested him that, in order to enable me to render a complete account to your Majesty of the productions of the country, he would point out to me the mines from which gold was obtained ; to which he consented with the greatest readiness, saying that it would give him pleasure to do so. He immediately sent for several of his public servants, and assigned them to four provinces, two to each province, in which he said the gold was obtained ; and he asked me to allow some of the Spaniards to go with them, that they might observe the manner in which gold was procured ; and I accordingly deputed two Spaniards for the same number of his own men.

One party of them went to a province called Cuzula, eighty leagues from the great city of Temixtitan, whose inhabitants are vassals of Muteczuma, where they were shown three rivers, from all of which they brought me specimens of gold, of a good quality, although procured with little trouble, and without any other instruments than those used by the Indians. On their route they passed through three provinces, that, according to the report of the Spaniards, contained very fine land, many villages and cities, with much scattered population, and buildings equal to any in Spain. They mentioned particularly a house and castle, the latter larger, of greater strength, and better built than the castle of Burgos ; and the people of one of these provinces, called Tamazulapa, were better clothed than those of any other we had seen, as it justly appeared to them. Another party of our envoys went to a province called Malinaltebeque, [in Oaxaca,] which is also seventy leagues from the great city, but more towards the seacoast. They brought me specimens of gold from a great river that passes through it.

The other party visited a region beyond this river, inhabited by a people speaking a different language from those of Culua, and called Tenis ; whose chief ruler is named Coatelicamar. His territory is situated on a lofty and rough mountainous range, with a population inured to war, who fight with spears of twenty-five to thirty palms' length; he is independent of Muteczuma. The messengers with the Spaniards did not dare enter this province, as it was not subject to Muteczuma, without first notifying the governor, and asking his permission, announcing that they had come with certain Spaniards to see the gold mines that were in his country, for whom they requested a favorable reception in my name and that of Muteczuma, their lord. Coatelicamar answered, that he was very willing the Spaniards should enter his province and see the mines, with any thing else they pleased ; but that the Culuans, who were subjects of Muteczuma, must not do so, as they were his enemies. The Spaniards were somewhat at a loss whether to go alone or not ; their companions advised them not to go, as they would be put to death, alleging that it was for the purpose of being able to destroy them, that he would not consent to the Culuans accompanying them. At length, however, they resolved to go alone, and were well received by the governor and his people, who showed them seven or eight mines from which they said gold was procured ; and in their presence some of the Indians got out a quantity of the precious metal, of which specimens were brought to me. Coatelicamar sent by these Spaniards several messengers, offering himself and his land to the service of your Majesty, and accompanying his professions with presents of gold and cotton cloth. The other party of envoys visited a province called

Tuchitebeque, on the same route, towards the sea, twelve leagues from the province of Malinaltebeque, where I have already said gold was found, and there they were shown two other streams, from which also they obtained specimens of gold.

The Spaniards who went to the Province of Malinaltebeque, informed me that it contained every convenience for establishing farming stations, and procuring gold ; on this account I requested Muteczuma to establish a plantation there for your Majesty. He accordingly set to work for this purpose with so much diligence, that within two months from the time I spoke to him on the subject, sixty fanegas of maize, and ten of beans were planted, together with two thousand cacoa trees, which bear a fruit resembling the almond, that is sold after being ground, and is held in such estimation, that it is used as money throughout all the country, and employed in purchases in the markets and every where else. He had also erected four very good houses, in one of which beside the apartments there was a pool of water, in which they placed five hundred geese, there held in high estimation, as they make a profitable use of their feathers, which they strip off every year and weave into thin cloth. They also placed there fifteen hundred domestic fowls ; and altogether the improvements were valued by Spaniards who saw them at different times, exclusively of the soil, at 20,000 *pesos* of gold.

I likewise inquired of Muteczuma if there were on the coast of the sea any river or bay into which ships could enter, and lie with safety. He answered that he did not know, but that he would cause a chart of the coast to be painted, showing the rivers and bays, and that I might send Spaniards to examine them, for which purpose he would despatch suitable persons with them as guides ; and he did so. The next day they brought me a chart of the whole coast, painted on cloth ; on which appeared a river that discharged into the sea, with a wider mouth, according to the chart, than any others ; this seemed to be between the mountains called Sanmyn, which extend to a bay until then believed by the pilots to separate the land at a province called Mazamalco. Muteczuma told me that I might select whom I would wish to send, and that he would provide the means for their examining and ascertaining every thing ; I immediately designated ten men and among them several pilots and persons acquainted with the sea.

Being furnished with the provision he made for them, they departed, and proceeded along the coast from the port of Chalchilmeca, called San Juan, where I first landed, for sixty leagues and upwards, without finding any river or bay where ships could enter ; although there were many large ones on the coast, which they sounded in canoes ; and in this manner they arrived at the province of Quacalco abovementioned, [Mazamalco], where was the river represented on the chart. The governor of this province, named Tuchintecla, received them well, and furnished them with canoes to explore the river. They found two fathoms and a half of water at its entrance, in the shallowest part, and ascending twelve leagues, the least depth they found was five or six fathoms ; judging from their observations, it was thought that the river continued for thirty leagues of the same depth. There were numerous and large towns on its banks, and the whole province was level, and well fortified, rich in all the productions of the earth, and containing a numerous population, who are not vassals or subjects of Muteczuma, but rather his enemies. The governor of the country, when the Spaniards arrived there, ordered that the Mexicans should not enter his territory, because they were his enemies ; and when our people returned to me with this account, he sent several persons in their company, by whom he transmitted to me jewels of gold, skins of tigers, feathers, precious stones, and cotton cloth ; and they informed me from him, that Tuchintecla, their sovereign, had heard of me a long time ago, for the people of Putunchán, or the river of Grijalva, who were his friends, had told him of my passing through their country, and making war upon them, because they opposed my entrance into their town; and how afterwards we left them as friends and vassals of your Majesty. He also offered himself and his whole province to the service of your Majesty, and begged me to receive him as a friend, on condition that the Mexicans should not enter his country, giving me liberty to examine all it contained, and of choosing whatever I pleased for your Majesty's use, of which he would yield an annual tribute.

When I was informed by the Spaniards that the province they had visited, was in a situation to be colonized, and that they had discovered a harbor in it, I was much gratified since from the time that I had first set foot in this country, I had constantly sought to find some harbor upon its coast, where I might found a settlement, but I had not been able to discover one, nor is there any on all the coast, from the river San Antonio, which is next the Grijalva, to that of Panuco, which is down the coast, where certain Spaniards under Francisco de Garay, went for the purpose of establishing a colony, as I shall hereafter relate to your Majesty. In order to satisfy myself in relation to the province, the harbor, and the good will of the natives, I resolved to send thither certain of my company, who would be able to judge of the country from their observation and experience. They went in company with the messengers that the Lord Tuchintecla had sent to me, carrying several things that I sent to him as presents. Having arrived there, they were well received by him, and applied themselves to survey and sound the port and river, and to examine the sites the place afforded for a town. They afterwards brought me a full and correct report of their observations, and declared that everything requisite for a settlement was to be found there. The governor himself was gratified, and expressed a great desire to become a vassal of your Majesty. As soon as they had returned, I despatched a captain with one hundred and fifty men for the purpose of tracing, planning and settling the town, and erecting a fortress, as the governor had consented to it, and offered whatever was necessary, or they might require for the purpose ; and he even built six houses on the spot selected for the town, and said that he was very well pleased that we should go there to found a colony, and dwell upon his land.

I have, in the preceding pages, most powerful Sire, stated that at the time I entered the great city of Temixtitan, a great lord had met me on my route who came on behalf of Muteczuma ; and according to what I afterwards learned, he was a near relative of that monarch, possessing a province next to that of Muteczuma, and called Haculuacán. The capital of it was a very large city, adjacent to the salt lake ; it is six leagues distant from the city of Temixtitan, as the canoes go by the lake, and ten leagues by land. The name of the city was Tezcuco, and it contained about thirty thousand families. There are in it, Sire, splendid houses, mosques or temples, and oratories of great magnitude, and well finished. The markets are also very extensive ; and besides this city, there are two others, one three leagues from Tezcuco, called Acuruman, and the other six leagues, called Otumpa. Each of these contains three or four thousand families. This province and seignory of Haculuacán has numerous other villages and hamlets, and excellent lands, well cultivated. It borders on one side upon that of Tascaltecal, of which I have already spoken to your Majesty.

The governor, who is named Cacamazin, after the imprisonment of Muteczuma, rebelled, both against your Majesty, to whom he professed allegiance, and against Muteczuma. Although he was several times summoned to come and render obedience to your Majesty's commands, he never would. Beside the requisitions I made of him, Muteczuma also sent his commands to him, to which he answered, that if they wanted any thing of him they should go to his country, where they should see what he was, and what service he was obliged to perform. I was told that he had a large force of armed men in readiness at a moment's warning. As neither by demonstrations nor requisitions was I able to induce him to yield, I spoke to Muteczuma, and asked his advice what it was best for us to do, in order that we might not leave his rebellion unpunished. He answered, that should we resolve on war, it would be attended with much danger, as he was a great lord, and possessed much strength and many people ; and he could not be attacked without the risk of great destruction of life. But that there were several of the principal persons of Cacamazin who resided in Mexico at his charge, and that he would speak to them on the subject, in order to induce some of Cacamazin's followers to come to Mexico, and thus being secured, they might favor our attempt, and their master be taken without risk.

And so it turned out ; Muteczuma laid his plans in such a manner, that a number of his leading men persuaded Cacamazin to meet them in the city of Tezcuco, for the purpose of taking measures in relation to the affairs of the state, (in which their station entitled them to a voice,) and who were grieved by the course he was pursuing, which would involve the ruin of the country. Accordingly they assembled in a splendid palace of Cacamazin, situated near the shore of the lake, which was built in such a manner that canoes could pass under it, and from thence issue forth upon the lake. At that place a number of boats were stationed, properly manned and equipped, in case Cacamazin should offer any resistance when taken. While he was consulting with his chiefs, they seized him, and before it was discovered by his attendants, they secured him in a boat, and launched out upon the lake, directing their course to the great city, which, as I have already stated, was six leagues distant. Having arrived there, they placed him on a litter, as his condition required, and they had been accustomed to do, and brought him to me ; I immediately caused him to be put in irons, and to be carefully guarded. Having advised with Muteczuma, I conferred the government of the province on his son, called Cucuzcasin, in the name of your Majesty ; and I directed all the communities and lords of the province to obey him as their ruler, until your Majesty should order otherwise. Accordingly, from that time he was recognized and obeyed as their sovereign, in the same manner as Cacamazin had been ; and he also obeyed all the commands that I imposed on him in your Majesty's name.

A few days after the imprisonment of Cacamazin, Muteczuma called together all the governors of the neighboring cities and states, and when they were assembled, he sent an invitation to me to join them ; on my arrival, he addressed them as follows ; " My brethren and friends, you know that for a long period you, your fathers, and ancestors have been the subjects and vassals of my predecessors and myself, and that both by them and me you have been always well treated and honored. You have also done all that is due from good and loyal vassals to their liege lords ; and I also believe that you have heard from your ancestors, that they were not natives of this land, but that they came to it from a great distance, under the conduct of a sovereign whose subjects they all were ; he left them here, but after a considerable time he returned, and found that our ancestors had become numerous and well established in this country, having intermarried with the women of the land, by whom they had many children. On this account they were unwilling to go back with him, or to acknowledge him as their sovereign ; whereupon he went away, saying that he would return, or send so great a force as would compel them to submit to him. You knew well that we have always looked for him ; and according to what this captain has told us of the king and lord, who has sent him here, and also considering the quarter from which he says he has come, I hold it certain, and you must be of the same opinion, that this is the sovereign that we have expected ; especially as he informs us, that he had some knowledge of us there. And since our predecessors did not render their just service to their sovereign lord, let us perform our duty ; and let us render thanks to our gods, that he, who was so long expected by them, has come in our day. I must, therefore, entreat, since all this is well known to you, that hereafter, instead of regarding me as your sovereign, you will recognize and obey that great king, as he is our natural ruler, and receive this his captain in place of him ; and all the tributes and services which till now you have rendered to me, you will hereafter render and yield to him, as I likewise contribute and yield all that he requires of me ; and thus besides performing your duty, you will gratify and oblige me."

All this he said weeping, with more tears and sighs than becomes a man to exhibit ; and likewise all the princes who were present wept so much, that for a long time they were unable to answer. And I assure your sacred Majesty that there was not a Spaniard who heard the discourse, that did not feel great compassion. After their grief had abated, they answered, that they recognized him as their sovereign, and had engaged to do whatever he might command ; and that on this account, as well as for the reasons he had assigned, they were willing to act as he required ; and that, from henceforth forever, they declared themselves the vassals of your Majesty, and all, and each for himself, would there promise, and did promise, to do and fulfil all that was commanded in the name of your Majesty as became good and loyal vassals; and to aid with tribute and services as they had heretofore done for Muteczuma, and as was their duty, together with whatever else might be required of them in the name of your Majesty. All this passed in the presence of a public notary, and was confirmed by a formal act ; as well as by the testimony of many of our countrymen whom I had requested to be present.

After this solemn act and acknowledgment on the part of these lords towards your Majesty, I one day spoke to Muteczuma and said that your Highness needed gold for certain works that he had ordered to be completed, and I wished him to send some of his people, and I would send some of mine, to the lands and abodes of those lords who had submitted themselves on that occasion, to ask them to supply your Majesty with some part of what they possessed; since besides the necessity your Majesty had for the gold, it would serve as a beginning of their fealty, and your Highness would form a better opinion of their disposition to render him service by such a demonstration; and I also requested that he himself would give me what gold he had, as well as other things, in order that I might transmit them to your Majesty. He immediately requested that I would designate the Spaniards whom I wished to send on this business, and he distributed them two by two, and five by five, among many provinces and cities, the names of which I do not recollect, the records having perished, as they were numerous and different, some eighty, some one hundred leagues from the great city of Temixtitan; and with them he sent some of his own people, and directed them to go to the governors of provinces and cities, and say that I commanded each one of them to give a certain proportion of gold, which he prescribed.

Accordingly all those caciques to whom he sent contributed freely what he demanded of them, as well jewels as plates and leaves of gold and silver, and whatever else they possessed; and melting down all that admitted it, we found that the fifth part belonging to your Majesty amounted to 32,400 *pesos* of gold and upwards, without reckoning the jewels of gold and silver, the feather-work, and precious stones, together with many other valuable articles that I set apart for your sacred Majesty, worth more than 100,000 ducats. These besides their monied value, were of so costly and curious workmanship, that considering their novelty and wonderful beauty, no price could be set on them; nor is it probable that any one of all the princes of the world to whose knowledge they might come, could produce any articles of equal splendor. It may seem to your Majesty like a fabulous story, but it is true, that all the natural objects, both on sea and land, of which Muteczuma has any knowledge, are imitated in gold and silver, as well as in precious stones and feathers, in such perfection that they appear almost the same. He gave me numerous specimens of many of these for your Highness, besides other things of which I had given him drawings, which he caused to be wrought in gold, such as images, crucifixes, medals, jewels, and necklaces, together with many other articles, of which he had imitations made. They assigned to your Majesty a fifth part of the silver, amounting to one hundred marks and upwards, which at my request the natives worked up into large and small dishes, porringers, cups, and spoons; and they made them as perfectly as they could understand their form from our description.

Besides these, Muteczuma gave me a large quantity of his cotton stuff, which, considering it was cotton without silk, could not be equalled in the whole world, either in texture, or in the variety and beauty of the colors, or in the workmanship. It comprised male and female apparel of remarkable elegance; ornamental hangings for bed-chambers, superior beyond comparison to those made of silk; together with other fabrics of cotton, as tapestries, designed for halls and temples; counterpanes, composed of feathers interwoven with cotton, and extremely beautiful; and many other articles, so numerous and ingenious, that I am unable to describe them to your Majesty. He also presented me with a dozen serbatans, used by himself for shooting, made with such admirable skill that they also exceed my power of description. There were depicted on them a great variety of birds, animals, trees, flowers, and various other objects; the rims and extremities, of the width of a span, as well as the centre, were inlaid with gold, and curiously carved. To these he added a pouch of gold net-work, intended to contain the pellets or little balls, usually formed of clay, but which he said he would give me of gold ; and also moulds of the same precious metal, for making the pellets ; together with an infinite variety of other things.

PIZARRO

The account of Pizarro's conquest of Peru was written by his secretary, Francisco de Xeres, who was an eye-witness of all that he described. The narrative is taken up from Pizarro's return from Spain in 1530, *where he had gone to obtain direct permission from the Spanish Government to undertake his expedition.*

As described in the narrative, Pizarro set out from Panama City (*which had been taken by Balboa in* 1513) *in January* 1531, *crossed the Cordilleras in November* 1532, *and captured the chief of the Inca state in the same month. It will be noticed that De Soto, later to be famous as the invader of Florida, is prominently mentioned in the narrative.*

The translation here used was prepared by Clements R. Markham for the Hakluyt Society in 1872.

PIZARRO

When the Adelantado Francisco Pizarro was nominated by his Majesty, he sailed from the port of San Lucar with a fleet, and with a fair wind and without accident, arrived at the port of Nombre de Dios. Thence he went, with his forces, to the city of Panama, where he encountered many difficulties and obstructions intended to prevent him from going to people the land he had discovered, according to his Majesty's orders. But he resolutely continued his preparations, and sailed from Panama with as many people as he could collect, being a hundred and eighty men, with thirty-seven horses, in three ships. His voyage was so successful that in thirteen days he arrived at the bay of San Mateo, though, when they began this enterprise, they could never reach it during more than two years. There he landed the people and horses, and they marched along the shore, finding all the inhabitants in arms against them. They continued their march until they reached a large village called Coaque, which they entered, for the inhabitants had not risen, as in the other villages. There they took fifteen thousand *pesos de oro*, fifteen hundred *marcs* of silver, and many emeralds which were not then known as, nor held to be, precious stones. Hence the Spaniards obtained them from the Indians for cloths and other things. In this village they took the Cacique or Lord of the place, with some of his people, and they found much cloth of different kinds, and abundant supplies, sufficient to maintain the Spaniards for three or four years.

The Governor despatched the three ships from Coaque to the city of Panama and to Nicaragua, to get more men and horses, in order to secure the conquest and settling of the land. The Governor remained there with his people, resting for some days until two of the ships returned from Panama with twenty-six horsemen and thirty foot soldiers.

On their arrival the Governor set out, with the horse and foot, marching along the sea coast, which was well peopled, and placing all the villages under the dominion of his Majesty ; for their lords, with one accord, came out into the roads to receive the Governor, without making any opposition. The Governor, far from doing them any harm or showing any anger, received them all lovingly, and they were taught some things touching our holy Catholic Faith, by the monks who accompanied the expedition. Thus the Governor advanced with the Spaniards, until they reached an island called Puna, to which the Spaniards gave the name of Santiago. It is two leagues from the main land ; and, being populous, and rich, and yielding abundant supplies, the Governor crossed over to it in two ships, and in *balsas* of wood which the Indians make, on which the horses were carried over.

The Governor was received on this island by the Lord with much joy, and many presents of provisions, which are brought out on the road, together with musical instruments that the natives use for their recreation. This island is fifteen leagues round. It is fertile and populous, and contains many villages, ruled by seven chiefs, one of whom is lord over the others. This chief gave a quantity of gold and silver to the Governor of his own free will, and, as it was winter, the Governor and his people rested on that island ; for he could not have advanced in the rains without serious detriment. Several of those who were sick recovered before the rainy season was over.

The natural inclination of the Indians is not to obey or serve any foreigner, unless they are obliged to do so by force. This Cacique had peacefully lived with the Governor, and had become a vassal of his Majesty ; yet it became known, through the interpreters of the Governor, that he had assembled all his warriors, and that for many days they had been employed in making arms. This was also observed with their own eyes by the Spaniards, in the village where they and the Cacique were lodged. Many armed Indians were found in the house of the Cacique and in the other houses, waiting until all the islanders were assembled before they attacked the Christians in the following night.

When the Governor had received this information from his secret spies, he ordered the Cacique, his three sons, and other principal men to be taken prisoners, and the Spaniards attacked the armed Indians and killed several, while the others fled, abandoning the village. The house of the Cacique and some others were pillaged, some gold and silver and much cloth being found in them. During that night very careful watch was kept in the camp of the Christians, their number being sixty horse and a hundred foot. Before next day dawned they heard warlike cries, and soon a great number of Indians was seen to approach, all the men being armed and playing warlike instruments. They advanced in several bodies, and attacked the Christian camp. By this time it was daylight, and the Governor ordered his men to assault the enemy with vigour. Some Christians and horses were wounded ; but, as our Lord favours and succours those who are engaged in His service, the Indians were defeated, and turned their backs. The horse-soldiers followed them, wounding and killing several. The Christians returned to the camp, because the horses were tired, the pursuit having continued from morning until noon.

On a following day the Governor sent his troops in detachments over the island to search for their enemies, and make war upon them, which they continued to do during twenty days ; so that the Indians were well punished. Three principal men, who were prisoners with the chief, were accused by him of having advised and arranged the treason, while he himself did not wish to join it but was unable to control these leaders. The Governor executed judgment upon them, burning some, and beheading the others.

By reason of the insurrection and treason of the Cacique and Indians of the island of Santiago, war was made upon them until they abandoned their island and crossed over to the main land. But, seeing that the island was rich and fertile, the Governor set the Cacique at liberty that he might gather his scattered people together and re-settle the island, so that it might not be ruined. The Cacique was content to serve his Majesty henceforward, by reason of the kind treatment he received in prison. The Governor then departed with as many Spaniards and horses as his three ships would hold, for the town of Tumbez, leaving behind some troops with a captain, for whom the ships were to return. But, in order that the passage might be effected more quickly, the Governor caused the Cacique to provide *balsas*, in which three Christians went with a supply of cloths to Tumbez.

In three days the ships reached the coast at Tumbez, and when the Governor landed, he found that the inhabitants were in arms. He learnt from some captive Indians that the people had risen and seized the Christians and cloths that came in the *balsas*. As soon as the people and horses were landed, the Governor ordered the ships to return for those who were left on the island. He and his troops lodged in the village of the Cacique, in two strong houses built like a fortress. The Governor then ordered the Spaniards to explore the country, and to ascend a river which flows between those villages, that they might get tidings of the three Christians who were sent in the *balsas*; in the hope of finding them before they were killed by the Indians. But, although the Spaniards used much diligence in exploring the land from the first hour that they came on shore, they could neither hear nor see anything of the three Christians. The Spaniards put all the provisions they could collect in two *balsas*, and they captured some Indians, from among whom the Governor sent messengers to the Cacique, and to some principal chiefs, requiring them, on the part of his Majesty, to make peace and deliver up the three Christians alive, without having injured them; in which case they would be received as vassals of his Majesty, although they had been transgressors. If they refused, he threatened to make war upon them with fire and sword, until they were destroyed.

Some days elapsed, and the Indians not only kept away, but showed signs of pride and made forts on the other side of the river, which had increased in size and could not be forded. They invited the Spaniards to come across, and told them that they had already killed their three companions.

As soon as all the men had arrived, who were left on the island, the Governor ordered a great raft of wood to be made, for the easier passage of the river. He sent forty horse and eighty foot across with a captain, and they continued to be ferried over on the raft from morning until evening. The captain had orders to make war upon the Indians, because they were rebels and had slain the Christians ; and, after they had suffered such punishment as their offence deserved, they were to be received peacefully in accordance with the commands of his Majesty. So the captain set out with his troops, and after he had crossed the river, he took guides with him, and marched right towards the place where the Indians were encamped. At dawn he attacked the camp where they lodged, and continued the pursuit all that day, killing and wounding them, and making prisoners of all he could overtake. Towards night the Christians assembled at a village.

Next morning the Spaniards marched in detachments in search of their enemies, and they again received punishment. When the captain saw that the harm they had received was sufficient, he sent messengers to propose terms of peace to the chief. The chief of the province, which is called Quillimasa, sent one of his principal men back with the messengers, who made this reply—that " by reason of the great fear he had of the Spaniards the chief had not come himself, but that if he was assured that he would not be killed, he would come peacefully." The captain answered the messenger that " he would not be received badly, nor would he be injured, that he might come without fear as the Governor would receive him as the vassal of his Majesty, and would pardon the fault he had committed."

With this assurance, though in great terror, the chief with some principal men, came, and the captain received them joyfully, saying that "no harm would be done to those who came peacefully, though they had been in rebellion ; that as he had come, no more war would be made; and that the people might return to their villages." Afterwards he ordered the supplies he had found to be taken across the river, and he, with his Spaniards, returned to the place where he had left the Governor, taking the chief and the principal Indians with him. He reported what had taken place to the Governor, who gave thanks to our Lord for having granted a victory, without any Christian being wounded. He then told them to seek rest. The Governor asked the chief :—" Why he, who had been so well treated, had risen and killed the Christians ; when many of his people had been restored to him, whom the Cacique of the Island had captured ; and when the captains who had burnt his villages had been given up to him to receive punishment, in the belief that he was faithful, and would be grateful for these benefits ? "

The Cacique answered—" I knew that certain of my principal men brought the three Christians in the *balsas*, and killed them, but I had no concern in it, though I feared that the blame would be put upon me."

The Governor replied—" Let those principal men be brought to me, and send the people back to their villages." The Cacique then sent for the people and for the principal men, and said that he could not see those who had killed the Christians, because they had left the country.

After the Governor had been there for some days, he saw that the Indian murderers could not be secured, and that the town of Tumbez was destroyed. It seemed to have been an important place, judging from some edifices it contained. Among them were two houses, one of which was surrounded by two circuits of earthen wall. It had open courts and rooms, and doors for defence, and was a good fortress against Indians. The natives say that these edifices were abandoned by reason of a great pestilence, and by reason of the war that was waged by the Cacique of the island. As there were no Indians in this district except those who were subject to the above-mentioned chief, the Governor resolved to continue his march with some cavalry and foot soldiers, in search of another more populous province, with a view to sending people to settle in the town of Tumbez. So he set out, leaving a Lieutenant with the Christians who remained in charge of the stores ; and the Cacique remained at peace, assembling the people in the villages.

On the first day that the Governor departed from Tumbez, which was the 16th day of May, 1532, he arrived at a small village, and on the third day he reached a village among hills, and the Cacique, who was Lord of that village, was called Juan. Here they rested for three days, and in three more days they came to the banks of a river, which were well peopled, and yielded abundance of provisions of the country, and flocks of sheep. The road is all made by hand, broad and well built, and, in some bad places, it is paved. Having arrived at the river, which is called Turicarami, he formed his camp in a large village called Puechio, and all the chiefs who lived on the lower course of the river came to the Governor to make their peace, while the inhabitants of the village came out to meet him. The Governor received them with much love and informed them of the orders of his Majesty that they should know and be obedient to the church and to his Majesty.

When they understood what was said, through interpreters, they replied that they desired to be his vassals, and that they would receive the Governor with the solemnity that might be required ; so they served him and brought him provisions. Before reaching this place, at the distance of a flight from a cross-bow, there is a large place with a fortress surrounded by a wall, and many rooms inside, where the Christians lodged, that the Indians might not be affronted. On this occasion, as on all others when the Indians submitted peacefully, the Governor ordered, under severe penalties, " that no harm should be done to them either in person or goods, that none of their provisions should be taken, beyond those which they chose to give for the sustenance of the Christians, and he declared that those who acted differently should be punished " ; for every day the Indians brought in all the supplies that were wanted, as well as fodder for the horses, and they did all the service that was required of them.

The Governor, seeing that the banks of that river were fertile and well peopled, ordered search to be made in the neighbourhood for a well sheltered port, and a very good one was found on the sea-coast, near the valley ; and Caciques or Lords of many vassals were found, in positions which were convenient for them to come and do service on the banks of the river. The Governor went to visit all these villages, and the district appeared to him to be suitable for a Spanish settlement. In order to comply with the commands of his Majesty, and that the natives might come to be converted and to receive a knowledge of our Holy Catholic Faith, he sent a messenger to the Spaniards who had been left at Tumbez, ordering them to come that, with the consent of all, a settlement might be formed on a site most convenient for his Majesty's service, and for the good of the natives.

After he had sent this messenger, it occurred to him that delay might arise unless a person went, of whom the Caciques and Indians of Tumbez were in awe, so that they might assist in the march of the Spaniards. So he sent his brother Hernando Pizarro, Captain-General. Afterwards the Governor learnt that certain chiefs in the hills would not submit, although they had received the orders of his Majesty, so he sent a Captain with twenty-five horse and foot, to reduce them to the service of his Majesty. Finding that they had abandoned their villages, the Captain sent to require them to come in peacefully, but they came prepared for war, and the Captain came out against them.

In a short time many were killed and wounded, and they were defeated. The Captain once more demanded that they should submit, threatening that, if they refused, he would destroy them. So they submitted, and the Captain received them, and leaving all that province at peace, he returned to the place where the Governor remained, bringing the chiefs with him. The Governor received them very kindly, and ordered them to return to their villages, and to bring back their people. The Captain said that he had found mines of fine gold in the hills round the villages of these chiefs, and that the inhabitants collected it. He brought specimens, and added that the mines were twenty leagues from that town.

The Captain who went to Tumbez for the people, returned with them in thirty days. Some of them came by sea, with the stores, in a ship, in a barque, and in *balsas*. These ships had come from Panama with merchandise, and brought no troops, for the Captain Diego de Almagro remained there, preparing a fleet, in which to come and form a settlement for himself. As soon as the Governor heard that the ships had arrived and landed the stores, he set out from the village of Puechio, with some troops, to descend the river. On reaching a place, where dwelt a chief named Lachira, he found certain Christians who had landed. They complained to the Governor that the chief had ill-treated them, and that fear had prevented them from sleeping during the previous night, because they saw the Indians marching about under arms.

The Governor made inquiries, and found that the chief of Lachira and his principal men, with another chief, named Almotaxe, had formed a conspiracy to kill the Christians on the very day that the Governor arrived. Having considered the information, the Governor sent secretly to have the chief Almotaxe and the principal men seized, while he himself apprehended the chief of Lachira and some of his leading men, who confessed their crime. Then he ordered justice to be executed, burning the Cacique of Almotaxe and his head men, some Indians, and all the principal men of Lachira. He did not execute justice upon the chief of Lachira, because his fault did not appear to be so great, and because, if he was killed, both the provinces would remain without a head, and would be lost. He was told that in future he must be true, and that the first treason would be his ruin. He was to govern all his own people, and also those of Almotaxe, until a boy, the heir of the lordship of Almotaxe, reached an age when he could be entrusted with the government.

This severity filled all the surrounding country with fear, insomuch that a confederacy which was said to have been formed to attack the Spaniards was dissolved ; and from henceforth the Indians served better, and with more fear than before. Having executed this justice, and collected the people and stores which came from Tumbez, the Governor viewed the district, in concert with the Reverend Father Friar Vicente de Valverde, a monk of the order of San Domingo, and with the officers of his Majesty. In this region it was found that all necessaries for a place where Spaniards might settle were combined, that the natives were able to work without being overcome with fatigue, and that attention could be given to their conversion in accordance with the desire of his Majesty. The Governor, with the concurrence of his officers therefore, established and founded a town in the name of his Majesty.

Near the banks of the river, and six leagues from the sea port, there was a chief, the lord of a village, named Tangarara, to which the Spaniards gave the name of San Miguel. In order that the ships which had come from Panama might receive no loss by delaying their return voyage, the Governor, with the concurrence of the officers of his Majesty, ordered certain gold, which had been presented by these chiefs and those of Tumbez, to be melted. A fifth was set apart as belonging to his Majesty. The rest, belonging to the company, was borrowed by the Governor from his troops, to be paid with the first gold they should obtain ; and with this gold the fleet was despatched, the freight was paid, and the merchants sent off their goods, and so they departed. The Governor sent to advise the Captain Almagro, his comrade, how much God and his Majesty would be injured if he attempted to form a new settlement.

Having despatched the ships, the Governor divided the land amongst those who settled in the new town, for, without aid of the natives, they could neither have maintained nor peopled it. If the Caciques had been made to serve, without being assigned to persons who would be responsible, the natives would have suffered much injury ; for when the Spaniards know the Indians who are assigned to them, they treat them well, and take care of them. Influenced by these considerations, and with the approval of the monk and of officers, who thought that such a measure would be for the service of God and the good of the natives, the Governor assigned the Caciques and Indians to the settlers in this town, that they might assist in their maintenance, and that the Christians might teach them our holy Faith, in obedience to the orders of his Majesty that measures should be taken which were best for the service of God, of himself, and for the good of the country and of the natives. Alcaldes, Regidores, and other public officers were elected, who were given instructions by which they were to be guided.

The Governor received intelligence that the way to Chincha and Cuzco passed through very populous districts, which were rich and fertile, and that there was an inhabited valley called Caxamalca, ten or twelve days' journey from his settlement, where Atabaliba resided, who was the greatest lord among these natives, whom they all obeyed, and who had conquered lands far distant from the country of his birth. When he came to the province of Caxamalca, he found it to be so rich and pleasant that he settled there, and continued to conquer other lands from thence. This lord is held in so much dread that the natives of the valley are not so reconciled to the service of his Majesty as would otherwise be the case, but they rather favour Atabaliba and say that they acknowledge him as their lord and no other, and that a small detachment from his army would suffice to kill all the Christians. For the Indians excite great terror by their accustomed cruelty. The Governor resolved to march in search of Atabaliba, to reduce him to the service of his Majesty, and to pacify the surrounding provinces. For when he was once conquered the rest would soon be reduced to submission.

The Governor departed from the city of San Miguel, in search of Atabaliba, on the 24th of September, 1532, and on the first day his troops crossed the river on two rafts, the horses swimming. That night he slept at a village on the other side of the river. After three more days he arrived at the valley of Piura, and came to a fortress belonging to a chief, where they met a Captain with some Spaniards, who had been sent to subdue that chief, in order to relieve the Chief of San Miguel. The Governor remained there for ten days, making preparations for the march. On mustering the Christians he intended to take with him, he found he had sixty-seven horse and one hundred and ten foot soldiers, three of them with guns, and some with cross-bows. The Lieutenant in charge of San Miguel wrote to report that few Christians remained there, so the Governor proclaimed that "those who wished to return and settle in the town of San Miguel would have Indians assigned to maintain them, like the other settlers who remained there, and that he would proceed with his conquest with those that were left, whether they were few or many." Five horsemen and four foot soldiers returned ; so that, with these, there were fifty-five settlers, besides ten or twelve others who remained by their own wish, without citizenship. The Governor then mustered sixty-two horsemen and one hundred and two foot soldiers. He ordered that arms should be prepared for those who had none, both for their persons and horses, and he re-organised the cross-bow men, completing their number to twenty, and appointing a captain to take charge of them.

Having made all necessary arrangements, he set out with his troops, and, after marching until noon, he arrived at a large court, surrounded by walls, belonging to a chief named Pabor. The Governor and his troops lodged there. He learnt that this chief had been ruined, for that the old Cuzco, father of Atabaliba, had destroyed twenty villages and killed their inhabitants. But, in spite of this injury, the chief had many vassals, and bordering on his territory was that of his brother, who was as great a lord as himself. These natives submitted peacefully, and were assigned to the city of San Miguel. This settlement, and that of Piura, are in very fertile level valleys. The Governor here obtained tidings of the neighbouring chiefs, and of the road to Caxamalca, and he was informed that further on there was a great town, called Caxas, in which there was a garrison of Atabaliba, waiting for the Christians, in case they should come that way.

This being known to the Governor, he sent a Captain secretly, with horse and foot, to the town of Caxas, with orders that, if the enemy wished to oppose their passage with violence, he was to strive to inspire them with peaceful feelings, and to bring them into the service of his Majesty. On that day the Captain departed. The next day the Governor set out, and reached a town called Çaran, where he waited for the Captain who had gone to Caxas. The chief of the town brought the Governor supplies of sheep and other things, to a fortress at which the Governor arrived at noon.

Next day he left the fortress and came to the town of Çaran, where he ordered his camp to be formed, to wait for the Captain who had gone to Caxas. After five days the Captain sent a messenger to the Governor, with news that he had succeeded. The Governor presently replied from the village where he was waiting, that, after he had completed his work, he should join him, and, on the road, visit and reduce another town near that of Caxas, called Gicabamba ; and that it was reported that the chief of Zaran was lord over rich villages, and of a fertile valley, which was assigned to the settlers of the city of San Miguel. During the eight days that the Governor was waiting for the Captain, the Spaniards were re-organised, and the horses were refreshed for the coming journey.

When the Captain returned with his troops, he gave an account to the Governor of what he had seen in those villages. He said that it had taken him two days and one night to reach Caxas, without resting, except for meals. Even then they would not have arrived (though they had good guides) if they had not met some spies from the village, some of whom they captured, and from whom they obtained information. Having put his men in order, the Captain followed the road until he reached the village, and at the entrance he found a royal building, where there were traces of armed men. The village of Caxas is in a small valley surrounded by mountains. The people were in a commotion, but the Captain pacified them, and gave them to understand that he came, on the part of the Governor, to receive their submission as vassals of the Emperor.

Then a chief came out and said that he was in the service of Atabaliba, receiving tribute from these villages. He described the road to Caxamalca, and mentioned the intention of Atabaliba to visit the Christians. He spoke of the city of Cuzco, thirty days' journey from Caxas, which is a league round, and the house of the Cacique is four cross-bow shots in length. There is also a hall, where is the dead body of old Cuzco, the floor of which is plated with silver, and the roof and walls with gold and silver interwoven. He added that it was a year since the Cuzco, son of old Cuzco, lost those villages, when they were taken by his brother Atabaliba, who rebelled and conquered the land, exacting great tribute, and daily perpetrating cruelties. For they not only have to give their goods as tribute, but also their sons and daughters. The royal building was reported to belong to Atabaliba, who, a few days before, had gone hence, with a part of his army. They found a great and strong building in that town of Caxas, surrounded by a mud wall with doorways, in which there were many women spinning and weaving cloth for the army of Atabaliba ; and there were no men with them, except the porters who guarded them. At the entrance of the village there were certain Indians hung up by the feet ; and this chief stated that Atabaliba had ordered them to be killed, because one of them entered the house of the women to sleep with one ; who, with all the porters who consented to his entering the house, was hanged.

As soon as this Captain had pacified the village of Caxas, he marched to Guacamba, which is distant one day's journey, and is larger than Caxas, containing finer edifices, and a fortress built entirely of cut stones, the larger stones being of five or six *palmos*, and so closely joined that there appeared to be no mortar between them. There was a lofty masonry platform, with two flights of stone steps, between two buildings. A small river flows through this town, and by that of Caxas, which supplies them with water, and over which they have bridges with very good pavements. A broad road, made by hands, connects these two towns ; and the same road traverses all that land from Cuzco to Quito, a distance of more than three hundred leagues. The road is level, and the part which traverses the mountains is very well made, being broad enough for six men on horseback to ride abreast. By the side of the road flow channels of water brought from a distance, at which the travellers can drink. At the end of each day's journey there is a house, like an inn, where those who go and come, can lodge. At the entrance to this road, from the town of Caxas, there was a house at the head of a bridge, where a guard was stationed to receive transit dues in kind, from those who came and went ; and no man could take a load out of the town without paying the toll. This was an ancient custom, and Atabaliba suspended it, in so far as it affected the things that were brought for his troops. No passenger could enter or depart with a load by any other road than that on which the guard was stationed, on pain of death.

He also said that he found, in these two towns, two houses full of shoes, cakes of salt, a food like *albondigas*, and other stores for the use of the troops of Atabaliba. He added that these towns were well ruled, and that the people lived in an orderly manner. A principal Indian and some others came with the Captain. The Captain said that this Indian had come with presents for the Governor. This messenger said to the Governor that his lord Atabaliba had sent him from Caxamalca to bring the present, which consisted of two fountains made of stone, like fortresses, and used to drink out of, and two loads of dried geese, skinned and prepared to be powdered and used for fumigating ; for such is the custom of the lords of that land. The messenger told the Governor that he had been instructed to say that Atabaliba desired to be his friend, and that he was waiting to receive him in peace at Caxamalca.

The Governor received the present, and spoke to the messenger, saying that he rejoiced greatly at his arrival, being a messenger from Atabaliba, whom he desired to see by reason of the things that he had heard of him ; that, as he knew that Atabaliba was making war upon his enemies, he had resolved to go and see him, and be his friend and brother, aiding him in his conquests with the Christians who accompanied him. He ordered that food should be given to the messenger, and to those who came with him, and that they should have all that they needed and be well lodged as the ambassadors of so great a lord. After they were rested, he ordered them to be brought before him, and said that they were to do as they pleased, either to depart at once or to rest for another day.

The messenger replied that he desired to return with the answer to his lord. The Governor then said—" Repeat what I have already told you, that I will not stop at any village on the road, that I may quickly arrive and see your lord." He gave the messenger a shirt, and other things from Castille, to take with him.

After the departure of the messenger, the Governor rested for another two days because the troops that had come from Caxas were fatigued with their journey. In this interval he wrote to the citizens of San Miguel and gave them an account of the land and of the news from Atabaliba ; and he sent them the two vases in the form of fortresses, and cloth of the country from Caxas. It is wonderful how highly this cloth is prized in Spain for its workmanship. It is looked upon more as silk than as wool. The cloths are enriched with many patterns and figures in beaten gold, very well embroidered. As soon as the Governor had despatched his messengers to the town of San Miguel, he set out, and marched for three days without finding a village or any water, except at one small spring where it could only be got at with difficulty. At the end of three days he arrived at a large walled enclosure where no inhabitants were found. It proved to belong to the Lord of a village called Copiz, in an adjacent valley, and that fortress was abandoned because there was no water.

Next morning the Governor started very early, because it was a long march to the inhabited valley. At noon he reached a house with a surrounding wall, containing very good lodgings, where some Indians came out to receive him. But there were neither provisions nor water, so the Governor advanced two leagues further, to the village of the chief. Having arrived, he ordered that the troops should be lodged together, in a certain part of the village. He was informed by the principal Indian of the place, which was called Motux, that the chief was in Caxamalca, and that he had gone there with three hundred men of war. The Governor found there a Captain appointed by Atabaliba.

The Spaniards rested at Motux for four days, and, during that time, the Governor saw some portion of the inhabited country belonging to the chief, which appeared to be extensive, and to include a fertile valley. All the villages between this place and the city of San Miguel are in valleys, as well as all those of which he had received information, as far as the foot of the mountains near

Caxamalca. On this road all the people have the same manner of living. The women wear a long robe which reaches to the ground, like the dresses of women in Castille. The men have short shirts. These people are dirty. They eat flesh and fish all raw, and maize boiled and toasted. They have other filthy things in the way of sacrifices and mosques, which they hold in veneration, and they offer up to them the best of all that they have. Each month they sacrifice their own children, and with the blood they anoint the faces of the idols, and the doors of the mosques. They do this on the sepulchres of the dead, and the victims who are sacrificed, go willingly to their deaths, laughing, dancing and singing. After they have drunk well, they themselves ask that their heads may be cut off. They also sacrifice sheep. The mosques are different from the other houses. They are surrounded by very well-built walls, in the highest part of the town. In Tumbez they wear the same clothes and perform the same sacrifices as in these villages. They sow the crops in the level ground on the banks of the rivers, distributing water through channels. They grow much maize, and other seeds and roots which they eat. In that land there is little rain.

During two days the Governor marched through well-peopled valleys, sleeping at the end of each journey in houses surrounded by walls. The lords of the villages say that the old Cuzco lodged in these houses when he travelled by this road. The people of the country received the Governor in peace. On another day he travelled over a dry and sandy tract until he reached another well-peopled valley, through which a great and rapid river flowed. The river was much swollen, so the Governor passed the night on the hither side, and ordered a Captain to swim across it, with some others who knew how to swim, and to occupy the villages on the other side, thus preventing any people from disturbing the passage. The Captain Hernando Pizarro swam across, and the people of a village on the other side received him in peace, and lodged him in a walled fortress. But as he saw that all the Indians of the villages were in arms, though a few had been friendly, he asked them touching Atabaliba, and whether he was waiting for the Christians with pacific or warlike intentions. None of the Indians wished to tell the truth, by reason of the fear they had of Atabaliba ; until one of the principal men among them was taken apart and tortured.

He then said that Atabaliba waited with hostile intentions, his army being in three detachments, one at the foot of the mountains, another on the summit, and another at Caxamalca. He also told them that Atabaliba waited in great pride, saying that he would kill the Christians, whom he hated. The next morning the Captain sent this news to the Governor. Then the Governor ordered trees to be cut down on both sides of the river, on which the troops and baggage might pass. Three rafts were constructed, on which the men continued to cross over during the whole day, the horses swimming. In all this the Governor worked hard, until the army had crossed. He then went over, and lodged in the fortress where the Captain was. He sent for a Chief, from whom he learnt that Atabaliba was on the other side of Caxamalca, in Guamachuco, with many warriors, his force numbering fifty thousand men.

When the Governor heard of so large a number, believing that the Chief had made a mistake in his account, he was told how the Indians counted, from one to ten, from ten to a hundred, from ten hundreds making a thousand ; and that five tens of thousands were the numbers which Atabaliba had with him. The Chief who gave the Governor this information was the principal Chief among those of that river. He said that when Atabaliba visited his country he had concealed himself from fear ; and when Atabaliba could not find him in his village he killed, out of five thousand inhabitants, as many as four thousand, and took six hundred women and six hundred boys to distribute them among his soldiers. The Chief of that village and fortress where the Governor lodged, was called Cinto, and he was then with Atabaliba.

Here the Governor and his troops rested during four days, and on the day before he departed, he spoke with a principal Indian of the province of San Miguel, and said to him : "Are you bold enough to go to Caxamalca as a spy, and to bring me news of what is going on there ? " The Indian answered : " I will not go as a spy, but I will go as your messenger to speak with Atabaliba, and I will learn whether there are warriors in the mountains, and the intentions of Atabaliba." The Governor said : " Go as you desire, and if there are troops in the mountains (as is reported here), send me word by one of the Indians whom you take with you. Speak with Atabaliba and his people, and tell him of the kind treatment that I and the Christians show to the friendly chiefs, that we only make war upon those who attack us, and that all you have said is true, and according to what you have seen. If Atabaliba wishes to be friendly, tell him that I will be his friend and brother, and will favour and help him in his war."

That Indian departed on the embassy, while the Governor continued his march across those valleys, arriving every day at a village with a walled house like a fortress. After three days he reached a village at the foot of the mountains, leaving the road along which he had hitherto marched, on his right hand, for it leads by the way of those valleys to Chincha. The other road goes direct to Caxamalca. The road to Chincha passed through many villages, and led from the river of San Miguel. It was paved and bounded on each side by a wall. Two carts could be driven abreast upon it. From Chincha it led to Cuzco, and, in many parts of it, rows of trees were planted on either side, for the sake of their shade on the road. This road was made for old Cuzco, when he visited his dominions, and those houses, surrounded by walls, were his lodgings. Some of the Christians were of opinion that the Governor should take this road to Chincha, because there was a difficult mountain to traverse by the other road before reaching Caxamalca, in which the soldiers of Atabaliba were posted, and some disaster might befall, if that road was taken.

The Governor answered that "they now had news of Atabaliba, and that they had been marching in search of him ever since they left the river of San Miguel. If they turned aside now, the Indians would say that it was from fear, and they would become more proud than they were before." For these and other reasons the Governor said that he would not turn aside from his intention of marching to the place where Atabaliba was, wherever that might be. He exhorted all his men to make up their minds to act as he hoped they would, and to have no fear of the great number of soldiers in the army of Atabaliba, for though the Christians might be few, yet the help of our Lord would be sufficient to confound their enemies, and to make them come to a knowledge of our Holy Catholic Faith. He reminded them that every day they had seen our Lord work a miracle for them in their need, and he assured them that He would be with them still, seeing that they went with the good intention of bringing these infidels to a knowledge of the truth, without doing harm or injury to any except those who desired to show opposition and who appeared in arms.

After the Governor had made this speech, all declared that he should take the road which seemed best to him, and that they would follow cheerfully, and show him what each man could do when the time came.

Having arrived at the foot of the mountains they rested for a day to arrange the order for the ascent. The Governor, after taking counsel with experienced officers, resolved to leave the rear guard and baggage, taking with him forty horse and sixty foot. He entrusted the remainder to the care of a Captain, and ordered him to follow with much circumspection, telling him that he would receive instructions as to what he was to do. Having made these arrangements, the Governor commenced the ascent. The horsemen led their horses up until, at noon, they reached a palisaded fort on the top of a hill, in a narrow part of the road where, with few Christians, the way might be made good against a great army. It was so steep that, in places, they had to ascend by steps, and there was no other place but the road by which the ascent could be effected. This pass was ascended without its being defended by anyone. The fortress was surrounded by stone walls, and was built on a hill with declivitous rocks on all sides. Here the Governor stopped to rest and have some food. The cold is so great on these mountains that some of the horses, accustomed to the warmth of the valleys, were frost-bitten. Thence the Governor went to sleep at a village, and sent a messenger to the forces in his rear, with the news that they might safely advance through the pass, and with orders that they were to push on, so as to pass the night at the fortress.

The Governor lodged that night at a village, in a strong house surrounded by a masonry wall, as extensive as a fort of Spain, with its doorways. If the people had had the artists and tools of Spain, this surrounding wall could not have been better built. The people of this village had taken up arms, except some women and a few Indians. The Governor ordered a Captain to take two from amongst the Indians, and to examine each separately touching the affairs of that land, asking them where Atabaliba was, and if he intended peace or war. The Captain learnt from them that Atabaliba had reached Caxamalca three days before, with a large force ; but they knew nothing of his intentions. They said, however, that they had always heard that Atabaliba wished to have peace with the Christians. The people of the village were on his side. Towards sunset one of the Indians who had gone with the messenger arrived, and said that he had been sent back by his master when he was near Caxamalca, because he had encountered two messengers of Atabaliba who were coming behind him and would arrive next day. He reported that Atabaliba was at Caxamalca, and that there were no armed men on the road. The Governor sent back this intelligence to the Captain in charge of the baggage, by a letter, in which he was told that the Governor would make but a short march next day, in order that the Captain might join him, and that the whole force would then advance together.

The next morning the Governor marched with his troops, still ascending the mountains, and stopped on a plain on the summit, near some springs of water, to wait for those who were still behind. The Spaniards rested in the cotton tents they brought with them, making fires to protect themselves from the cold of the mountains. For on the plains of Castille it was not colder than on these heights, which are clear of trees, but covered with a grass, like short *esparto*. There are a few stunted trees, and the water is so cold that it cannot be drunk without being first warmed. After the Governor had rested here for a short time, the rear guard arrived, and also the messengers sent by Atabaliba, who brought ten sheep. Being brought before the Governor, and having made their obeisances, they said :—" Atabaliba has sent these sheep for the Christians, and he would know the day on which they will arrive at Caxamalca, that he may send out provisions on the road." The Governor received them well, and said that he rejoiced at their arrival with a message from his brother Atabaliba, and that he would come as quickly as possible. After they had eaten food, and had some rest, the Governor questioned the messengers touching the affairs of their land, and respecting the wars waged by Atabaliba. One of them answered that Atabaliba had been five days in Caxamalca, waiting for the Governor, and that he had only a few troops with him, the rest having been sent to make war against his brother Cuzco.

The Governor then asked what had taken place in all those wars, and how Atabaliba had commenced his conquests. The Indian answered :—" My Lord Atabaliba is the son of old Cuzco, who is now dead, but who once ruled over all these lands. He left to his son Atabaliba the dominion over a great province called Quito ; and to another elder son he left all the other lands and the principal lordship, and, as successor to the sovereignty, he was called Cuzco, like his father. But, not content with the sovereignty, he came to wage war on his brother Atabaliba, who sent him messages, beseeching him to allow him to enjoy peacefully the inheritance that had been left him by his father. But the Cuzco would not, and he killed his heirs, and a brother of both of them, who came with the message. Seeing this, Atabaliba came against him with a large army, as far as a province called Tumipomba, which was within the territory of his brother; and, because the people resisted, he burnt their town and killed them all. Thence the news came to his brother that he had invaded the land, and was advancing against him. When the Cuzco heard this, he fled to his own land, and Atabaliba marched onwards, conquering the lands of the Cuzco, without meeting any resistance, because the people had heard of the punishment he had inflicted upon Tumipomba. He obtained recruits from all the lands he conquered, and when he arrived at Caxamalca, the place appeared to be in a fertile land, so he rested there while all the other territory of his brother was subdued. He sent a captain with two thousand men against the city where his brother lived, and as his brother had a vast army, all these men were killed. Atabaliba then sent more troops under two captains, and in two months tidings came that these two captains had gained all the lands of the Cuzco, had arrived at his city, defeated his army, taken him prisoner, and seized much gold and silver."

The Governor said to the messenger :—" I rejoice at the tidings you have given me, and at the victory of your Lord; for his brother, not content with what he had, strove to reduce under his yoke the Lord who had received his inheritance from his father. To the proud it happens as it has done to this Cuzco : for they not only fail to get what they unjustly grasp at, but remain with the loss of their own property and freedom."

The Governor, believing that all that this Indian had told him, on the part of Atabaliba, was intended to amaze the Christians, and make them understand his power and skill, also said to the messenger :—" I well believe that what you have told me is true, because Atabaliba is a great Lord, and I am informed that he is a good soldier. Yet I would have you to know that my Lord the Emperor, who is King of Spain and of all the Indies and of Tierra Firme, and Lord over all the World, has many servants who are greater Lords than Atabaliba, and his captains have fought and taken much greater Lords than either Atabaliba, his brother, or his father. The Emperor has sent me to these lands to bring the inhabitants to a knowledge of God, and, in his service, I have defeated greater Lords than Atabaliba, with these few Christians that are with me now. If he should wish for my friendship, and to receive me peacefully, as other Lords have done, I shall be his good friend, and I will assist him in his conquest, leaving him in his present state ; for I go through these lands to discover the other sea. But if he should wish for war, I will make war, as I have done against the chief of the island of Santiago, and against the chief of Tumbez, and against all others who have wished to have war with me. I make war upon no one, nor do I molest any one, unless war is made upon me."

When the messengers heard these things, they were at first so astounded that they could not speak, to think that so few Spaniards could have performed such wonderful things. After a time they expressed a wish to go with this reply to their Lord, and to tell him that the Christians would come quickly, in order that he might send out provisions on the road. The Governor dismissed them. The next morning he continued the march still over the mountains, and that night he slept at some villages he came to, in a valley. As soon as the Governor arrived, there came the chief messenger, whom Atabaliba had first sent with the present of the fountains like fortresses, and who came to Çaran by way of Caxas. The Governor was very glad to see him, and inquired after Atabaliba. The messenger answered that he was well, and that he had sent ten sheep for the Christians. He spoke very freely, and, from his conversation, he seemed to be an intelligent man.

When he had completed his speech, the Governor asked the interpreters what he had said. They answered that he had repeated the same as had been said by the other messengers the day before ; but that he had added many arguments, praising the greatness of his Lord and the vast power of his army, and assuring the Governor that Atabaliba would receive him in peace, and that he desired to have him as a friend and a brother. The Governor answered with fair words, such as the other had used. This ambassador was served as a Lord, and had five or six cups of fine gold, from which he drank, and he gave the Spaniards *chicha* to drink out of them, which he brought with him. He said that he desired to go to Caxamalca with the Governor.

Next morning the Governor started, his way leading over the mountains as before, and he reached a village of Atabaliba, where he rested for one day. Next day the messenger came in whom the Governor had sent to Atabaliba. He was one of the principal Indians of the province of San Miguel. When he saw the messenger of Atabaliba, who was present, he rushed upon him, and seized hold of his ears, pulling them fiercely until the Governor ordered him to let go, for if they had been left alone mischief would have come of it. The Governor said to him, " Why have you done this to the messenger of my brother Atabaliba ? "

He answered, " This is a great rogue, this carrier of Atabaliba. He comes here to tell lies, pretending to be a great man. Atabaliba is in warlike array outside Caxamalca on the plain. He has a large army, and I found the town empty. I went thence to the camp, and saw many people and flocks, and a quantity of tents, and all was ready for war. They wanted to kill me, only it was said that if I was killed, their ambassadors, who are here, would also be put to death, and that they would not be allowed to go until I returned. They would give me no food without bartering. I asked them to let me see Atabaliba and deliver my message, but they refused, saying that he was fasting, and could not speak to any one. An uncle of his came out to speak to me, and I told him that I was your messenger, and that I was ready to tell him anything he chose to ask. He inquired of me what sort of people were the Christians, and what kind of arms they bore. I replied that they were valiant men and great warriors, that they had horses which ran like the wind, and that those who rode them carried long lances, with which they killed as many people as they met, overtaking them in two jumps, while the horses killed many with their feet and mouths. I added that the Christians who marched on foot were very alert, carrying on one arm a shield of wood with which they defended themselves, and strong tunics quilted with cotton ; that they had very sharp swords with which they cut a man in two at each blow, and that with these they could cut all the arms used by the Indians. Others, I said, carry slings with which they shoot from afar, and at every shot they kill a man. Others shoot with powder, sending forth lumps of powder, which kill many men. They answered that all this was nought, that the Christians were few in number, that the horses had no arms, and that they would soon kill them with their lances. I replied that the horses had thick skins which their lances could not penetrate. They then said that they did not fear the two shots of fire, and that the Christians only had two. When I wished to depart, I asked them to let me see Atabaliba, as his messengers came and spoke to the Governor, who was better than he, but they would not let me see him, and so I departed. See then if I have not good reason for killing this man ; for, being a carrier of Atabaliba (as they have told me that he is), he speaks with you, and eats at your table, while I, who am a Chief, was not allowed to speak with Atabaliba, nor would they give me to eat, and it was only by good arguments that they were induced to refrain from killing me."

The messenger of Atabaliba replied with some fear, seeing that the old Indian had spoken so boldly. He said, "If there were no people in the town of Caxamalca, it was to leave the houses empty for the reception of the

Christians, and Atabaliba is in the field because such is his custom after he has commenced a war. If they would not allow the messenger to speak to him, it was because he was fasting, according to the custom, and he could see no one by reason of being in retirement, at which time he speaks to no one. No one dared to tell him that the messenger was waiting, but if he had known it he would have made him come in, and would have given him food." He used many other arguments to show that the intentions of Atabaliba were friendly. If all the conversations between this Indian and the Governor were written down in full, it would fill a large book ; so, for the sake of brevity, a summary of them is given. The Governor said that he well believed it was as the Indian stated, and that he had no less confidence in his brother Atabaliba. He continued to treat the man as well as before, rebuking his own messenger, and telling the ambassador that he regretted the ill treatment he had received in his presence. But in secret he looked upon it as certain that what his own messenger had told him was true, by reason of the knowledge he had of the cautious intrigues of the Indians.

Next day the Governor departed, and slept on a plain, intending to reach Caxamalca at noon the day after, as they told him it was near. Here messengers arrived from Atabaliba, with food for the Christians. Early next morning the Governor started, with his troops in order of battle, and marched to within a league of Caxamalca. Here he waited for his rear guard to join him. All the troops got their arms ready, and the Governor formed the Spaniards, horse and foot, three deep, to enter the town. In this order the Governor advanced, sending messengers to Atabaliba, that he might come and meet him at the town of Caxamalca. On reaching the entrance to Caxamalca, they saw the camp of Atabaliba at a distance of a league, in the skirts of the mountains.

The Governor arrived at this town of Caxamalca on Friday, the 15th of November, 1532, at the hour of vespers. In the middle of the town there is a great open space, surrounded by walls and houses. The Governor occupied this position, and sent a messenger to Atabaliba, to announce his arrival, to arrange a meeting, and that he might show him where to lodge. Meanwhile he ordered the town to be examined, with a view to discovering a stronger position where he might pitch the camp. He ordered all the troops to be stationed in the open space, and the cavalry to remain mounted, until it was seen whether Atabaliba would come. After examining the town it was found that there was no better position in the neighbourhood. This town, which is the principal place in the valley, is situated on the skirts of a mountain, and there is a league of open plain in front of it. Two rivers flow through the valley, which is level, and well peopled, and surrounded by mountains. The town had two thousand inhabitants. At its entrance there were two bridges, because two rivers flow past. The *plaza* is larger than any in Spain, surrounded by a wall, and entered by two doorways which open upon the streets of the town. The houses are more than two hundred paces in length, and very well built, being surrounded by strong walls, three times the height of a man. The roofs are covered with straw and wood, resting on the walls. The interiors are divided into eight rooms, much better built than any we had seen before. Their walls are of very well cut stones, and each lodging is surrounded by its masonry wall with doorways, and has its fountain of water in an open court, conveyed from a distance by pipes, for the supply of the house. In front of the *plaza*, towards the open country, a stone fortress is connected with it by a staircase leading from the square to the fort. Towards the open country there is another small door, with a narrow staircase, all within the outer wall of the *plaza*. Above the town, on the mountain side, where the houses commence, there is another fort on a hill, the greater part of which is hewn out of the rock. This is larger than the other, and surrounded by three walls, rising spirally. They are of a strength such as had not before been seen among the

Indians. Between the mountain and the great open space there is another smaller court, entirely surrounded by buildings, in which there were many women for the service of Atabaliba. Before entering this city there is a house built in a court surrounded by walls. In the court there is a grove of trees planted by hand. They say that this is the house of the Sun, for in each village they build their mosques to the Sun. There are many other mosques in this town, and they hold them in veneration throughout the land. When they enter them, they take off their shoes at the doors.

The people of all the villages we came to after ascending the mountains, are superior to those we left behind. Those of the mountains are clean and more intelligent, and the women are very modest. The women wear over their clothes highly ornamented girdles, fastened round the middle. Over the gown they wear a mantle reaching from the head to half down the legs, which is like the *mantilla* of Spain. The men dress in shirts without sleeves, and outer mantles. They all weave wool and cotton in their houses, and make the cloth they require, and shoes for the men, of wool and cotton.

The Governor was a long time in the *plaza* with his men, waiting for Atabaliba either to come or to assign him a lodging. As it was getting late he sent a Captain with twenty horse to speak with Atabaliba, and to say that he should come and confer with the Governor. The Captain had orders to preserve peace, and to pick no quarrel, even if his men were provoked ; but to do his best to obtain a hearing and return with the reply. This Captain had got half-way, when the Governor went up into the fort, and saw a great body of men in front of the tents. In order that the Christians who had gone might be in no danger if they were attacked, and be able to retreat from among the Indians and defend themselves, he sent another Captain, his own brother, with other twenty horsemen, giving him orders not to permit them to raise any shouts. In a little while it began to rain and hail, and the Governor ordered the Christians to take shelter in the rooms of the palace, and the Captain of artillery, with his guns, to station himself and his men in the fortress.

While they were there, an Indian arrived from Atabaliba to tell the Governor that he might lodge where he pleased, but not to go up into the fortress of the *plaza*; and to excuse himself from coming on the ground that he was fasting. The Governor replied that he would do so, and that he had sent his brother to ask for an interview, as he had a great desire to see and know one of whom he had heard so much. The messenger went back with this answer, and the Captain Hernando Pizarro returned after nightfall with the Christians. On coming before the Governor they said that they had found a bad part of the road, in a swamp, which had previously appeared to be paved. For there is a broad road leading from the town, made with earth and stone, as far as the camp of Atabaliba. This pavement led over the bad places, but they had broken it up at the swamp; so that the Christians had to pass by another way. They crossed two rivers before reaching the camp. In front of it there is a river, which the Indians cross by a bridge, and here is the camp, surrounded by water. The Captain who went first left his men on this side the river, that the Indians might not be excited, and he would not go by the bridge, fearing for his horse, so he crossed by the water, taking an interpreter with him. He passed through a squadron of infantry, and came to the lodging of Atabaliba, where there were four hundred Indians in an open space, who appeared to be a body guard. The tyrant was at the door of his lodging, sitting on a low stool, with many Indians before him, and women at his feet, who almost surrounded him. He wore across his forehead a woollen fringe, which looked like silk, of a crimson colour, fastened to the head by cords, so as to come down to the eyes, which made him look much graver than he really is. His eyes were cast on the ground, without looking in any other direction.

When the Captain came before him, he said, through the interpreter, that he was a Captain sent by the Governor to express the great desire he had to see him, and that if he would come the Governor would greatly rejoice ; and the Captain added other arguments. He gave no answer. nor did he even raise his eyes to look at the Captain. But a Chief replied to what the Captain had said. At this juncture the other Captain arrived where the first Captain had left his men, and, asking what had become of him, they answered that he had gone to speak with the Cacique. Leaving his people, he crossed the river, and, on approaching near to where Atabaliba was seated, the other Captain said : " This is a brother of the Governor, who comes to see you."

Then Atabaliba raised his eyes and said : " Malçabilica, a Captain that I have on the river of Turicara, sent to say that you ill-treat the Caciques and put them in chains, and he sent me a collar of iron, and they say that he killed three Christians and a horse. But I intend to go to-morrow to see the Governor, and to be a friend of the Christians, because they are good."

Hernando Pizarro answered : " Malçabilica is a scoundrel, and neither he nor all the Indians of that river together could kill a single Christian. How could they kill either a Christian or a horse, seeing that they are mere chickens ? The Governor and the Christians do not ill-treat the Caciques unless they are hostile, and those who are friendly are treated very well. Those who make war are attacked until they are destroyed. When you see what the Christians do, when they help you in your wars against your enemies, you will know that Malçabilica told lies to you."

Atabaliba said : " A Cacique refuses to obey me. My troops will go with yours, and you will make war upon him ? " Hernando Pizarro replied, " On account of one Cacique, it is not necessary that you should send any of your Indians, though you have so large a force. Ten Christians on horseback will suffice to destroy him."

Atabaliba laughed, and said that they should drink.

The Captains excused themselves from drinking the Indian liquor by saying that they were fasting ; but they were importuned by him, and accepted. Presently women came with vases of gold containing chicha of maize. When Atabaliba saw them he raised his eyes to them, and without saying a word they went back quickly, and returned with other larger vases of gold, and from these he gave them to drink. Afterwards they took their leave, expecting Atabaliba to come and see the Governor on the following morning. His camp was formed on the skirts of a small hill, the tents, which were of cotton, extending for a league with that of Atabaliba in the centre. All the men were on foot outside the tents, with their arms, consisting of long lances like pikes, stuck into the ground. There seemed to be upwards of thirty thousand men in the camp.

When the Governor heard what had taken place, he ordered that a good watch should be kept that night in camp, and he commanded his Captain-General to set the guards, and to see that the rounds were gone throughout the night, which was accordingly done. On the Saturday morning a messenger from Atabaliba to the Governor arrived and said : " My lord has sent me to tell you that he wishes to come and see you, and to bring his men armed ; for the men whom you sent yesterday were armed ; and he desires you to send a Christian with whom he may come." The Governor answered : " Tell your lord to come when and how he pleases, and that, in what way soever he may come, I will receive him as a friend and brother. I do not send him a Christian, because it is not our custom so to send from one lord to another." The messenger set out with this answer, and, as soon as he reached the camp, the sentries saw that the Indians were in motion. In a short time another messenger arrived, and said to the Governor : " Atabaliba sends me to say that he has no wish to bring his troops armed, and, though they will come with him, many will come without arms, because he wishes to bring them with him and to lodge them in the town : and they are to prepare a lodging in the *plaza*, where he will rest, which is the house known as the house of the serpent, because there is a serpent of stone within it." The Governor replied: " So let it be, and I pray that he may come quickly, for I desire to see him."

Very soon they saw the plain full of men, halting at intervals, to wait for those who were filing out of the camp. The march of the troops along the road continued until the afternoon; and they came in separate detachments. Having passed all the narrow places on the road, they reached the ground close to the camp of the Christians, and still troops kept issuing from the camp of the Indians. Presently the Governor ordered all the Spaniards to arm themselves secretly in their lodgings, and to keep the horses saddled and bridled, and under the orders of three captains, but none were to show themselves in the open space. The Captain of the artillery was ordered to have his guns pointed towards the enemy on the plain, and, when the time came, to fire. Men were stationed in the streets leading to the open space, and, taking twenty men with him, the Governor went to his lodging. These had the duty entrusted to them of seizing the person of Atabaliba, if he should come cautiously with so large a force as was coming; but the Governor ordered that he should be taken alive. All the troops had orders not to leave their quarters, even if the enemy should enter the open space, until they should hear the guns fired off. The sentries were to be on the alert, and, if they saw that the enemy intended treachery, they were to give the signal; and all were to sally out of the lodgings, the cavalry mounted, when they heard the cry of *Santiago*.

Having made these arrangements, the Governor waited for the appearance of Atabaliba; but no Christian was in sight except the sentry, who gave notice of what was passing in the army of the Indians. The Governor and Captain-General visited the quarters of the Spaniards, seeing that they were ready to sally forth when it was necessary, saying to them all that they must be of good courage, and make fortresses of their hearts, for that they had no others, and no hope but in God, who would help those who worked in his service, even in their greatest need. He told them that though, for every Christian, there were five hundred Indians, yet they must have that reliance which good men find on such occasions, and they must trust that God would fight on their side. He told them that, at the moment of attacking, they must come out with desperate fury and break through the enemy, taking care that the horses do not hinder each other. These and similar exhortations were made by the Governor and Captain-General to the Christians, to raise their spirits, and they were more ready to come forth than to remain in their lodgings. Each man was ready to encounter a hundred, and they felt very little fear at seeing so great a multitude.

When the Governor saw that it was near sunset, and that Atabaliba did not move from the place to which he had repaired, although troops still kept issuing out of his camp, he sent a Spaniard to ask him to come into the square to see him before it was dark. As soon as the messenger came before Atabaliba, he made an obeisance to him, and made signs that he should come to where the Governor waited. Presently he and his troops began to move, and the Spaniard returned and reported that they were coming, and that the men in front carried arms concealed under their clothes, which were strong tunics of cotton, beneath which were stones and bags and slings; all which made it appear that they had a treacherous design. Soon the van of the enemy began to enter the open space. First came a squadron of Indians dressed in a livery of different colours, like a chess board. They advanced, removing the straws from the ground, and sweeping the road. Next came three squadrons in different dresses, dancing and singing. Then came a number of men with armour, large metal plates, and crowns of gold and silver. Among them was Atabaliba in a litter lined with plumes of macaws' feathers, of many colours, and adorned with plates of gold and silver. Many Indians carried it on their shoulders on high. Next came two other litters and two hammocks, in which were some principal chiefs; and lastly, several squadrons of Indians with crowns of gold and silver.

As soon as the first entered the open space they moved aside and gave space to the others. On reaching the centre of the open space, Atabaliba remained in his litter on high, and the others with him, while his troops did not cease to enter. A captain then came to the front and, ascending the fortress near the open space, where the artillery was posted, raised his lance twice, as for a signal. Seeing this, the Governor asked the Father Friar Vicente if he wished to go and speak to Atabaliba, with an interpreter? He replied that he did wish it, and he advanced, with a cross in one hand and the Bible in the other, and going amongst the troops up to the place where Atabaliba was, thus addressed him: "I am a Priest of God, and I teach Christians the things of God, and in like manner I come to teach you. What I teach is that which God says to us in this Book. Therefore, on the part of God and of the Christians, I beseech you to be their friend, for such is God's will, and it will be for your good. Go and speak to the Governor, who waits for you."

Atabaliba asked for the Book, that he might look at it, and the Priest gave it to him closed. Atabaliba did not know how to open it, and the Priest was extending his arm to do so, when Atabaliba, in great anger, gave him a blow on the arm, not wishing that it should be opened. Then he opened it himself, and, without any astonishment at the letters and paper, as had been shown by other Indians, he threw it away from him five or six paces, and, to the words which the monk had spoken to him through the interpreter, he answered with much scorn, saying: "I know well how you have behaved on the road, how you have treated my Chiefs, and taken the cloth from my storehouses." The Monk replied: "The Christians have not done this, but some Indians took the cloth without the knowledge of the Governor, and he ordered it to be restored." Atabaliba said : " I will not leave this place until they bring it all to me." The Monk returned with this reply to the Governor.

Atabaliba stood up on the top of the litter, addressing his troops and ordering them to be prepared. The Monk told the Governor what had passed between him and Atabaliba, and that he had thrown the Scriptures to the ground. Then the Governor put on a jacket of cotton, took his sword and dagger, and, with the Spaniards who were with him, entered amongst the Indians most valiantly ; and, with only four men who were able to follow him, he came to the litter where Atabaliba was, and fearlessly seized him by the arm, crying out *Santiago*. Then the guns were fired off, the trumpets were sounded, and the troops, both horse and foot, sallied forth. On seeing the horses charge, many of the Indians who were in the open space fled, and such was the force with which they ran that they broke down part of the wall surrounding it, and many fell over each other. The horsemen rode them down, killing and wounding, and following in pursuit. The infantry made so good an assault upon those that remained that in a short time most of them were put to the sword. The Governor still held Atabaliba by the arm, not being able to pull him out of the litter because he was raised so high. Then the Spaniards made such a slaughter amongst those who carried the litter that they fell to the ground, and, if the Governor had not protected Atabaliba, that proud man would there have paid for all the cruelties he had committed. The Governor, in protecting Atabaliba, received a slight wound in the hand. During the whole time no Indian raised his arms against a Spaniard. So great was the terror of the Indians at seeing the Governor force his way through them, at hearing the fire of the artillery, and beholding the charging of the horses, a thing never before heard of, that they thought more of flying to save their lives than of fighting. All those who bore the litter of Atabaliba appeared to be principal chiefs. They were all killed, as well as those who were carried in the other litters and hammocks. One of them was the page of Atabaliba, and a great lord, and the others were lords of many vassals, and his Councillors. The chief of Caxamalca was also killed, and others ; but, the number being very great, no account was taken of them, for all who came in attendance on Atabaliba were great lords.

The Governor went to his lodging, with his prisoner Atabaliba, despoiled of his robes, which the Spaniards had torn off in pulling him out of the litter. It was a very wonderful thing to see so great a lord taken prisoner in so short a time, who came in such power. The Governor presently ordered native clothes to be brought, and when Atabaliba was dressed, he made him sit near him, and soothed his rage and agitation at finding himself so quickly fallen from his high estate. Among many other things, the Governor said to him : " Do not take it as an insult that you have been defeated and taken prisoner, for with the Christians who come with me, though so few in number, I have conquered greater kingdoms than yours, and have defeated other more powerful lords than you, imposing upon them the dominion of the Emperor, whose vassal I am, and who is King of Spain and of the universal world. We come to conquer this land by his command, that all may come to a knowledge of God, and of His Holy Catholic Faith ; and by reason of our good object, God, the Creator of heaven and earth and of all things in them, permits this, in order that you may know Him, and come out from the bestial and diabolical life you lead. It is for this reason that we, being so few in number, subjugate that vast host. When you have seen the errors in which you live, you will understand the good we have done you by coming to your land by order of his Majesty. You should consider it to be your good fortune that you have not been defeated by a cruel people, such as you are yourselves, who grant life to none. We treat our prisoners and conquered enemies with kindness, and only make war on those who attack us, and, being able to destroy them, we refrain from doing so, but rather pardon them. When I had a Chief, the lord of an island, my prisoner, I set him free that henceforth he might be loyal ; and I did the same with the Chiefs who were lords of Tumbez and Chilimasa, and others who, being in my power, and deserving death, I pardoned. If you were seized, and your people attacked and killed, it was because you came against us with so great an army, having sent to say that you would come peacefully, and because you threw the Book to the ground in which is written the words of God. Therefore our Lord permitted that your pride should be brought low, and that no Indian should be able to offend a Christian."

After the Governor had delivered this discourse, Atabaliba thus replied : " I was deceived by my Captains, who told me to think lightly of the Spaniards. I desired to come peacefully, but they prevented me, but all those who thus advised me are now dead. I have now seen the goodness and daring of the Spaniards, and that Malçabilica lied in all the news he sent me touching the Christians."

As it was now night, and the Governor saw that those who had gone in pursuit of the Indians were not returned, he ordered the guns to be fired and the trumpets to be sounded to recall them. Soon afterwards they returned to the camp with a great crowd of people whom they had taken alive, numbering more than three thousand. The Governor asked whether they were all well. His Captain-General, who went with them, answered that only one horse had a slight wound. The Governor, with great joy, said : " I give thanks to God our Lord, and we all, gentlemen, ought to give thanks for the great miracle we have wrought this day. In truth we ought to believe that, without His special help, we could not have entered this land how much less have conquered so great a host. God, in His mercy, sees fit to grant these favours, and we should give Him thanks for His great works, that we may conquer this kingdom. But, gentlemen, you must be fatigued, and I therefore desire you to retire to rest. Although we have the victory, we must still be watchful. The enemy is defeated, but he is cunning and experienced in war. This lord too, as we know, is feared and obeyed, and they will try every artifice to rescue him. This night, and every night, there must be good watch kept, and the rounds must be gone regularly, that we may be prepared for any event."

So they went to supper, and the Governor caused Atabaliba to sit at the table, treating him well, and they served him in the same way as the Governor. Orders were then given that he was to have such of his imprisoned women as he desired for his service, to wait on him, and a good bed was prepared for him in the same chamber where the Governor slept. He was allowed to remain unconfined, and without being kept in prison, but was watched by guards. The battle lasted only about half an hour, for the sun had already set when it commenced. If the night had not come on, few out of the thirty thousand men that came would have been left. It is the opinion of some, who have seen armies in the field, that there were more than forty thousand men. In the square and on the plain there were two thousand killed, besides wounded. A wonderful thing was observed in this battle. It was that the horses which, the day before, could scarcely move for the cold, were able to charge with such fury that they seemed as if nothing had ever ailed them. The Captain-General set the watches and rounds for that night, stationing them at convenient points. Next morning the Governor sent a Captain, with thirty horse, to scour the plain, and he ordered them to break the arms of the Indians. The troops in the camp made the imprisoned Indians remove the dead bodies from the open space. The Captain, with his horsemen, collected all that was on the plain and in the tents of Atabaliba, and returned to the camp before noon with a troop of men, women, sheep, gold, silver, and cloth. Among these spoils there were eighty thousand *pesos*, seven thousand marcs of silver, and fourteen emeralds. The gold and silver were in immense pieces, great and small plates and jars, pots, cups, and other shapes. Atabaliba said that all this was the furniture of his service, and that the Indians who fled had taken a great deal more away with them. The Governor ordered all the sheep to be set free, because there was a great multitude, and they encumbered the camp. The Christians could kill daily as many as they required. The Indians, who had been captured the night before, were ordered to be collected in the open space, that the Christians might take those they required for their service. All the rest were ordered to be set free, and to return to their homes, for they belonged to different provinces, and Atabaliba had brought them away to assist in his wars, and for the service of his army.

Some were of opinion that all the Indian soldiers should be killed, or, at least, that their hands should be cut off. The Governor would not consent, saying that it would not be well to commit so great a cruelty, for, although the power of Atabaliba was great, and he was able to collect a vast multitude of people, yet the power of our Lord God is, beyond all comparison, greater ; and He grants aid to His own through His infinite goodness. He added that they should be certain that He who had delivered them from the danger of the previous day would also protect them hereafter, seeing that the intentions of the Christians were good in bringing these infidel barbarians to the service of God and to a knowledge of our Holy Catholic Faith. They should not desire to be like those Indians, in their cruelties and sacrifices, which they perpetrate on those they capture in war. Those who died in the battle were more than enough ; and the prisoners, who had been brought in like sheep into a fold, should not be killed nor injured. They were, therefore, set free.

In this town of Caxamalca, certain houses were found full of cloth, packed in bales which reached to the roof. They say that it was a depôt to supply the army. The Christians took what they required, and yet the house remained so full that what was taken seemed hardly to be missed. The cloth was the best that had been seen in the Indies. The greater part of it is of very fine wool, and the rest of cotton of rich colours, beautifully variegated. The arms they found, with which they made war, and their manner of fighting were as follows. In the van of their armies came the sling-men, who hurled pebbles from slings. These sling-men carry shields, which they make from narrow boards very small. They also wore jackets of quilted cotton. Next came men armed with sticks having large knobs at one end, and axes. The sticks are a *braça* and a half in length, and the thickness of a lance. The knob at the end is of metal, with five or six sharp points, each point being as thick as a man's thumb. They use them with both hands. The axes were the same size or larger. The metal blade was a *palmo* in width, like a halberd. Some of the axes and clubs, used by the chiefs, were of gold and silver. Behind these came men armed with hurling lances, like darts. In the rear were pikemen with lances thirty *palmos* in length. These men had sleeves with many folds of cotton, over which they worked the lances. They are all divided into squadrons, with their banners and captains who command them, with as much order as Turks. Some of them wear great head pieces of wood, with many folds of cotton, reaching to the eyes, which could not be stronger if they were of iron. The men who composed the army of Atabaliba were all very dexterous and experienced soldiers, who had served in it from boys. They were young and stout, and only a thousand of them sufficed to assault a town of that land, though it were garrisoned with twenty thousand men.

The lodging of Atabaliba, which he had in the centre of his camp, was the best that had been seen in the Indies, though it was small. It consisted of four rooms, with a court in the centre, having a pond supplied with water by a tube, and this water was so warm that one could not bear to put a hand into it. This water rises out of an adjacent mountain. Another tube brought cold water, and the two united in one tube on the road, and flowed, mixed together, by a single tube, into the pond. When they wish to allow one sort to flow alone, they remove the tube of the other. The pond is large and paved with stone. Outside the house, in a part of the yard, there is another pond, not so well made. They both have their flights of stone steps, by which to go down and bathe. The room in which Atabaliba stayed during the day was a corridor looking into an orchard, and near it there is a chamber where he slept, with a window looking towards the court and the pond. The corridor also opens on the court. The walls were plastered with a red bitumen, better than ochre, which shined much, and the wood, which formed the eaves of the house, was of the same colour. Another room is composed of four vaults, like bells, united into one. This is plastered with lime, as white as snow. The other two are offices. A river flows in front of this palace.

DE SOTO

De Soto and Coronado between them almost span the whole southern portion of the United States from Georgia to the Gulf of California. De Soto himself very nearly reached the mouth of the Mississippi before he died. His original inspiration for his voyage came from a contemporary story of Cabaca de Vaca, who in 1527 *had broken off from an ill-fitted expedition conducted by Panfilo de Narvaez and made his way along the Gulf of Mexico to the Spanish settlement, arriving in* 1536.

De Soto's travels began in 1537 *and ended in* 1542. *The first account of his voyage was written by an anonymous Portuguese who accompanied it and was known only as the "gentleman of Elvas." It appeared in* 1557, *but was later much more widely known when Richard Hakluyt translated it for his volume* Virginia Richly Valued, *etc., in* 1609. *The present version is a direct translation from the original by Buckingham Smith.*

DE SOTO

How the Governor left the Province of Patofa, marching into a desert country, where he, with his people, became exposed to great peril and underwent severe privation.

IN the town of Patofa, the youth, whom the Governor brought with him for guide and interpreter, began to froth at the mouth, and threw himself on the ground as if he were possessed of the Devil. An exorcism being said over him, the fit went off. He stated that four days' journey from there, towards the sunrise, was the Province he spoke of : the Indians at Patofa said that they knew of no dwellings in that direction, but that towards the northwest there was a province called Coça, a plentiful country having very large towns. The Cacique told the Governor that if he desired to go thither he would give him a guide and Indians to carry burdens, and if he would go in the direction pointed out by the youth, he would furnish him with everything necessary for that also.

With words of love, and tendering each other services, they parted, the Governor receiving seven hundred tamemes. He took maize for the consumption of four days, and marched by a road that, gradually becoming less, on the sixth day it disappeared. Led by the youth, they forded two rivers, each the breadth of two shots of a crossbow, the water rising to the stirrups of the saddles, and passing in a current so powerful, that it became necessary for those on horseback to stand one before another, that they on foot, walking near, might cross along above them : then came to another of a more violent current, and larger, which was got over with more difficulty, the horses swimming for a lance's length at the coming out, into a pine-grove. The Governor menaced the youth, motioning that he would throw him to the dogs for having lied to him in saying that it was four days' journey, whereas they had travelled nine, each day of seven or eight leagues ; and that the men and horses had become very thin, because of the sharp economy practised with the maize. The youth declared that he knew not where he was. Fortunately for him, at the time, there was not another whom Juan Ortez understood, or he would have been cast to the dogs.

The Governor, leaving the camp among the pine-trees, marched that day, with some cavalry and infantry, five or six leagues, looking for a path, and came back at night very cast down, not having found any sign of inhabitants. The next day there was a variety of opinion about the course proper to take, whether to return or do otherwise. The country through which they had come remained wasted and without maize ; the grain they had so far brought with them was spent ; the beasts, like the men, were become very lean ; and it was held very doubtful whether relief was anywhere to be found ; moreover, it was the opinion that they might be beaten by any Indians whatsoever who should venture to attack them, so that continuing thus, whether by hunger or in strife, they must inevitably be overcome. The Governor determined to send thence in all directions on horseback, in quest of habitations ; and the next day he dispatched four captains to as many points, with eight of cavalry to each. They came back at night leading their beasts by the bridle, unable to carry their masters, or driven before them with sticks, having found no road, nor any sign of a settlement. He sent other four again the next day, with eight of cavalry apiece, men who could swim, that they might cross any ponds and rivers in the way, the horses being chosen of the best that were ; Baltasar de Gallegos ascending by the river, Juan de Añasco going down it, Alfonso Romo and Juan Rodriguez Lobillo striking into the country.

The Governor had brought thirteen sows to Florida, which had increased to three hundred swine ; and the maize having failed for three or four days, he ordered to be killed daily, for each man, half a pound of pork, on which small allowance, and some boiled herbs, the people with much difficulty lived. There being no food to give to the Indians of Patofa, they were dismissed, though they still wished to keep with the Christians in their extremity, and showed great regret at going back before leaving them in a peopled country. Juan de Añasco came in on Sunday, in the afternoon, bringing with him a woman and a youth he had taken, with the report that he had found a small town twelve or thirteen leagues off ; at which the Governor and his people were as much delighted as though they had been raised from death to live.

On Monday, the twenty-sixth of April, the Governor set out for Aymay, a town to which the Christians gave the name of Socorro. At the foot of a tree, in the camp, they buried a paper, and in the bark, with a hatchet, they cut these words : " Dig here ; at the root of this pine you will find a letter " ; and this was so fixed that the Captains, who had gone in quest of an inhabited country, should learn what the Governor had done and the direction he had taken. There was no other road than the one Juan de Añasco had made moving along through the woods.

On Monday the Governor arrived at the town, with those the best mounted, all riding the hardest possible ; some sleeping two leagues off, others three and four, each as he was able to travel and his strength held out. A barbacoa was found full of parched meal and some maize, which were distributed by allowance. Four Indians were taken, not one of whom would say any thing else than that he knew of no other town. The Governor ordered one of them to be burned ; and thereupon another said, that two days' journey from there was a province called Cutifachiqui.

On Wednesday the three Captains came up : they had found the letter and followed on after the rest. From the command of Juan Rodriguez two men remained behind, their horses having given out, for which the Governor reprimanded him severely, and sent him to bring them. While they should be coming on he set out for Cutifachiqui, capturing three Indians in the road, who stated that the mistress of that country had already information of the Christians, and was waiting for them in a town. He sent to her by one of them, offering his friendship and announcing his approach. Directly as the Governor arrived, four canoes came towards him, in one of which was a kinswoman of the Cacica, who, coming near, addressed him in these words :

> " EXCELLENT LORD: My sister sends me to salute you, and to say that the reason why she has not come in person is, that she has thought to serve you better by remaining to give orders on the other shore ; and that, in a short time, her canoes will all be here, in readiness to conduct you thither, where you may take your repose and be obeyed."

The Governor thanked her, and she returned to cross the river. After a little time the Cacica came out of the town, seated in a chair, which some principal men having borne to the bank, she entered a canoe. Over the stern was spread an awning, and in the bottom lay extended a mat where were two cushions, one above the other, upon which she sate ; and she was accompanied by her chief men, in other canoes, with Indians. She approached the spot where the Governor was, and, being arrived, thus addressed him :

> " EXCELLENT LORD: Be this coming to these your shores most happy. My ability can in no way equal my wishes, nor my services become the merits of so great a prince ; nevertheless, good wishes are to be valued more than all the treasures of the earth without them. With sincerest and purest good-will I tender you my person, my lands, my people, and make you these small gifts."

The Cacica presented much clothing of the country, from the shawls and skins that came in the other boats ; and drawing from over her head a large string of pearls, she threw them about his neck, exchanging with him many gracious words of friendship and courtesy. She directed that canoes should come to the spot, whence the Governor and his people passed to the opposite side of the river. So soon as he was lodged in the town, a great many turkeys were sent to him. The country was delightful and fertile, having good interval lands upon the streams ; the forest was open, with abundance of walnut and mulberry trees. The sea was stated to be two days' travel. About the place, from half a league to a league off, were large vacant towns, grown up in grass, that appeared as if no people had lived in them for a long time. The Indians said that, two years before, there had been a pest in the land, and the inhabitants had moved away to other towns. In the barbacoas were large quantities of clothing, shawls of thread, made from the bark of trees, and others of feathers, white, gray, vermilion, and yellow, rich and proper for winter. There were also many well-dressed deer-skins, of colours drawn over with designs, of which had been made shoes, stockings, and hose. The Cacica, observing that the Christians valued pearls, told the Governor that, if he should order some sepulchres that were in the town to be searched, he would find many ; and if he chose to send to those that were in the uninhabited towns, he might load all his horses with them. They examined those in the town, and found three hundred and fifty pounds' weight of pearls, and figures of babies and birds made of them.

The inhabitants are brown of skin, well formed and proportioned. They are more civilized than any people seen in all the territories of Florida, wearing clothes and shoes. This country, according to what the Indians stated, had been very populous. It appeared that the youth who was the guide had heard of it ; and what was told him he declared to have seen, and magnified such parts as he chose, to suit his pleasure. He told the Governor that they had begun to enter upon the country he had spoken to him about, which, because of its appearance, with his being able to understand the language of the people, gained for him some credit. He wished to become a Christian, and asked to be baptized, which was done, he receiving the name of Pedro ; and the Governor commanded the chain to be struck off that he had carried until then.

In the town were found a dirk and beads that had belonged to Christians, who, the Indians said, had many years before been in the port, distant two days' journey. He that had been there was the Governor-licentiate Aylon, who came to conquer the land, and, on arriving at the port, died, when there followed divisions and murders among the chief personages, in quarrels as to who should command ; and thence, without knowing any thing of the country, they went back to Spain.

To all it appeared well to make a settlement there, the point being a favourable one, to which could come all the ships from New Spain, Peru, Sancta Marta, and Tierra-Firme, going to Spain ; because it is in the way thither, is a good country, and one fit in which to raise supplies ; but Soto, as it was his object to find another treasure like that of Atabalipa, lord of Peru, would not be content with good lands nor pearls, even though many of them were worth their weight in gold (and if the country were divided among Christians, more precious should those be the Indians would procure than these they have, being bored with heat, which causes them to lose their hue) : so he answered them who urged him to make a settlement, that in all the country together there was not support for his troops a single month; that it was necessary to return to Ochus, where Maldonado was to wait ; and should a richer country not be found, they could always return to that who would, and in their absence the Indians would plant their fields and be better provided with maize. The natives were asked if they had knowledge of any great lord farther on, to which they answered, that twelve days' travel thence was a province called Chiaha, subject to a chief of Coça.

The Governor then resolved at once to go in quest of that country, and being an inflexible man, and dry of word, who, although he liked to know what the others all thought and had to say, after he once said a thing he did not like to be opposed, and as he ever acted as he thought best, all bent to his will ; for though it seemed an error to leave that country, when another might have been found about it, on which all the people could have been sustained until the crops had been made and the grain gathered, there were none who would say a thing to him after it became known that he had made up his mind.

How the Governor went from Cutifachiqui in quest of Coça, and what occurred to him on the journey.

On the third day of May, the Governor set out from Cutifachiqui ; and, it being discovered that the wish of the Cacica was to leave the Christians, if she could, giving them neither guides nor tamemes, because of the outrages committed upon the inhabitants, there never failing to be men of low degree among the many, who will put the lives of themselves and others in jeopardy for some mean interest, the Governor ordered that she should be placed under guard and took her with him. This treatment, which was not a proper return, for the hospitable welcome he had received makes true the adage, For well doing . . . ; and thus she was carried away on foot with her female slaves.

This brought us service in all the places that were passed, she ordering the Indians to come and take the loads from town to town. We travelled through her territories a hundred leagues, in which, according to what we saw, she was greatly obeyed, whatsoever she ordered being performed with diligence and efficacy. Pedro, the guide, said she was not the suzeraine, but her niece, who had come to that town by her command to punish capitally some principal Indians who had seized upon the tribute ; but to this no credit was given, because of the falsehoods in which he had been taken, though all was put up with, from the necessity of having some one whereby to understand what the Indians said.

In seven days the Governor arrived at the Province of Chelaque, the country poorest off for maize of any that was seen in Florida, where the inhabitants subsisted on the roots of plants that they dig in the wilds, and on the animals they destroy with their arrows. They are very domestic people, are slight of form, and go naked. One lord brought the Governor two deer-skins as a great gift. Turkeys were abundant; in one town they presented seven hundred, and in others brought him what they had and could procure. He was detained in going from this province to that of Xualla five days, where they found little grain, but remained two days, because of the weariness of the men and the leanness of the horses.

From Ocute to Cutifachiqui are one hundred and thirty leagues, of which eighty are desert; from Cutifa to Xualla are two hundred and fifty of mountainous country; thence to Guaxule, the way is over very rough and lofty ridges.

One day while on this journey, the Cacica of Cutifachi, whom the Governor brought with him, as has been stated, to the end of taking her to Guaxule, the farthest limit of her territories, conducted by her slaves, she left the road, with an excuse of going into a thicket, where, deceiving them, she so concealed herself that for all their search she could not be found. She took with her a cane box, like a trunk, called petaca, full of unbored pearls, of which, those who had the most knowledge of their value said they were very precious. They were carried for her by one of the women; and the Governor, not to give offence, permitted it so, thinking that in Guaxule he would beg them of her when he should give her leave to depart; but she took them with her, going to Xualla, with three slaves who had fled from the camp. A horseman, named Alimamos, who remained behind, sick of a fever, wandering out of the way, got lost; and he laboured with the slaves to make them leave their evil design. Two of them did so, and came on with him to the camp. They overtook the Governor, after a journey of fifty leagues, in a province called Chiaha ; and he reported that the Cacica remained in Xualla, with a slave of André de Vasconcelos, who would not come with him, and that it was very sure they lived together as man and wife, and were to go together to Cutifachiqui.

At the end of five days the Governor arrived at Guaxule. The Christians being seen to go after dogs, for their flesh, which the Indians do not eat, they gave them three hundreds of those animals. Little maize was found there, or anywhere upon that route. The Governor sent a native with a message to the Cacique of Chiaha, begging that he would order some maize to be brought together at his town, that he might sojourn there some time. He left Guaxule, and after two days' travel arrived at Canasagua, where twenty men came out from the town on the road, each laden with a basket of mulberries. This fruit is abundant and good, from Cutifachique to this place, and thence onward in other provinces, as are the walnut and the *amiexa* ; the trees growing about over the country, without planting or pruning, of the size and luxuriance they would have were they cultivated in orchards, by hoeing and irrigation. Leaving Canasagua, he marched five days through a desert.

Two leagues before coming to Chiaha, fifteen men met the Governor, bearing loads of maize, with word from the Cacique that he waited for him, having twenty barbacoas full ; that, moreover, himself, his lands, and his vassals, were subject to his orders. On the fifth day of July the Governor entered Chiaha. The Cacique received him with great pleasure, and, resigning to him his dwellings for his residence, thus addressed him :

> "POWERFUL AND EXCELLENT MASTER: Fortunate am I that you will make use of my services. Nothing could happen that would give me so great contentment, or

> which I should value more. From Guaxule you sent to have maize for you in readiness to last two months: you have in this town twenty barbacoas full of the choicest and the best to be found in all this country. If the reception I give is not worthy of so great a prince, consider my youth, which will relieve me of blame, and receive my good-will, which, with true loyalty and pure, shall ever be shown in all things that concern your welfare.

The Governor answered him, that his gifts and his kindness pleased him greatly, and that he should ever consider him to be his brother.

There was abundance of lard in calabashes, drawn like olive oil, which the inhabitants said was the fat of bear. There was likewise found much oil of walnuts, which, like the lard, was clear and of good taste; and also a honeycomb, which the Christians had never seen before, nor saw afterwards, nor honey, nor bees, in all the country.

The town was isolated, between two arms of a river, and seated near one of them. Above it, at the distance of two crossbow-shot, the water divided, and united again a league below. The vale between, from side to side, was the width in places of a crossbow-shot, and in others of two. The branches were very wide, and both were fordable: along their shores were very rich meadow-lands, having many maize-fields.

As the Indians remained at home, no houses were taken save those of the Chief, in which the Governor lodged; the people lived out, wherever there happened to be shelter, each man having his tree. In this manner the army lay, the men out of order and far apart. The Governor passed it over, as the Indians were peaceful, and the weather very calm; the people would have suffered greatly had they been required to do differently. The horses arrived so worn out, that they could not bear their riders from weakness; for they had come all the way having only a little maize to live on, travelling, hungry and tired, even from beyond the desert of Ocute ; so, as the greater part of them were unfit to be mounted, even in the necessary case of battle, they were turned out at night to graze, about a quarter of a league from the camp. The Christians were greatly exposed, so much so that if at that time the Indians had set upon them, they would have been in bad way to defend themselves.

The duration of the sojourn was thirty days, in which time, the soil being covered with verdure, the horses fattened. At the departure, in consequence of the importunity of some who wanted more than was in reason, the Governor asked thirty women of the Chief for slaves, who replied that he would confer with his principal men ; when one night, before giving an answer, all went off from the town with their women and children. The next day, having made up his mind to go in search of them, the Cacique arrived, and, approaching, thus addressed him :

> "POWERFUL LORD : Because of my shame, and out of fear of you, discovering that my subjects, contrary to my wishes, had chosen to absent themselves, I left without your permission ; but, finding the error of my way, I have returned like a true vassal, to put myself in your power, that you may do with my person as shall seem best to you. My people will not obey me, nor do any thing that an uncle of mine does not command : he governs this country, in my place until I shall be of mature age. If you would pursue and punish them for disobedience, I will be your guide, since my fate at present forbids me doing more."

The Governor then, with thirty mounted men and as many footmen, went in search of the people. Passing by the towns of some of the chiefs who had gone off, he cut down and destroyed the great maize-fields ; and going along up the stream where the natives were, on an islet, to which the cavalry could not go, he sent word to them, by an Indian, that they should put away all their fears, and, returning to their abodes, give him tamemes, as had been done all the way along, since he did not wish to have women, finding how very dear they were to them. The Indians judged it well to come and make their excuses to him, so they all went back to the town.

A Cacique of Acoste, who came to see the Governor, after tendering his services, and they had exchanged compliments and proffers of friendship, was asked if he had any information of a rich land ; he answered yes : that towards the north there was a province called Chisca, and that a forge was there for copper, or other metal of that colour, though brighter, having a much finer hue, and was to appearances much better, but was not so much used, for being softer ; which was the statement that had been given in Cutifachiqui, where we had seen some chopping-knives that were said to have a mixture of gold. As the country on the way was thinly peopled, and it was said there were mountains over which the beasts could not go, the Governor would not march directly thither, but judged that, keeping in an inhabited territory the men and animals would be in better condition, while he would be more exactly informed of what there was, until he should turn to it through the ridges and a region which he could more easily travel. He sent two Christians to the country of Chisca, by Indians who spoke the language, that they might view it, and were told that he would await their return at Chiaha for what they should have to say.

How the Governor left Chiaha, and, having run a hazard of falling by the hands of the Indians, at Acoste, escaped by his address : what occurred to him on the route, and how he came to Coça.

When the Governor had determined to move from Chiaha towards Coste, he sent for the Cacique to come before him, and with kind words took his leave, receiving some slaves as a gift, which pleased him. In seven days the journey was concluded. On the second day of July, the camp being pitched among the trees, two crossbow-shot distant from the town, he went with eight men of his guard toward where the Cacique was, who received him evidently with great friendship. While they were conversing, some infantry went into the town after maize, and, not satisfied with what they got, they rummaged and searched the houses, taking what they would ; at which conduct the owners began to rise and arm ; some of them with clubs in their hands, going at five or six men who had given offence, beat them to their satisfaction. The Governor, discovering that they were all bent upon some mischief, and himself among them with but few Christians about him, turned to escape from the difficulty by a stratagem much against his nature, clear and reliable as it was, and the more unwillingly as it grieved him that an Indian should presume, either with or without cause, to offer any indignity to a Christian ; he seized a stave and took part with the assailants against his own people, which while it gave confidence, directly he sent a message secretly to the camp, that armed men should approach where he was ; then taking the Chief by the hand, speaking to him with kind words, drew him with some principal men away from the town, out into an open road in sight of the encampment, where cautiously the Christians issued and by degrees surrounded them. In this manner they were conducted within the tents ; and when near his marquee the Governor ordered them to be put under guard. He told them that they could not go thence without giving him a guide and Indians for carrying loads, nor until the sick men had arrived whom he had ordered to come down by the river in canoes from Chiaha, and so likewise those he had sent to the Province of Chisca. He feared that both the one and the other had been killed by the Indians. In three days they that went to Chisca got back, and related that they had been taken through a country so scant of maize, and with such high mountains that it was impossible the army should march in that direction; and finding the distance was becoming long, and that they should be back late, upon consultation they agreed to return, coming from a poor little town where there was nothing of value, bringing a cow-hide as delicate as a calf-skin the people had given them, the hair being like the soft wool on the cross of the merino with the common sheep.

The Cacique having furnished the guide and tamemes, by permission of the Governor he went his way. The Christians left Coste the ninth day of July, and slept that night at Tali. The Cacique had come from the town to meet the Governor on the road, and made him this speech:

> "EXCELLENT GREAT PRINCE: Worthy are you of being served and obeyed by all the princes of the world, for by the face can one judge far of the inner qualities. Who you are I knew, and also of your power, before your coming here. I wish not to draw attention to the lowliness in which I stand before you, to make my poor services acceptable and agreeable, since, where the strength fails, the will should instead be praised and taken. Hence, I dare to ask that you will only consider and attend to what you will command me to do here in your country."

The Governor answered, that his good-will and offer pleased him as much as though he had tendered him all the treasures of the earth: that he would always be treated by him as a true brother, favoured and esteemed. The Cacique ordered provision to be brought for two days' use, the time the Governor should be present; and on his departure, gave him the use of two men and four women, who were wanted to carry burdens.

They travelled six days, passing by many towns subject to the Cacique of Coça; and, as they entered those territories, numerous messengers came from him on the road every day to the Governor, some going, others coming, until they arrived at Coça, on Friday, the sixteenth of July. The Cacique came out to receive him at the distance of two crossbow-shot from the town, borne in a litter on the shoulders of his principal men, seated on a cushion, and covered with a mantle of marten-skins, of the size and shape of a woman's shawl : on his head he wore a diadem of plumes, and he was surrounded by many attendants playing upon flutes and singing. Coming to where the Governor was, he made his obeisance, and followed it by these words :

> "POWERFUL LORD, SUPERIOR TO EVERY OTHER OF THE EARTH : Although I come but now to meet you, it is a long time since I have received you in my heart. That was done the first day I heard of you, with so great desire to serve, please, and give you contentment, that this, which I express, is nothing in comparison with that which is within me. Of this you may be sure, that to have received the dominion of the world, would not have interested me so greatly as the sight of you, nor would I have held it for so great a felicity. Do not look for me to offer you that which is your own—this person, these lands, these vassals. My only desire is to employ myself in commanding these people, that, with all diligence and befitting respect, they conduct you hence to the town in festivity of voices and with flutes, where you will be lodged and waited upon by me and them, where all I possess you will do with as with your own, and in thus doing you will confer favour."

The Governor gave him thanks, and with mutual satisfaction they walked on toward the place conferring, the Indians giving up their habitations by order of their Cacique, and in which the General and his men took lodging. In the barbacoas was a great quantity of maize and beans : the country, thickly settled in numerous and large towns, with fields between, extending from one to another, was pleasant, and had a rich soil with fair river margins. In the woods were many *ameixas*, as well those of Spain as of the country ; and wild grapes on vines growing up into the trees, near the streams ; likewise a kind that grew on low vines elsewhere, the berry being large and sweet, but, for want of hoeing and dressing, had large stones.

It was the practice to keep watch over the Caciques that none should absent themselves, they being taken along by the Governor until coming out of their territories ; for by thus having them the inhabitants would await their arrival in the towns, give a guide, and men to carry the loads, who before leaving their country would have liberty to return to their homes, as sometimes would the tamemes, so soon as they came to the domain of any chief where others could be got. The people of Coça, seeing their lord was detained, took it amiss, and, going off, hid themselves in the scrub, as well those of the town of the Cacique as those of the towns of the principal men his vassals. The Governor dispatched four captains in as many directions to search for them : many men and women were taken who were put in chains. Seeing how much harm they received, and how little they gained by going off, they came in, declaring that they desired to serve in all that it were possible. Of the prisoners, some of the chiefs, whom the Cacique interceded for, were let go ; of the rest, each one took away with him as slaves those he had in chains, none returning to their country save some whose fortune it was to escape, labouring diligently to file off their irons at night ; or, while on the march, could slip out of the way, observing the carelessness of those who had them in charge, sometimes taking off with them in their chains the burdens and the clothing with which they were laded.

On how the Governor went from Coça to Tastaluca.

The Governor rested in Coça twenty-five days. On Friday, the twentieth of August, he set out in quest of a province called Tastaluca, taking with him the Cacique of Coça. The first day he went through Tallimuchase, a great town without inhabitants, halting to sleep half a league beyond, near a river-bank. The following day he came to Ytaua, a town subject to Coça. He was detained six days, because of a river near by that was then swollen : so soon as it could be crossed he took up his march, and went towards Ullibahali. Ten or twelve chiefs came to him on the road, from the Cacique of that province, tendering his service, bearing bows and arrows and wearing bunches of feathers.

The Governor having arrived at the town with a dozen cavalry and several of his guard, he left them at the distance of a crossbow-shot and entered the town. He found all the Indians with their weapons, and, according to their ways, it appeared to him in readiness for action : he understood afterwards that they had determined to wrest the Cacique of Coça from his power, should that chief have called on them. The place was enclosed, and near by ran a small stream. The fence, which was like that seen afterwards to other towns, was of large timber sunk deep and firmly into the earth, having many long poles the size of the arm, placed crosswise to nearly the height of a lance, with embrasures, and coated with mud inside and out, having loop-holes for archery. The Governor ordered all his men to enter the town. The Cacique, who at the moment was at a town on the opposite shore, was sent for, and he came at once. After some words between him and the Governor, proffering mutual service, he gave the tamemes that were requisite and thirty women as slaves. Mancano, a native of Salamanca, of noble ancestry, having strayed off in search of the grapes, which are good here, and plenty, was lost.

The Christians left, and that day they arrived to sleep at a town subject to the lord of Ullibahali, and the next day they came to pass the night at the town of Toasi, where the inhabitants gave the Governor thirty women and the tamemes that were wanted. The amount of travel usually performed was five or six leagues a day, passing through settled country ; and when through desert, all the haste possible was made, to avoid the want of maize. From Toasi, passing through some towns subject to the lord of the Province of Tallise, he journeyed five days, and arrived at the town the eighteenth day of September.

Tallise was large, situated by the side of a great river, other towns and many fields of maize being on the opposite shore, the country on both sides having the greatest abundance of grain. The inhabitants had gone off. The Governor sent to call the Cacique, who, having arrived, after an interchange of kind words and good promises, lent him forty men. A chief came to the Governor in behalf of the Cacique of Tastaluca, and made the following address :

> "VERY POWERFUL, VIRTUOUS, AND ESTEEMED LORD : The grand Cacique of Tastaluca, my master, sends me to salute you. He bids me say, that he is told how all, not without reason, are led captive by your perfections and power ; that wheresoever lies your path you receive gifts and obedience, which he knows are all your due ; and that he longs to see you as much as he could desire for the continuance of life. Thus, he sends me to offer you his person, his lands, his subjects ; to say, that wheresoever it shall please you to go through his territories, you will find service and obedience, friendship and peace. In requital of this wish to serve you, he asks that you so far favour him as to say when you will come ; for that the sooner you do so, the greater will be the obligation, and to him the earlier pleasure."

The Governor received and parted with the messenger graciously, giving him beads (which by the Indians are not much esteemed), and other articles, that he should take them to his lord. He dismissed the Cacique of Coça, that he might return to his country : he of Tallise gave him the tamemes that were needed ; and, having sojourned twenty days, the Governor set out for Tastaluca. He slept the night at a large town called Casiste, and the next day, passing through another, arrived at a village in the Province of Tastaluca ; and the following night he rested in a wood, two leagues from the town where the Cacique resided, and where he was then present. He sent the Field-Marshal, Luis de Mosocso, with fifteen cavalry, to inform him of his approach.

The Cacique was at home, in a piazza. Before his dwelling, on a high place, was spread a mat for him, upon which two cushions were placed, one above another, to which he went and sat down, his men placing themselves around, some way removed, so that an open circle was formed about him, the Indians of the highest rank being nearest to his person. One of them shaded him from the sun with a circular umbrella, spread wide, the size of a target, with a small stem, and having deer-skins extended over cross-sticks, quartered with red and white, which at a distance made it look of taffeta, the colours were so very perfect. It formed the standard of the Chief, which he carried into battle. His appearance was full of dignity : he was tall of person, muscular, lean, and symmetrical. He was the suzerain of many territories, and of a numerous people, being equally feared by his vassals and the neighbouring nations. The Field-Marshal, after he had spoken to him, advanced with his company, their steeds leaping from side to side, and at times towards the Chief, when he, with great gravity, and seemingly with indifference, now and then would raise his eyes, and look on as in contempt.

The Governor approached him, but he made no movement to rise ; he took him by the hand, and they went together to seat themselves on the bench that was in the piazza. The Cacique addressed him these words :

> "POWERFUL CHIEF : Your lordship is very welcome. With the sight of you I receive as great pleasure and comfort as though you were an own brother whom I dearly loved. It is idle to use many words here, as it is

not well to speak at length where a few may suffice. The greater the will the more estimable the deed ; and acts are the living witnesses of truth. You shall learn how strong and positive is my will, and how disinterested my inclination to serve you. The gifts you did me the favour to send I esteem in all their value, but most because they were yours. See in what you will command me."

The Governor satisfied the Chief with a few brief words of kindness. On leaving he determined, for certain reasons, to take him along. The second day on the road he came to a town called Piache : a great river ran near, and the Governor asked for canoes. The Indians said they had none, but that they could have rafts of cane and dried wood, whereon they might readily enough go over, which they diligently set about making, and soon completed. They managed them ; and the water being calm, the Governor and his men easily crossed.

From the port of Espiritu Santo to Palache, a march of about a hundred leagues, the course was west ; from Apalache to Cutifachiqui, which may be four hundred and thirty leagues, it was northeast ; from thence to Xualla, two hundred and fifty leagues, it was towards the north ; and thence to Tastaluca, which may be some other two hundred and fifty leagues, one hundred and ninety of them were toward the west, going to the Province of Coça, and the sixty southwardly, in going thence to Tastaluca.

After crossing the river of Piache, a Christian having gone to look after a woman gotten away from him, he had been either captured or killed by the natives, and the Governor pressed the Chief to tell what had been done ; threatening, that should the man not appear, he would never release him. The Cacique sent an Indian thence to Mauilla, the town of a chief, his vassal, whither they were going, stating that he sent to give him notice that he should have provisions in readiness and Indians for loads ;

but which, as afterwards appeared, was a message for him to get together there all the warriors in his country.

The Governor marched three days, the last one of them continually through an inhabited region, arriving on Monday, the eighteenth day of October, at Mauilla. He rode forward in the vanguard, with fifteen cavalry and thirty infantry, when a Christian he had sent with a message to the Cacique, three or four days before, with orders not to be gone long, and to discover the temper of the Indians, came out from the town and reported that they appeared to him to be making preparation ; for that while he was present many weapons were brought, and many people came into the town, and work had gone on rapidly to strengthen the palisade. Luis de Moscoso said that, since the Indians were so evil disposed, it would be better to stop in the woods ; to which the Governor answered, that he was impatient of sleeping out, and that he would lodge in the town.

Arriving near, the Chief came out to receive him, with many Indians singing and playing on flutes, and after tendering his services, gave him three cloaks of marten-skins. The Governor entered the town with the Caciques, seven or eight men of his guard, and three or four cavalry, who had dismounted to accompany them ; and they seated themselves in a piazza. The Cacique of Tastaluca asked the Governor to allow him to remain there, and not to weary him any more with walking ; but, finding that was not to be permitted, he changed his plan, and, under pretext of speaking with some of the chiefs, he got up from where he sate, by the side of the Governor, and entered a house where were many Indians with their bows and arrows. The Governor, finding that he did not return, called to him ; to which the Cacique answered that he would not come out, nor would he leave that town ; that if the Governor wished to go in peace, he should quit at once, and not persist in carrying him away by force from his country and its dependencies.

How the Indians rose upon the Governor, and what followed upon that rising.

The Governor, in view of the determination and furious answer of the Cacique, thought to soothe him with soft words; to which he made no answer, but, with great haughtiness and contempt, withdrew to where Soto could not see nor speak to him. The Governor that he might send word to the Cacique for him to remain in the country at his will, and to be pleased to give him a guide, and persons to carry burdens, that he might see if he could pacify him with gentle words, called to a chief who was passing by. The Indian replied, loftily, that he would not listen to him. Baltasar de Gallegos, who was near, seized him by the cloak of marten-skins that he had on, drew it off over his head, and left it in his hands; whereupon, the Indians all beginning to rise, he gave him a stroke with a cutlass, that laid open his back, when they, with loud yells, came out of the houses, discharging their bows.

The Governor, discovering that if he remained there they could not escape, and if he should order his men, who were outside of the town, to come in, the horses might be killed by the Indians from the houses and great injury done, he ran out; but before he could get away he fell two or three times, and was helped to rise by those with him. He and they were all badly wounded: within the town five Christians were instantly killed. Coming forth, he called out to all his men to get farther off, because there was much harm doing from the palisade. The natives discovering that the Christians were retiring, and some, if not the greater number, at more than a walk, the Indians followed with great boldness, shooting at them, or striking down such as they could overtake. Those in chains having set down their burdens near the fence while the Christians were retiring, the people of Mauilla lifted the loads on to their backs, and, bringing them into the town, took off their irons, putting bows and arms in their hands, with which to fight. Thus did the foe come into possession of all the clothing, pearls, and whatsoever else the Christians had beside, which was what their Indians carried. Since the natives had been at peace to that place, some of us, putting our arms in the luggage, went without any ; and two, who were in the town, had their swords and halberds taken from them, and put to use.

The Governor, presently as he found himself in the field, called for a horse, and, with some followers, returned and lanced two or three of the Indians ; the rest, going back into the town, shot arrows from the palisade. Those who would venture on their nimbleness came out a stone's throw from behind it, to fight, retiring from time to time, when they were set upon.

At the time of the affray there was a friar, a clergyman, a servant of the Governor, and a female slave in the town, who, having no time in which to get away, took to a house, and there remained until after the Indians became masters of the place. They closed the entrance with a lattice door ; and there being a sword among them, which the servant had, he put himself behind the door, striking at the Indians that would have come in ; while, on the other side, stood the friar and the priest, each with a club in hand, to strike down the first that should enter. The Indians, finding that they could not get in by the door, began to unroof the house ; at this moment the cavalry were all arrived at Mauilla, with the infantry that had been on the march, when a difference of opinion arose as to whether the Indians should be attacked, in order to enter the town ; for the result was held doubtful, but finally it was concluded to make the assault.

How the governor sent his men in order of battle and entered the town of Mauilla.

So soon as the advance and the rear of the force were come up, the Governor commanded that all the best armed should dismount, of which he made four squadrons of footmen. The Indians, observing how he was going on arranging his men, urged the Cacique to leave, telling him, as was afterwards made known by some women who were taken in the town, that as he was but one man, and could fight but as one only, there being many chiefs present very skilful and experienced in matters of war, any one of whom was able to command the rest, and as things in war were so subject to fortune, that it was never certain which side would overcome the other, they wished him to put his person in safety ; for if they should conclude their lives there, on which they had resolved rather than surrender, he would remain to govern the land : but for all that they said, he did not wish to go, until, from being continually urged, with fifteen or twenty of his own people he went out of the town, taking with him a scarlet cloak and other articles of the Christians' clothing, being whatever he could carry and that seemed best to him.

The Governor, informed that the Indians were leaving the town, commanded the cavalry to surround it ; and into each squadron of foot he put a soldier, with a brand, to set fire to the houses, that the Indians might have no shelter. His men being placed in full concert, he ordered an arquebuse to be shot off : at the signal the four squadrons, at their proper points, commenced a furious onset, and, both sides severely suffering, the Christians entered the town. The friar, the priest, and the rest who were with them in the house, were all saved, though at the cost of the lives of two brave and very able men who went thither to their rescue. The Indians fought with so great spirit that they many times drove our people back out of the town. The struggle lasted so long that many Christians, weary and very thirsty, went to drink at a pond near by, tinged with the blood of the killed, and returned to the combat. The Governor, witnessing this, with those who followed him in the returning charge of the footmen, entered the town on horseback, which gave opportunity to fire the dwellings ; then breaking in upon the Indians and beating them down, they fled out of the place, the cavalry and infantry driving them back through the gates, where, losing the hope of escape, they fought valiantly; and the Christians getting among them with cutlasses, they found themselves met on all sides by their strokes, when many, dashing headlong into the flaming houses, were smothered, and, heaped one upon another, burned to death.

They who perished there were in all two thousand five hundred, a few more or less: of the Christians there fell eighteen, among whom was Don Carlos, brother-in-law of the Governor; one Juan de Gamez, a nephew; Men, Rodriguez, a Portuguese; and Juan Vazquez, of Villanueva de Barcarota, men of condition and courage; the rest were infantry. Of the living, one hundred and fifty Christians had received seven hundred wounds from the arrow; and God was pleased that they should be healed in little time of very dangerous injuries. Twelve horses died, and seventy were hurt. The clothing the Christians carried with them, the ornaments for saying mass, and the pearls, were all burned there; they having set the fire themselves, because they considered the loss less than the injury they might receive of the Indians from within the houses, where they had brought the things together.

The Governor learning in Mauilla that Francisco Maldonado was waiting for him in the port of Ochuse, six days' travel distant, he caused Juan Ortiz to keep the news secret, that he might not be interrupted in his purpose; because the pearls he wished to send to Cuba for show, that their fame might raise the desire of coming to Florida, had been lost, and he feared that, hearing of him without seeing either gold or silver, or other thing of value from that land, it would come to have such reputation that no one would be found to go there when men should be wanted: so he determined to send no news of himself until he should have discovered a rich country.

CORONADO

The expedition of Coronado is fully told in a letter which he wrote from his then station in New Mexico on the 3rd *August,* 1540, *to Antonio Mendoza, the Viceroy of Mexico, who had sent him out to find the seven fabled cities of gold recently reported upon by Father Marco de Nizza. The negro Stephan mentioned so frequently had accompanied Friar Marco. The account is taken from Hakluyt, and is printed unchanged save for the modernisation of the spelling.*

Coronado set out on the 22nd *April,* 1540, *and returned in* 1542. *He shortly after fell from his horse and became mad, which some thought was due to grief and others to criticism of the poor results of his voyage. His descriptions of animals will easily be recognised, and his route along the Rio Grande to the Grand Canyon can be traced without difficulty on an ordinary map.*

CORONADO

The relation of Francis Vasquez de Coronado, Captain General of the people which were sent in the name of the Emperor's Majesty to the country of Cibola, newly discovered, which he sent to Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of Mexico, of such things as happened in his voyage from the 22nd of April in the year 1540 which departed from Culiacan forward, and of such things as he found in the country which he passed.

FRANCIS VASQUEZ

DEPARTETH WITH HIS ARMY FROM CULIACAN, AND AFTER DIVERS TROUBLES IN HIS VOYAGE, ARRIVETH AT THE VALLEY OF THE PEOPLE CALLED LOS CARACONES, WHICH HE FINDETH BARREN OF MAIZE: FOR OBTAINING WHEREOF HE SENDETH TO THE VALLEY CALLED "THE VALLEY OF THE LORD" HE IS INFORMED OF THE GREATNESS OF THE VALLEY OF THE PEOPLE CALLED CARACONES AND OF THE NATURE OF THOSE PEOPLE AND OF CERTAIN ISLANDS LYING ALONG THAT COAST.

THE 22nd of the month of April last past I departed from the province of Culiacan with part of the army and in such order as I mentioned unto your Lordship, and according to the success I assured myself by all likelihood that I shall not bring all mine army together in this enterprise, because the troubles have been so great and the want of victuals, that I think all this year will not be sufficient to perform this enterprise, and if it should be performed in so short a time it would be to the great loss of our people. For as I wrote unto your Lordship, I was fourscore days in travelling to Culiacan, in all which time I and those gentlemen my companions which were horsemen carried on our backs and on our horses a little victual, so that from henceforward we carried none other needful apparel with us that was above a pound weight: and all this notwithstanding, and though we put ourselves to such a small proportion of victuals which we carried, for all the order that possibly we could take, we were driven to our shifts. And no marvel, because the way is rough and long, and with the carriage of our harquebuses down the mountains and hills and in the passage of rivers, the greater part of our corn was spoiled. And because I send your Lordship our voyage drawn in a map I will speak no more thereof in this my letter.

Thirty leagues before we arrived at the place which the father provincial told us so well of in his relation I sent Melchior Diaz before with fifteen horses, giving him order to make but one day's journey of two, because he might examine all things against mine arrival: who travelled four days' journey through exceeding rough mountains where he found neither victuals, nor people, nor information of any things, saving that he found two or three poor little villages, containing twenty or thirty cottages apiece, and by the inhabitants thereof he understood that from thenceforward there were nothing but exceeding rough mountains which ran very far, utterly disinhabited and void of people. And because it was labour lost, I would not write unto your Lordship thereof.

It grieved the whole company that a thing so highly commended and whereof the father had made so great brags should be found so contrary, and it made them suspect that all the rest would fall out in like sort. Which when I perceived I sought to encourage them the best I could, telling them that your Lordship always was of opinion that this voyage was a thing cast away, and that we should fix our cogitation upon those seven cities and other provinces whereof we had knowledge and that there should be the end of our enterprise: and with this resolution and purpose we all marched cheerfully through a very bad way which was not passable but one by one, or else we must force out with pioneers the path which we found, wherewith the soldiers were not a little offended, finding all that the friar had said to be quite contrary: for among other things which the father said and affirmed this was one, that the way was plain and good, and that there was but one small hill of half a league in length. And yet in truth there are mountains which although the way were well mended could not be passed without great danger of breaking the horses' necks : and the way was such that of the cattle which your Lordship sent us for the provision of our army we lost a great part in the voyage through the roughness of the rocks. The lambs and sheep lost their hoofs in the way and of those which I brought from Culiacan I left the greater part at the river of Lachimi, because they could not keep company with us, and because they might come softly after us four men on horseback remained with them, which are now come unto us. and have brought us not past four and twenty lambs and four sheep, for all the rest were dead with travelling through that rough passage, although they travelled but two leagues a day and rested themselves every day.

At length I arrived at the valley of the people called Caracones the 26th day of the month of May : and from Culiacan until I came thither I could not help myself save only with a great quantity of bread of maize : for seeing the maize in the fields were not yet ripe I was constrained to leave them all behind me. In this valley of the Caracones we found more store of people than in any other part of the country which we had passed and great store of tillage. But I understood that there was store thereof in another valley called "The Lord's Valley," which I would not disturb with force, but sent thither Melchior Diaz with wares of exchange to procure some and to give the said maize to the Indians our friends which we brought with us, and to some others that had lost their cattle in the way and were not able to carry their victuals so far which they brought from Culiacan. It pleased God that we got some small quantity of maize with this traffic, whereby certain Indians were relieved and some Spaniards.

And by that time that we were come to this valley of the Caracones some ten or twelve of our horses were dead through weariness : for being overcharged with great burdens and having but little meat they could not endure the travel. Likewise some of our negroes and some of our

Indians died here, which was no small want unto us for the performance of our enterprise. They told me that this valley of the Caracones is five days' journey from the Western Sea. I sent for the Indians of the sea coast to understand their estate, and while I stayed for them the horses rested : and I stayed there four days, in which space the Indians of the sea coast came unto me : which told me that two days' sailing from their coast of the sea there were seven or eight islands right over against them, well inhabited with people but badly furnished with victuals, and were a rude people. And they told me that they had seen a ship pass by not far from the shore : which I knew not what to think, whether it were one of those that went to discover the country, or else a ship of the Portuguese.

THEY COME TO CHICHILTICALE : AFTER THEY HAD RESTED THEMSELVES TWO DAYS THERE THEY ENTER INTO A COUNTRY VERY BARREN OF VICTUALS AND HARD TO TRAVEL FOR THIRTY LEAGUES, BEYOND WHICH THEY FOUND A COUNTRY VERY PLEASANT AND A RIVER CALLED RIO DEL LINO ; THEY FIGHT WITH THE INDIANS, BEING ASSAULTED BY THEM, AND WITH VICTORY VANQUISHING THEIR CITY, THEY RELIEVED THEMSELVES OF THEIR PINCHING HUNGER.

I departed from the Caracones and always kept by the sea coast as near as I could judge, and in very deed I still found myself the farther off : in such sort that when I arrived at Chichilticale I found myself ten days' journey from the sea : and the father provincial said that it was only but five leagues distance and that he had seen the same. We all conceived great grief, and were not a little confounded when we saw that we found everything contrary to the information which he had given to your Lordship.

The Indians of Chichilticale say that if at any time they go to the sea for fish, and other things that they carry, they go traversing, and are ten days' journey in going thither. And I am of opinion that the information which the Indians give me should be true. The sea returneth toward the west right over against the Caracones the space of ten or twelve leagues. Where I found that your Lordship's ships were seen, which went to discover the haven of Chichilticale, which Father Marcus of Niça said to be in five and thirty degrees. God knoweth what grief of mind I have sustained because I am in doubt that some mishap is fallen unto them : and if they follow the coast as they said they would as long as their victuals last which they carry with them, whereof I left them store in Culiacan, and if they be not fallen into some misfortune, I hope well in God that by this they have made some good discovery, and in this respect their long staying out may be pardoned.

I rested myself two days in Chichilticale, and to have done well I should have stayed longer, in respect that here we found our horses so tired : but because we wanted victuals we had no leisure to rest any longer : I entered the confines of the desert country on St. John's eve, and to refresh our former travels ; the first day we found no grass, but worser way of mountains and bad passages, than we had passed already : and the horses being tired were greatly molested therewith : so that in this last desert we lost more horses than we had lost before : and some of my Indians which were our friends died, and one Spaniard whose name was Spinosa ; and two negroes, who died with eating certain herbs for lack of victuals. From this place I sent before me one day's journey the master of the field, Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas, with fifteen horses to discover the country, and prepare our way : wherein he did like himself, and according to the confidence which your Lordship reposed in him. And well I wot he failed not to do his part : for as I have informed your Lordship, it is most wicked way, at least thirty leagues and more, because they are inaccessible mountains.

But after we had passed these thirty leagues we found fresh rivers and grass like that of Castile, and especially of that sort which we call Scaramoio, many nut trees and mulberry trees ; but the nut trees differ from those of Spain in the leaf : and there was flax, but chiefly near the banks of a certain river which therefore we called " El Rio del Lino," that is to say, the river of flax : we found no Indians at all for a day's travel, but afterward four Indians came out unto us in peaceable manner, saying that they were sent even to that desert place to signify unto us that we were welcome, and that the next day all the people would come out to meet us on the way with victuals : and the master of the field gave them a cross, willing them to signify to those of their city that they should not fear and they should rather let the people stay in their houses, because I came only in the name of His Majesty to defend and aid them.

And this done, Fernando Alvarado returned to advertise me that certain Indians were come unto them in peaceable manner, and that two of them stayed for my coming with the master of the field. Whereupon I went unto them and gave them beads and certain short cloaks, willing them to return unto their city, and bid them to stay quiet in their houses and fear nothing. And this done I sent the master of the field to search whether there were any bad passage which the Indians might keep against us, and that he should take and defend it until the next day that I should come thither. So he went and found in the way a very bad passage, where we might have sustained very great harm : wherefore there he seated himself with his company that were with him : and that very night the Indians came to take that passage to defend it, and finding it taken, they assaulted our men there, and as they tell me, they assaulted them like valiant men although in the end they retired and fled away ; for the master of the field was watchful and was in order with his company : the Indians in token of retreat sounded on a certain small trumpet and did no hurt among the Spaniards. The very same night the master of the field certified me hereof. Whereupon the next day in the best order that I could I departed in so great want of victual that I thought that if we should stay one day longer without food we should all perish for hunger, especially the Indians, for among us all we had not two bushels of corn : wherefore it behoved me to prick forward without delay. The Indians here and there made fires, and were answered again afar off as orderly as we for our lives could have done, to give their fellows understanding how we marched and where we arrived.

As soon as I came within sight of this city of Granada I sent Don Garcias Lopez, camp master, Friar Daniel and Friar Luis and Fernando Vermizzo somewhat before with certain horsemen to seek the Indians and to advertise them that our coming was not to hurt them, but to defend them in the name of the Emperor our Lord, according as His Majesty had given us in charge : which message was delivered to the inhabitants of that country by an interpreter. But they like arrogant people made small account thereof ; because we seemed very few in their eyes, and that they might destroy us without any difficulty, and they struck Friar Luis with an arrow on the gown, which by the grace of God did him no harm.

In the mean space I arrived with all the rest of the horsemen and footmen and found in the fields a great sort of the Indians, which began to shoot at us with their arrows : and because I would obey your will and the command of the Marquis, I would not let my people charge them, forbidding my company, which entreated me that they might set upon them, in any wise to provoke them, saying that that which the enemies did was nothing, and that it was not meet to set upon so few people. On the other side the Indians perceiving that we stirred not took great stomach and courage unto them : insomuch that they came hard to our horses' heels to shoot at us with their arrows. Whereupon seeing that it was now time to stay no longer, and that the friars also were of the same opinion, I set upon them without any danger : for suddenly they fled part to the city which was near and well fortified, and other into the field, which way they could shift : and some of the Indians were slain, and more had been if I would have suffered them to have been pursued.

But considering that hereof we might reap but small profit, because the Indians that were without were few and those which were retired into the city with them which stayed within at the first were many, where the victuals were whereof we had so great need, I assembled my people and divided them as I thought best to assault the city, and I compassed it about : and because the famine which we sustained suffered no delay, myself with certain of these gentlemen and soldiers put ourselves on foot and commanded that the crossbows and harquebusiers should give the assault and should beat the enemies from the wall that they might not hurt us, and I assaulted the walls on one side where they told me there was a scaling ladder set up, and that there was one gate : but the crossbow men suddenly broke the strings of their bows, and the harquebusiers did nothing at all : for they came thither so weak and feeble that scarcely they could stand on their feet : and by this means the people that were aloft on the walls to defend the town were no way hindered from doing us all the mischief they could : so that twice they struck me to the ground with infinite number of great stones, which they cast down : and if I had not been defended with an excellent good headpiece which I wore I think it had gone hardly with me : nevertheless my company took me up with two small wounds in the face and an arrow sticking in my foot and many blows with stones on my arms and legs, and thus I went out of the battle very weak. I think that if Don Garcias Lopez de Cardenas the second time that they struck me to the ground had not succoured me with striding over me like a good knight I had been in far greater danger than I was.

But it pleased God that the Indians yielded themselves unto us and that this city was taken, and such store of maize was found therein, as our necessity required. The master of the field and Don Pedro de Tovar and Fernando de Alvarado and Paul de Melgosa, captains of the footmen escaped with certain knocks with stones :

though none of them were wounded with arrows ; yet Agoniez Quarez was wounded in one arm with the shot of an arrow, and one Torres, a townsman of Panuco, was shot in the face with another and two footmen more had two small wounds with arrows. And because my armour was gilded and glittering they all laid load on me, and therefore I was more wounded than the rest, not that I did more than they, or put myself forwarder than the rest, for all these gentlemen and soldiers carried themselves as manfully as was looked for at their hands. I am now well recovered, I thank God, although somewhat bruised with stones. Likewise in the skirmish which we had in the fields two or three other soldiers were hurt and three horses slain, one of Don Lopez, the other of Viliega and the third of Don Alonso Manrique, and seven or eight other horses were wounded ; but both the men and horses are whole and sound.

OF THE SITUATION AND STATE OF THE SEVEN CITIES CALLED THE KINGDOM OF CIBOLA, AND THE CUSTOMS AND QUALITIES OF THOSE PEOPLE, AND OF THE BEASTS WHICH ARE FOUND THERE.

It remaineth now to certify your Honour of the seven cities and of the kingdoms and provinces whereof the father provincial made report unto your Lordship. And to be brief, I can assure your honour he said the truth in nothing that he reported, but all was quite contrary, saving only the names of the cities and great houses of stone : for although they be not wrought with turquoises, nor with lime, nor bricks, yet are they very excellent good houses of three or four or five lofts high, wherein are good lodgings and fair chambers with ladders instead of stairs, and certain cellars under the ground very good and paved, which are made for winter, they are in manner like stoves : and the ladders which they have for their houses are all in a manner movable and portable, which are taken away and set down when they please, and they are made of two pieces of wood with their steps, as ours be. The seven cities are seven small towns, all made with these kind of houses that I speak of : and they stand all within four leagues together, and they are all called the Kingdom of Cibola, and every one of them have their particular name : and none of them is called Cibola, but altogether they are called Cibola. And this town which I call a city, I have named Granada, as well because it is somewhat like unto it, as also in remembrance of your Lordship. In this town where I now remain, there may be some two hundred houses, all compassed with walls, and I think that with the rest of the houses which are not so walled, they may be together five hundred. There is another town near this, which is one of the seven, and it is somewhat bigger than this, and another of the same bigness that this is of, and the other four are somewhat less : and I send them all painted unto your Lordship with the voyage. And the parchment wherein the picture is was found here with other parchments.

The people of this town seem unto me of a reasonable stature and witty, yet they seem not to be such as they should be, of that judgement and wit to build these houses in such sort as they are. For the most part they go all naked, except their privy parts which are covered : and they have painted mantles like those which I send unto your Lordship. They have no cotton wool growing, because the country is cold, yet they wear mantles thereof as your Honour may see by the show thereof : and true it is that there was found in their houses certain yarn made of cotton wool. They wear their hair on their heads like those of Mexico, and they are well nurtured and conditioned. And they have turquoises I think good quantity, which with the rest of the goods which they had, except their corn, they had conveyed away before I came thither : for I found no women there, nor no youth under fifteen years old, nor no old folks above sixty, saving two or three old folks, who stayed behind to govern all the rest of the youth and men of war.

There were found in a certain paper two points of emeralds and certain small stones broken which are in colour somewhat like granates very bad, and other stones of crystal, which I gave one of my servants to lay up to send them to your Lordship, and he hath lost them as he telleth me. We found here Guinea cocks, but few. The Indians tell me in all these seven cities that they eat them not, but that they keep them only for their feathers. I believe them not, for they are excellent good, and greater than those of Mexico. The season which is in this country and the temperature of the air is like that of Mexico : for ometime it is hot and sometime it raineth : but hitherto I never saw it rain, but once there fell a little shower with wind, as they are wont to fall in Spain.

The snow and cold are wont to be great, for so say the inhabitants of the country : and it is very likely so to be, both in respect to the manner of the country and by the fashion of their houses and their furs and other things which this people have to defend them from cold. There is no kind of fruit nor trees of fruit. The country is all plain and is on no side mountainous, albeit there are some hilly and bad passages. There are small store of fowls, the cause whereof is the cold and because the mountains are not near. Here is no great store of wood, because they have wood for their fuel sufficient four leagues off from a wood of small cedars. There is most excellent grass within a quarter of a league hence, for our horses as well to feed them in pasture, as to mow and make hay, whereof we stood in great need, because our horses came hither so weak and feeble. The victuals which the people of this country have is maize, whereof they have great store, and also small white peas and venison, which by all likelihood they feed upon (though they say no), for we found many skins of deer, of hares and conies. They eat the best cakes that ever I saw, and everybody generally eateth of them. They have the finest order and way to grind that we ever saw in any place. And one Indian woman of this country will grind as much as four women of Mexico. They have most excellent salt in kernel, which they fetch from a certain lake a day's journey from hence.

They have no knowledge among them of the north sea, nor of the western sea, neither can I tell your Lordship to which we be nearest, but in reason they should seem to be nearest to the western sea, and at the least I think I am an hundred and fifty leagues from thence, and the northern sea should be much further off. Your Lordship may see how broad the land is here. Here are many sorts of beasts, as bears, tigers, lions, " porkespicks," and certain sheep as big as an horse, with very great horns and little tails. I have seen their horns so big that it is a wonder to behold their greatness. Here are also wild goats whose heads likewise I have seen, and the paws of bears and the skins of wild boars. There is game of deer, ounces and very great stags : and all men are of opinion that there are some bigger than that beast which your Lordship bestowed upon me, which once belonged to John Melaz. They travel eight days' journey unto certain plains lying toward the north sea. In this country there are certain skins well dressed, and they dress them and paint them where they kill their oxen, for so they say themselves.

OF THE STATE AND QUALITIES OF THE KINGDOMS OF TOTONTEAC, MARATA, AND ACUS, QUITE CONTRARY TO THE RELATION OF FRIAR MARCU. THE CONFERENCE WHICH THEY HAVE WITH THE INDIANS OF THE CITY OF GRANADA WHICH THEY HAD TAKEN, WHICH HAD FIFTY YEARS PAST FORESEEN THE COMING OF THE CHRISTIANS INTO THEIR COUNTRY. THE RELATION WHICH THEY HAVE OF OTHER SEVEN CITIES, WHEREOF TUCANO IS THE PRINCIPAL, AND HOW HE SENT TO DISCOVER THEM. A PRESENT OF DIVERS THINGS HAD IN THESE COUNTRIES SENT UNTO THE VICEROY MENDOZA BY VASQUE DE CORONADO.

The kingdom of Totonteac so much extolled by the father provincial, which said that there were such wonderful things there and such great matters, and that they made cloth there, the Indians say is an hot lake about which are five or six houses ; and that there were certain other, but that they are ruinated by war. The kingdom of Marata is not to be found, neither have the Indians any knowledge thereof. The kingdom of Acus is one only small city, where they gather cotton which is called acucu. And I say that this is a town. For Acus with an aspiration nor without is no word of the country. And because I guess that they would derive acucu of Acus, I say that it is this town whereinto the kingdon of Acus is converted. Beyond this town they say there are other small towns which are near to a river which I have seen and have had report of by the relation of the Indians. I would to God I had better news to write unto your Lordship : nevertheless I must say the truth. And as I wrote to your Lordship from Culiacan, I am now to advertise your honour as well of the good as of the bad. Yet this I would have you be assured, that if all the riches and the treasures of the world were here I could have done no more in the service of His Majesty and your Lordship than I have done in coming hither whither you have sent me, myself and my companions carrying our victuals upon our shoulders and upon our horses three hundred leagues and many days going on foot travelling over hills and rough mountains, with other troubles which I cease to mention, neither purpose I to depart unto the death, if it please His Majesty and your Lordship that it shall be so.

Three days after this city was taken certain Indians of these people came to offer me peace and brought me certain turquoises and bad mantles, and I received them in His Majesty's name with all the good speeches that I could devise, certifying them of the purpose of my coming into this country, which is in the name of His Majesty, and by the commandment of your Lordship, that they and all the rest of the people of this province should become Christians, and should know the true God for their Lord, and receive His Majesty for their king and earthly sovereign. And herewithal they returned to their houses and suddenly the next day they set in order all their goods and substance, their women and children, and fled to the hills, leaving their towns as it were abandoned, wherein remained very few of them.

When I saw this, within eight or ten days after being recovered of my wounds, I went to the city, which I said to be greater than this where I am, and found there some few of them, to whom I said that they should not be afraid, and that they should call their governor unto me: howbeit, forasmuch as I can learn or gather, none of them hath any governor: for I saw not there any chief house, whereby any pre-eminence of one over another might be gathered.

After this an old man came, which said that he was their lord, with a piece of a mantle made of many pieces, with whom I reasoned that small while that he stayed with me, and he said that within three days after he and the rest of the chief of that town would come and visit me and give order what course should be taken with them. Which they did, for they brought me certain mantles and some turquoises. I advised them to come down from their holds and to return with their wives and children to their houses and to become Christians, and that they would acknowledge the Emperor's Majesty for their king and lord. And even to this present they keep in those strongholds their women and children and all the goods which they have. I commanded them that they should paint me out a cloth of all the beasts which they know in their country. And such bad painters as they are, forthwith they painted me two cloths, one of their beasts, another of their birds and fishes. They say that they will bring their children, that our religious men may instruct them, and that they desire to know our law. And they assure us that above fifty years past it was prophesied among them that a certain people like us should come and from that part that we came from and that they should subdue all that country.

That which these Indians worship as far as hitherto we can learn is the water: for they say it causeth their corn to grow and maintaineth their life and that they know none other reason but that their ancestors did so. I have sought by all means possible to learn of the inhabitants of these towns whether they have any knowledge of other people, countries and cities. And they tell me of seven cities which are far distant from this place which are like unto these, though they have not houses like unto these, but they are of earth and small : and that among them much cotton is gathered. The chief of these towns whereof they have knowledge they say is called Tucano : and they gave me no perfect knowledge of the rest. And I think they do not tell me the truth, imagining that of necessity I must speedily depart from them and return home. But herein they shall soon find themselves deceived.

I sent Don Pedro de Tovar with his company of footmen and with certain other horsemen to see this town. And I would not have dispatched this packet unto your Lordship until I had known what this town was if I had thought that within twelve or fifteen days I might have had news from him : for he will stay in this journey thirty days at least. And having examined that the knowledge hereof is of small importance and that the cold and the waters approach I thought it my duty to do according as your Lordship gave me charge in your instructions, which is, that immediately upon mine arrival here, I should signify so much unto your Lordship, and so I do, sending withal the bare relation of that which I have seen. I have determined to send round about the country from hence to have knowledge of all things, and rather to suffer all extremity than to leave this enterprise to serve His Majesty, if I may find anything wherein I may perform it and not to omit any diligence therein, until your Lordship send me order what I shall do. We have great want of pasture.

And your Lordship also shall understand that among all those which are here there is not one pound of raisins, nor sugar, nor oil, nor any wine, save only one pint which is saved to say mass, for all is spent and spilt by the way. Now your Lordship may provide us what you think needful. And if your honour mean to send us cattle your Lordship must understand that they will be a summer in coming unto us, for they will not be able to come unto us any sooner. I would have sent your Lordship with this dispatch many musters of things which are in this country, but the way is so long and rough that it is hard for me to do so; nevertheless I send you twelve small mantles, such as the people of the country are wont to wear, and a certain garment also which seemeth unto me to be well made. I kept the same because it seemed to me to be excellent well wrought, because I believe that no man ever saw any needlework in these Indies, except it were since the Spaniards inhabited the same.

I send your Lordship also two cloths painted with the beasts of this country, although as I have said, the picture be very rudely done, because the painter spent but one day in drawing of the same. I have seen other pictures on the walls of the houses of this city with far better proportion and better made. I send your honour one ox hide, certain turquoises, and two ear-rings of the same and fifteen combs of the Indians and certain tablets set with these turquoises and two small baskets made of wicker, whereof the Indians have great store. I send your Lordship also two rolls which the women in these parts are wont to wear on their heads when they fetch water from their wells, as we use to do in Spain. And one of these Indian women with one of these rolls on her head will carry a pitcher of water without touching the same with her hand up a ladder. I send you also a muster of the weapons wherewith these people are wont to fight: a buckler, a mace, a bow and certain arrows, among which are two with points of bones, the like whereof, as these conquerors say, have never been seen.

I can say nothing unto your Lordship touching the apparel of their women. For the Indians keep them so carefully from us that hitherto I have not seen any of them, saving only two old women, and these had two long robes down to the foot open before and girded to them, and they are buttoned with certain cordons of cotton. I requested the Indians to give me one of these robes which they wear, to send your honour the same, seeing they would not show me their women. And they brought me two mantles which are these which I send you as it were painted: they have two pendants like the women of Spain, which hang somewhat over their shoulders.

The death of the negro is most certain, for here are many of the things found which he carried with him. And the Indians tell me that they killed him here, because the Indians of Chichilticale told them that he was a wicked villain, and not like unto the Christians: because the Christians kill no women: and he killed women; and also he touched their women, which the Indians love more than themselves; therefore they determined to kill him. But they did it not after such sort as was reported, for they killed none of the rest of those that came with him, neither slew they the young lad which was with him of the province of Petatlan, but they took him and kept him in safe custody until now. And when I sought to have him they excused themselves two or three days to give him me, telling me that he was dead, and sometimes that the Indians of Acucu had carried him away. But in conclusion when I told them that I should be very angry if they did not give him me, they gave him unto me. He is an interpreter, for though he cannot well speak their language, yet he understandeth the same very well.

In this place there is found some quantity of gold and silver, which those which are skilful in mineral matters esteem to be very good. To this hour I could never learn of these people from whence they have it. And I see they refuse to tell me the truth in all things, imagining, as I have said, that in short time I would depart hence, but I hope in God they shall no longer excuse themselves. I beseech your Lordship to certify His Majesty of the success of this voyage. For seeing we have no more than that which is aforesaid, and until such time as it please God that we find that which we desire, I mean not to write myself. Our Lord God keep and preserve your Excellency.

From the province of Cibola and from this city of Granada the third of August, 1540. Francis Vasquez de Coronado kisseth the hands of your Excellency.

ORELLANA

The discovery of the Amazon was the result of an act of treachery. In 1539 Francisco Pizarro had sent his brother Gonzalo to explore the territory known as Cinnamon Land, beyond the Andes. Several of his men, led by Francisco de Orellana, deserted him late in the year 1540, descended the river Napo, and proceeded east after reaching its confluence with a larger river, until ultimately, after the almost incredible adventures here described, the deserters arrived at the delta and the sea.

The account here given is translated by Clements R. Markham from Antonio de Herrera's Historia General de las Indias Occidentals, *one of the most important sources for early American discovery.*

ORELLANA

Of the voyage which Captain Orellana commenced, on the river which they call San Juan de las Amazonas.

SOME say that Orellana and his companions deserted Pizarro without his knowledge, and others that they continued the voyage with their commander's permission, in a barque which they had built, and some canoes. Voyaging, as they say, with the design of returning to Gonzalo Pizarro, with provisions, they found themselves, after going over two hundred leagues, unable to return, and, therefore, continued to sail on until they came out into the ocean.

The second day, after they parted from Gonzalo Pizarro, they expected to have been lost in the midst of the river, as the barque struck upon a floating tree, and stove in a plank ; but being near the land, they ran her on shore, repaired her, and continued the voyage. They made twenty or twenty-five leagues a day, assisted by the current. Passing the mouths of many rivers on the south side, they continued their course for three days, without seeing any habitation. Finding that the provisions they brought with them were exhausted, and that they were so distant from Gonzalo Pizarro, they thought it best to pass on with the current, commending themselves to God by means of a mass, which was performed by a Dominican monk named Carbajal. Their difficulties were now so great, that they had nothing to eat but the skins which formed their girdles, and the leather of their shoes, boiled with a few herbs.

On the 8th of January, 1541, when they were all expecting their deaths, Orellana heard the drums of Indians, at which they rejoiced, as it now seemed that they would not die of hunger. After going on for two leagues, they came upon four canoes of Indians, who presently retired, and Orellana came to a village, with a great number of

Indians ready to defend it. The captain ordered all his people to land in good order, and to take care not to straggle. At the sight of the village these afflicted soldiers plucked up such courage that, attacking the Indians with valour, the latter fled, leaving their provisions behind them, with which the Spaniards satisfied their excessive hunger. Two hours after noon the Indians returned in their canoes, to see what was going on. The captain spoke to them in the Indian language, and, although they did not understand all he said to them, yet when he gave them a few Spanish trifles, they remained content, and offered to give him all he required. He only asked them for food, and they at once brought abundance of turkeys, partridges, fish, and other things. On the following day thirteen chiefs arrived, with plumes of feathers, and gold ornaments. Orellana spoke to them with great courtesy, requested them to be obedient to the crown of Castille, and took possession of the country in the king's name.

As he knew the good feeling of the Indians, and his people being rested ; knowing also the danger of sailing in the barque and canoes, if they reached the sea ; he proposed to build another brigantine. One of the chiefs, according to the account of friar Gaspar de Carbajal, gave information respecting the Amazons, and of a rich and powerful chief in the interior. Having commenced building the brigantine, they found no difficulty except in getting nails, but it pleased God that two men should make that which they had never been taught to make, whilst another took charge of burning the charcoal. They made bellows of their leathern buskins, and worked hard at everything else ; some carrying, some cutting, and others doing various things, the captain himself being the first to put his hand to the work. They manufactured more than two thousand nails in twenty days, a delay which was prejudicial, because the provisions were consumed which had previously been collected.

Up to this point they had made two hundred leagues in nine days, having lost seven companions, who had died of hunger during their former sufferings. They now determined (in order not to exhaust the Indians) to depart on the feast of Candlemas. Twenty leagues further on, a stream flowed into the river on the right hand, which was so swollen, that at the point of junction with the larger stream, the waters struggled with such violence that the Spaniards expected to have been lost. Escaped from this danger, for the next two hundred leagues that they traversed, they met with no habitations, and suffered much from toil and dangers, until they arrived at some villages where the Indians seemed to be quite off their guard. In order not to disturb them, the captain ordered twenty soldiers to land and ask them for food. The Indians were delighted to see the Spaniards, and gave them plenty of provisions, turtles and parrots. Orellana then went to a village, at another part of the river, where he met with no resistance. The natives gave him provisions ; and, continuing the voyage in sight of villages, on another day some Indians in four canoes came to the vessel, and offered the captain some turtles, good partridges, and fish ; they were much pleased, and invited Orellana to come and see their chief, who was named Aparia, and who now approached with more canoes. The Indians and Christians landed, and the chief Aparia came, and was well received by Captain Orellana, who treated him to a discourse on the law of God, and the grandeur of the King of Castille ; all which the Indians listened to with much attention. Aparia inquired if he had seen the Amazons, whom in his language they call *Coniapuyara*, meaning Great Lord. He added that his people were few, while the Amazons were numerous. Continuing the conversation, the captain begged the chief to name all the lords in the country. Having enumerated twenty, he ended saying, that all were children of the sun, and that as such, he ought to hold them as friends. They were rejoiced, and supplied plenty of provisions of good quality ; and the captain took possession of the land, placing a cross on a high place, at which the Indians expressed wonder and satisfaction.

What happened to Captain Orellana in his voyage, and in his discovery of this River Amazon.

When captain Orellana found that he met with a cordial reception, he determined to build the brigantine at this place ; and it pleased God that there should be an engraver in his company, who, though ship building was not his business, proved of great use. The timber having been cut and prepared with great labour, which the men endured with much willingness, in thirty-five days she was launched, caulked with cotton, and the seams payed with pitch which was given them by the Indians.

At this time four tall Indians came to the captain, dressed and adorned with ornaments, and with hair reaching from the head to the waist. With much humility they placed food before the captain, and said that a great chief had sent them to inquire who these strangers were, and whence they came. Orellana gave them some articles of barter, which they valued very much, and he spoke to them in the same way as he had done to the others, and so they departed. The Spaniards passed all Lent at this place, and all the Christians confessed to the two priests who were in the company, and the priests preached to them, and urged them to endure the hardships they would have to encounter with constancy, until there should be an end of them.

The new brigantine being completed, and fit to navigate the sea, they set sail on the fourth of April from the residence of Aparia, and voyaged for eighty leagues without encountering a single warlike Indian. The river passed through an uninhabited country, flowing from forest to forest, and they found no place where they could either sleep or fish. Thus with herbs and a little toasted maize for food, they went on until the 6th of May, when they reached an elevated place which appeared to have been inhabited. Here they stopped to fish, and it happened that the engraver, who had been so useful in building the vessel, killed a guana with his cross bow. The creature was in a tree near the river, and fell into the water. A soldier named Contreras also caught a large fish with a hook, and, as the hook was small and the fish was large, it was necessary to take hold of it with his hand ; and when it was opened, the nut of the cross-bow was found in its stomach.

On the twelfth of May they arrived at the province of Machiparo, which is thickly peopled, and ruled by another chief named Aomagua. One morning they discovered a number of canoes, full of warlike Indians, with large shields made of the skins of lizards and dantas, beating drums, and shouting, with threats that they would eat the Christians. The latter collected their vessels together, but met with a great misfortune in finding that their powder had become damp, and that they were thus unable to load their arquebusses. The Indians approached with their bows, and the cross-bows did them some damage ; and thus, while reinforcements continued to arrive, a gallant conflict was maintained. In this way they descended the river, engaged in a running fight until they reached a place where there was a great crowd in the ravines. Half the Spaniards then landed, and followed the Indians to their village ; and as it appeared large, and the people were numerous, the ensign returned to make his report to Orellana, who was defending the vessels against the Indians, who were attacking him from their canoes.

Understanding that there was a quantity of provisions in the village, the captain ordered a soldier, named Cristoval de Segovia, to take it. He started with twelve companions, who loaded themselves with supplies, but were attacked by more than two thousand Indians, whom they resisted with such vigour, that they forced them to retreat, and retained the food, with only two Spaniards wounded. But the Indians returned with reinforcements, and pressing on the Spaniards, wounded four. Cristoval de Segovia, though he wished to retire to the ships, said that he would not leave the Indians with the victory, nor place his retreat in such peril, and, making a gallant resistance, he succeeded in retiring in safety. In the meanwhile another body of Indians attacked the vessels from two sides, and, having fought for more than two hours, it pleased the Lord to assist the Spaniards, and some, of whom little was expected, performed wonderful deeds of valour. Such were the acts of Cristoval de Aguilar, Blas de Medina, and Pedro de Ampudia.

The Indians having retired, the wounded, who amounted to eighteen, were ordered to be attended to. All recovered except Ampudia, a native of Ciudad Rodrigo, who died of his wounds in eight days. In this encounter the value of the commander's example was shown ; for Orellana did nct, because he commanded, cease to fight like any common soldier ; while his good disposition, his form, his promptitude, and forethought animated the soldiers.

As it appeared to Orellana that it was useless, and could serve no purpose to fight with the Indians, he determined to continue his voyage. He embarked a great part of the provisions, and got under weigh ; while the Indians on shore, amounting to nearly ten thousand, gave loud shouts, and those in canoes continued to assault the Spaniards with much audacity. In this way the whole night was passed until dawn, when they saw many villages. The Spaniards, fatigued by so bad a night, determined to go and take refreshments on an uninhabited island ; on which, however, they were unable to get any rest, from the crowds of Indians who landed and attacked them.

On this the captain determined to proceed. He was continually followed by one hundred and thirty canoes containing eight thousand Indians, and accompanied by four or five sorcerers, while the noise of their drums, cornets, and shouting was a thing frightful to hear. If the Spaniards had not had arquebusses and cross-bows, they must have been destroyed, for the Indians advanced with the determination of grappling with and boarding the vessels. Orellana sent forward an arquebusier named Cales, who shot the Indian general, and the other Indians crowded round to assist him. The ships then set out down the river, followed by the canoes, without resting for two days and nights, and in this way they departed from the settlements of the great chief who was named Machiparo.

Having left the canoes behind, the Spaniards came to a village defended by several Indians. Orellana thought it would be well to rest here for four days, after the former toil, and having brought the vessels to, he landed his men with arquebusses and cross-bows. The Indians fled, and he took possession of the village.

Captain Orellana continues the discovery of the river, which is also called by his name.

They remained at this village for three days, eating plentifully. The captain calculated that they had sailed down the river for three hundred leagues from Aparia, two hundred of which were through uninhabited regions. Having embarked a good supply of the biscuit which the Indians make from maize, yucas, and fruit, they set sail on the Sunday after Ascension ; and a league further on, Orellana found that another great stream entered the river, with three islands at its mouth, for which reason he called it the river of the Trinity. The land appeared to be well peopled and fertile, and many canoes came out into the river.

On another day they discovered a small village in a very beautiful spot, and, though the Indians resisted, they entered it and found plenty of provisions. There was a country house containing very good jars of earthenware, vases, and goblets of glass enamelled with many bright colours, resembling drawings and paintings. The Indians at this place said that these things came from the interior, together with much gold and silver. They also found idols, worked from palm wood in a very curious fashion, of gigantic stature, with wheels in the fleshy part of the arms. The Spaniards found in this village, gold and silver ; but as they only thought of discovery and of saving their lives, they did not care for anything else.

From this village two highroads branched off, and the captain walked about half a league along them, but finding that they did not end, he returned and ordered his people to embark and continue the voyage, because in a country so well peopled, it was not advisable to remain on shore during the night.

Having sailed for one hundred leagues through this inhabited country, always in the middle of the river, to keep clear of the Indians, they reached the territory of another chief named Paguana, where the people were friendly, and gave the Spaniards what they required. These Indians had sheep of Peru, the land was productive, and yielded very good fruit.

On Whit-Sunday they passed in sight of a great village with many suburbs, and large crowds of people at each suburb. When they saw the vessels pass, the Indians got into their canoes, but returned, owing to the damage they received from the arquebusses and cross-bows of the Spaniards. On another day they reached a village which ended the dominion of Paguana. They then entered the territory of another chief of a warlike people, whose name they did not know ; and on the eve of Trinity Sunday they came to off a village where the Indians defended themselves with large shields ; but the Spaniards entered their village, and supplied themselves with food. Soon afterwards they discovered a river, on the left hand, with water as black as ink, the force of which was so great that, for more than twenty leagues, its waters flowed separately, without mingling with the Amazons' river. They saw many small villages, and entered one where they found quantities of fish, though it was necessary to force open a door in a wooden wall which surrounded the village.

Continuing the voyage, they passed through a populous country, well supplied with provisions ; and when they were on one side of the river, it was so broad that they could not see the other bank.

They came to a place where they captured an Indian who told them that the territory belonged to the Amazons; and they found a house containing many dresses made of different coloured feathers, which the Indians wear, when celebrating their festivals and dances. Afterwards they passed by many other villages, where the Indians were shouting and calling, on the banks; and on the 7th of June they landed at a village without meeting any resistance, because there was no one in it but women. They loaded themselves with fish, and, owing to the importunities of the soldiers because it was the eve of the festival of Corpus Christi, Orellana consented to stay there. At sunset the Indians returned from the fields, and finding such guests, they seized their arms; but the Spaniards resisted and discomfited them. Nevertheless the captain embarked his people, and, continued his voyage, always through an inhabited country, until they came among Indians with gentle dispositions. Passing onwards they discovered a large village, in which they saw seven gibbets with men's heads nailed on them, on which account they named this land "the Province of the gibbets." Paved roads issued from this village, with fruit trees planted on each side. On another day they came to a village, where they were obliged to land for provisions. On seeing this, the Indians concealed themselves, and when the Spaniards landed they attacked them, led on by their chief; but a cross-bow man aimed at and killed him, on which the Indians fled; and the Spaniards found a supply of maize, turtles, turkeys, and parrots.

With this large supply of provisions they went to rest on an island; and they learned from an Indian woman of intelligence whom they captured, that in the interior there were many men like the Spaniards, and two white women, with a chief, who had brought them down the river. The Spaniards supposed them to be of the party of Diego de Ordas, or Alonzo de Herrera.

Passing by villages, without touching at any of them, because they were supplied with provisions; at the end of some days they came to another large village, where the Indian woman said they would find Christians, but, as there was no sign of any, they passed on.

Two Indians came out in a canoe, and looked at the brigantine, but although the Spaniards called them, they would not come on board. After four days, they came to a village which the Indians did not defend. They found maize, and Castillian oats, of which the Indians made a liquor like beer ; and the Spaniards discovered a store house of this liquor, also good cotton cloths, and a temple with warlike arms stored up, and two mitres like those of bishops, woven with various colours.

According to their custom, the Spaniards went to pass the night on the other side of the river, where many Indians came in canoes to disturb them.

On the twenty-second of June, they discovered many villages on the left bank, but they could not get at them on account of the strength of the current. The following Wednesday they came to a village, with a large square, through the midst of which flowed a stream. Here they obtained supplies, and they continually passed the habitations of fishermen. In doubling a point of the river, they came upon some very large villages. The Indians were prepared for the Spaniards, and came out to attack them on the water. Orellana called to them, and offered them articles for barter ; but they mocked at him, and a great multitude of people advanced against him in different troops. The captain ordered the ships to retire to the place where his people were searching for food ; but the flights of arrows which the Indians discharged were such that, having wounded five persons, and among others the Father Fray Gaspar de Carbajal, Orellana made great haste to bring the vessel to, and land his people ; where the Indians fought bravely and obstinately, without taking account of the number of killed and wounded. Father Carbajal affirms that these Indians defended themselves so resolutely, because they were tributaries of the Amazons, and that he and the other Spaniards saw ten or twelve Amazons, who were fighting in front of the Indians, as if they commanded them, with such vigour that the Indians did not dare to turn their backs ; and those who fled before the Spaniards were killed with sticks.

These women appeared to be very tall, robust, fair, with long hair twisted over their heads, skins round their loins, and bows and arrows in their hands, with which they killed seven or eight Spaniards. This account of the Amazons I repeat as I found it in the memorials of this expedition, leaving the credibility of it to the judgement of others ; for the name of Amazons is that which these Spaniards chose to give them.

As reinforcements were coming up from other villages, the Spaniards embarked and retired ; calculating that up to that day they had gone over one thousand four hundred leagues, without knowing how far it might be to the sea. Here they captured an Indian trumpeter, aged thirty years, who told them many things respecting the interior ; but some of the Spaniards were of opinion that Captain Orellana should not have given the name of Amazons to these women who fought, because in the Indies it was no new thing for the women to fight, and to use bows and arrows ; as has been seen on some islands of Barlovento, and at Carthagena, where they displayed as much courage as the men.

End of the discovery of the river of Orellana.

Having reached the centre of the river, at a short distance they discovered a large village, and, yielding to the importunities of the soldiers, the captain went to it to get provisions, though he said that if Indians were not to be seen, it was because they were concealed, which proved to be true.

On reaching the banks, they discovered a great number, who discharged a flight of arrows, and, as the Spaniards had not put up the defensive cloths, which were made after they left the country of Machiparo, they received much damage. Father Gaspar de Carbajal was so badly wounded by an arrow in the eye, that he lost the use of it ; an accident which caused much sorrow to every one, because this father, besides being very religious, assisted them in their difficulties by his cheerfulness and sagacity.

The multitude of people, and the number of villages, which were not half a league distant from each other, as well on the south side of the river, as in the interior, showed Captain Orellana the dangers which he must encounter, and induced him to keep his people well together, and advance cautiously. Here they took particular care to notice the qualities of the country, which appeared genial and fertile. The forest consisted of ever-green oaks, and cork trees, and contained plenty of game of all kinds. Orellana named this country " the Province of St. John," extending more than one hundred and fifty leagues. From the time that they entered it, they sailed in the middle of the river, until they came to a number of islands which they believed to be uninhabited ; but the natives, on seeing the vessels, came out in two hundred piraguas, each one containing thirty or forty persons, decked out in warlike dresses, with many drums, trumpets, an instrument played with the mouth, and another with three strings. They attacked the brigantine with loud shouts ; but the arquebusses and cross-bows stopped their onslaught ; and on shore there were a vast number of people with the same instruments. The islands appeared, high, fertile, and very beautiful, the largest being fifty leagues long. The brigantines went on, always followed by the piraguas, and they were unable to get any provisions.

Having left this province of St. John, and the piraguas having desisted from following them, they determined to rest in a forest. Captain Orellana, by means of a vocabulary which he had made, asked many questions of a captured Indian, from whom he learned that that land was subject to women, who lived in the same way as Amazons, and were very rich, possessing much gold and silver. They had five houses of the sun plated with gold, their own houses were of stone, and their cities defended by walls ; and he related other details, which I can neither believe nor affirm, owing to the difficulty in discovering the truth. The tales of Indians are always doubtful, and Orellana confessed that he did not understand those Indians, so that it seems that he could scarcely have made in such a few days, so correct and copious a vocabulary as to be able to understand the minute details given by this Indian : but each reader may believe just as much as he likes.

Having rested themselves in this wood, they continued their voyage, not expecting to find more people ; but on the left side of the river they discovered, on an eminence, some large and beautiful villages, and the captain did not wish to approach them so close as to aggravate the Indians. But many of them came out into the water up to their middles, looking at the brigantines, as if they were terrified. The captive Indian said that this territory extended for more than one hundred leagues, under a chief named Caripuna, who had great quantities of silver. Finding a small village, the Spaniards landed to obtain provisions. The Indians, in defending it, killed Antonio de Carrança, a native of Burgos ; and here they found that the Indians used poisoned arrows. At this place also the Spaniards first noticed signs of the ebb of the tide. The captain, continuing the voyage, desired to rest his men, and halted in a forest. Here they surrounded the brigantines with bulwarks, as a protection from poisoned arrows. Although they desired to remain here for two or three days, canoes soon began to arrive, and also people by land. Father Carbajal affirms that a bird followed them for more than a thousand leagues, and often cried *huy*, *huy* ; at other times, when they approached villages, it cried *huis*, which means *houses*. He also relates other marvellous things.

At this place the bird left them, and they never saw it again. After going on for a whole day, they arrived at some other peopled islands, where, with great delight, they became aware of the presence of the tide; and a little further on they came to a small arm of the sea, whence two squadrons of piraguas came out, and furiously attacked the brigantines with loud shouts. The bulwarks were here of great service; and when the Indians saw the effect of the arquebusses and cross-bows, they retired, but not without doing the Spaniards some harm. They killed Garcia de Soria, a native of Logroño, with a wound from an arrow, which did not enter more than half a finger deep, but, being poisoned, he died in twenty-four hours. This land was well peopled, and belonged to a chief named Chipayo. Once more the crowds of piraguas attacked the brigantines, which were under weigh: and Alferez, with a shot from his arquebuss, killed two Indians, and, frightened by the report, many others fell into the water. A soldier named Perucho, a Biscayan, struck one of their chiefs, on which the piraguas retired, and left the brigantines.

Concludes the discovery of the river of Orellana and the captain enters the sea, and reaches the Island of Cubagua.

On account of the many villages on the right hand, they kept on the left side of the river, which had none, though they could see that the interior was well peopled. After resting for three days on the banks, the captain sent some soldiers to go at least a league inland, and reconnoitre. They soon returned, saying that the land was good and fertile, and that they had seen many people who seemed to be going to hunt. From this place the land was low, and there were many inhabited islands, to which they went to obtain food. Never more were they able to return to the main land on either side, till they reached the sea; and it appeared that they sailed amongst these islands for about two hundred leagues, to which distance the tide rose with much force. Continuing their voyage, with great scarcity of food, they saw a village, and the larger brigantine came to in front of it ; the other struck on a snag, and, breaking a plank, it filled.

They landed to get supplies, and so great a multitude of Indians attacked them, that the Christians were obliged to retreat to their vessels ; of which one had sunk, and the other was left high and dry by the tide. In this great danger and difficulty, Captain Orellana ordered that half his company should fight, and that the other half should get the large vessel afloat, and stop up the hole in the smaller one. It pleased God that this was done with great diligence ; and, at the end of three hours' labour, the Indians left off fighting, and all the Spaniards embarked with some food, and slept on board in mid channel.

Another time they came to, near a forest, to repair the vessels, which delayed them eighteen days, as it was necessary to make nails. They suffered much from hunger, but God succoured them with a tapir, as big as a mule, that came to the river, and on it they fed four or five days.

Having arrived near the sea, they made their rigging and ropes of grass, and their sails of the blankets in which they slept. Here they remained fourteen days, eating nothing but the shell fish that each man could pick up, and thus ill provided they started on the eighth of August 1541. They went under sail, taking advantage of the tides, which often when it turned, carried the vessels back ; but it pleased God to deliver them from these perils, because as they went by lands which were inhabited, the Indians gave them maize and roots, and treated them well. They got water on board in pitchers and jars, toasted maize and roots ; and thus they got ready for sea, to go where fortune might choose to take them, without either pilot, compass, or anything useful for navigation ; nor did they know what direction they should take.

The two fathers of the expedition declare that in this voyage they found all the people to be both intelligent and ingenious, which was shown by the works which they performed in sculpture, and painting in bright colours.

They left the mouth of the river, between two islands four leagues apart, judging that the mouth of the river extended fifty leagues, and that the fresh water extended into the sea for more than twenty leagues. They sailed out on the twenty-sixth of August 1541, at such a good season that neither in the river nor in the sea did they experience rains. They continued in sight of land by day and night, and saw many rivers which entered the sea ; and the small barque, having separated from the large one in the night, she was never seen again during the passage. At the end of nine days they reached the gulf of Paria, and though they struggled for seven days, they could not get on, while their food only consisted of fruit like prunes, which they call *hogos*. God led them through the mouth of the Dragon, and at the end of two days after getting out of that prison, without knowing where they were, or where they were going, they reached the island of Cubagua on the eleventh of September, two days after the smaller brigantine had arrived.

They were very well received in Cubagua, and from thence Captain Orellana determined to go and give an account of his great discovery to the king, certifying that it was not the river Marañon, as the people of Cubagua declared, and many called it El Dorado. According to Father Carbajal they sailed for one thousand eight hundred leagues, including the windings of the river.

JOHN CABOT

Very little is known of the voyage of Cabot to Newfoundland. Most of the information that has come down rests on the somewhat vague stories of his son Sebastian. It is probable that he made the voyage and perished; the principal value of his efforts was the later stimulation it gave to the Elizabethans.

The present account, one of several, is taken from Hakluyt, who took it from the sixth chapter of the Third Decade of Peter Martyr. It is reprinted unchanged save for the modernisation of the language.

JOHN CABOT

THESE north seas have been searched by one Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian born, whom being yet but in manner an infant his parents carried with them into England, having occasion to resort thither for trade of merchandise, as is the manner of the Venetians to leave no part of the world unsearched to obtain riches. He therefore furnished two ships in England at his own charges, and first with three hundred men directed his course so far towards the North Pole that even in the month of July he found monstrous heaps of ice swimming on the sea, and in manner continual daylight; yet saw he the land in that tract free from ice, which had been melted by the heat of the sun. Thus seeing such heaps of ice before him, he was enforced to turn his sails and follow the west, so coasting still by the shore, that he was thereby brought so far into the south, by reason of the land bending so much southwards that it was there almost equal in latitude with the sea Fretum Herculeum, having the North Pole elevate in manner in the same degree. He sailed likewise in this tract so far towards the west that he had the Island of Cuba on his left hand, in manner in the same degree of longitude.

As he travelled by the coasts of this great land (which he named Baccalaos) he saith that he found the like course of the waters toward the west, but the same to run more softly and gently than the swift waters which the Spaniards found in their navigations southward. Wherefore it is not only more like to be true, but ought also of necessity to be concluded that between both the lands hitherto unknown there should be certain great open places whereby the waters should thus continually pass from the east unto the west. Which waters I suppose to be driven about the globe of the earth by the incessant moving and impulsion of the heavens, and not to be swallowed up and cast up again by the breathing of Demogorgon, as some have imagined, because they see the seas by increase and decrease to ebb and flow.

Sebastian Cabot himself named those lands Baccalaos, because that in the seas thereabout he found so great multitudes of certain big fishes much like unto tunnies (which the inhabitants call baccalaos) that they sometime stayed his ships. He found also the people of those regions covered with beasts' skins, yet not without the use of reason. He also saith there is great plenty of bears in those regions which use to eat fish : for plunging themselves into the water where they perceive a multitude of these fishes to lie, they fasten their claws in their scales and so draw them to land and eat them ; so (as he saith) the bears being thus satisfied with fish are not noisome to men. He declareth further that in many places of these regions he saw great plenty of copper among the inhabitants.

Cabot is my very friend, whom I use familiarly, and delight to have him sometimes keep me company in mine own house. For being called out of England by the commandment of the Catholic King of Castile after the death of King Henry the Seventh of that name King of England, he was made one of our Council and Assistants, as touching the affairs of the New Indies, looking for ships daily to be furnished for him to discover this hid secret of Nature.

RICHARD CHANCELLOR

Sir Hugh Willoughby, with Richard Chancellor as his pilot, set out in May 1553 to find the North-East Passage. Willoughby was lost, as recounted in this narrative, and Chancellor continued alone into the White Sea. From there he travelled overland to Moscow and made the acquaintance of the Czar of Russia, Ivan Vasiliwich, with whom he began a lucrative trade. The portion of the narrative selected describes the voyage and the arrival at Moscow, but not the return.

The version is taken from Hakluyt. It was originally published by Richard Adams in his Decades, *and was first written in Latin "by that learned young man Clement Adams, schoolmaster to the Queen's henchmen, as he received it from the mouth of the said Richard Chancellor."*

RICHARD CHANCELLOR

At what time our merchants perceived the commodities and wares of England to be in small request with the countries and people about us and near unto us, and that those merchandises which strangers in the time and memory of our ancestors did earnestly seek and desire were now neglected, and the price thereof abated, although by us carried to their own ports, and all foreign merchandises in great account and their prices wonderfully raised : certain grave citizens of London and men of great wisdom and careful for the good of their country began to think with themselves how this mischief might be remedied. Neither was a remedy (as it then appeared) wanting to their desires, for the avoiding of so great an inconvenience : for seeing that the wealth of the Spaniards and Portuguese by the discovery and search of new trades and countries was marvellously increased, supposing the same to be a course and mean for them also to obtain the like, they thereupon resolved upon a new and strange navigation. And whereas at the same time one Sebastian Cabot, a man in those days very renowned, happened to be in London they began first of all to deal and consult diligently with him, and after much speech and conference together it was at last concluded that three ships should be prepared and furnished out for the search and discovery of the northern part of the world, to open a way and passage to our men for travel to new and unknown kingdoms.

And whereas many things seemed necessary to be regarded in this so hard and difficult a matter, they first make choice of certain grave and wise persons in manner of a Senate or company, which should lay their heads together and give their judgements and provide things requisite and profitable for all occasions : by this company it was thought expedient that a certain sum of money should publicly be collected to serve for the furnishing of so many ships. And lest any private man should be too much oppressed and charged, a course was taken that every man willing to be of the society should disburse the portion of twenty and five pounds apiece : so that in short time by this means the sum of six thousand pounds being gathered, the three ships were bought, the most part whereof they provided to be newly built and trimmed.

But in this action I wot not whether I may more admire the care of the merchants or the diligence of the shipwrights : for the merchants, they get very strong and well seasoned planks for the building, the shipwrights, they with daily travail and their greatest skill do fit them for the dispatch of the ships : they caulk them, pitch them, and among the rest, they make one most staunch and firm by an excellent and ingenious invention. For they had heard that in certain parts of the ocean a kind of worms is bred, which many times pierceth and eateth through the strongest oak that is : and therefore that the mariners and the rest to be employed in this voyage might be free and safe from this danger they cover a piece of the keep of the ship with thin sheets of lead : and having thus built the ships and furnished them with armour and artillery ; then followed a second care no less troublesome and necessary than the former, namely, the provision of victuals, which was to be made according to the time and length of the voyage. And whereas they afore determined to have the east part of the world sailed unto, and yet that the sea towards the same was not open, except they kept the northern tract, whereas yet it was doubtful whether there were any passage yea or no, they resolved to victual the ships for eighteen months, which they did for this reason. For our men being to pass that huge and cold part of the world, they wisely foreseeing it, allowed them six months victual to sail to the place, so much more to remain there if the extremity of the winter hindered their return, and so much more also for the time of their coming home.

Now this provision being made and carried aboard, with armour and munition of all sorts, sufficient captains and governors of so great an enterprise were as yet wanting : to which office and place, although many men (and some void of experience) offered themselves, yet one Sir Hugh Willoughby, a most valiant gentleman and well-born, very earnestly requested to have that care and charge committed unto him : of whom before all others, both by reason of his goodly personage (for he was of a tall stature) as also for his singular skill in the services of war, the company of merchants made greatest account : so that at the last they concluded and made choice of him for the general of this voyage, and appointed to him the *Admiral* with authority and command over all the rest. And for the government of other ships although divers men seemed willing and made offers of themselves thereunto, yet by a common consent one Richard Chancelor, a man of great estimation for many good parts of wit in him, was selected, in whom alone great hope for the performance of this business rested. This man was brought up by one Master Henry Sidney, a noble young gentleman and very much beloved of King Edward, who at this time coming to the place where the merchants were gathered together began a very eloquent speech or oration and spoke to them after this manner following.

" My very worshipful friends, I cannot but greatly commend your present godly and virtuous intention in the serious enterprising (for the singular love you bear to your country) a matter, which, I hope, will prove profitable for this nation and honourable to this our land. Which intention of yours we also of the nobility are ready to our power to help and further : neither do we hold anything so dear and precious unto us which we will not willingly forego and lay out in so commendable a cause. But principally I rejoice in myself that I have nourished and maintained that wit which is like by some means and in some measure to profit and aid you in this worthy action. But yet I would not have you ignorant of this one thing, that I do now part with Chancelor, not because I make little reckoning of the man, or that his maintenance is burdensome and chargeable unto me, but that you might conceive and understand my goodwill and promptitude for the furtherance of this business, and that the authority and estimation which he deserveth may be given him. You know the man by report, I by experience; you by word, I by deeds; you by speech and company, but I by the daily trial of his life have a full and perfect knowledge of him. And you are also to remember into how many perils for your sakes and his country's love he is now to run: whereof it is requisite that we be not unmindful, if it please God to send him good success. We commit a little money to the chance and hazard of Fortune; he commits his life (a thing to a man of all things most dear) to the raging sea and the uncertainties of many dangers. We shall here live and rest at home quietly with our friends and acquaintance, but he in the meantime labouring to keep the ignorant and unruly mariners in good order and obedience, with how many cares shall he trouble and vex himself? With how many troubles shall he break himself? And how many disquietings shall he be forced to sustain? We shall keep our own coasts and country. He shall seek strange and unknown kingdoms. He shall commit his safety to barbarous and cruel people and shall hazard his life amongst the monstrous and terrible beasts of the sea. Wherefore in respect of the greatness of the dangers and the excellency of his charge, you are to favour and love the man thus departing from us, and if it fall so happily out that he return again it is your part and duty also liberally to reward him."

After that this noble young gentleman had delivered this or some such like speech much more eloquently than I can possibly report it the company then present began one to look upon another, one to question and confer with another, and some (to whom the virtue and sufficiency of the man was known) began secretly to rejoice with themselves and to conceive a special hope that the man would prove in time very rare and excellent and that his virtues already appearing and shining to the world would grow to the great honour and advancement of this kingdom.

After all this, the company growing to some silence, it seemed good to them that were of greatest gravity amongst them to inquire, search and seek what might be learned and known concerning the easterly part or tract of the world. For which cause two " Tartarians," which were then of the king's stable, were sent for and an interpreter was gotten to be present, by whom they were demanded touching their country and the manners of their nation. But they were able to answer nothing to the purpose, being indeed more acquainted (as one there merrily and openly said) to toss pots than to learn the states and dispositions of people. But after much ado and many things passed about this matter they grew at last to this issue, to set down and appoint a time for the departure of the ships, because divers were of opinion that a great part of the best time of the year was already spent and if the delay grew longer the way would be stopped and barred by the force of the ice and the cold climate ; and therefore it was thought best by the opinion of them all that by the twentieth day of May the captains and mariners should take shipping and depart from Ratcliff upon the ebb, if it pleased God.

They having saluted their acquaintance, one his wife, another his children, another his kinsfolks and another his friends dearer than his kinsfolks, were present and ready at the day appointed ; and having weighed anchor they departed with the turning of the water and sailing easily came first to Greenwich. The greater ships are towed down with boats and oars and the mariners being all apparelled in watchet or sky-coloured cloth, rowed amain and made way with diligence. And being come near to Greenwich (where the court then lay) presently upon the news thereof the courtiers came running out and the common people flocked together standing very thick upon the shore. The Privy Council, they looked out at the windows of the court and the rest ran up to the tops of the towers. The ships hereupon discharge their ordnance and shoot off their pieces after the manner of war and of the sea, insomuch that the tops of the hills sounded therewith, the valleys and the waters gave an echo, and the mariners, they shouted in such sort that the sky rang again with the noise thereof. One stood in the poop of the ship and by his gesture bids farewell to his friends in the best manner he could. Another walks upon the hatches, another climbs the shrouds, another stands upon the mainyard and another in the top of the ship. To be short, it was a very triumph (after a sort) in all respects to the beholders. But (alas) the good King Edward (in respect of whom principally all this was prepared) he and only by reason of his sickness was absent from this show, and not long after the departure of these ships the lamentable and most sorrowful accident of his death followed.

But to proceed in the matter.

The ships going down with the tide came at last to Woolwich, where they stayed and cast anchor, with purpose to depart therehence again as soon as the turning of the water and a better wind should draw them to set sail. After this they departed and came to Harwich, in which port they stayed long, not without great loss and consuming of time ; yet at the last with a good wind they hoisted up sail and committed themselves to the sea, giving their last adieu to their native country, which they knew not whether they should ever return to see again or not. Many of them looked oftentimes back and could not refrain from tears, considering into what hazards they were to fall and what uncertainties of the sea they were to make trial of.

Amongst the rest Richard Chancelor, the captain of the *Edward Bonaventure*, was not a little grieved with the fear of wanting victuals, part whereof was found to be corrupt and putrified at Harwich, and the hogsheads of wine also leaked and were not staunch. His natural and fatherly affection also somewhat troubled him, for he left behind him his two little sons, which were in the case of orphans if he sped not well. The estate also of his company moved him to care, being in the former respects after a sort unhappy, and were to abide with himself every good or bad accident. But in the meantime while his mind was thus tormented with the multiplicity of sorrows and cares after many days' sailing they kenned land afar off, whereunto the pilots directed the ships ; and being come to it, they land and find it to be Rost Island, where they stayed certain days, and afterwards set sail again, and proceeding towards the north they espied certain other islands which were called the cross of islands. From which places when they were a little departed, Sir Hugh Willoughby the General, a man of good foresight and providence in all his actions, erected and set out his flag, by which he called together the chiefest men of the other ships, that by the help and assistance of their counsels the order of the government and conduction of the ships in the whole voyage might be the better : who being come together accordingly, they conclude and agree that if any great tempest should arise at any time and happen to disperse and scatter them every ship should endeavour his best to go to Wardhouse, a haven or castle of some name in the kingdom of Norway, and that they that arrived there first in safety should stay and expect the coming of the rest.

The very same day in the afternoon, about four of the clock, so great a tempest suddenly arose and the seas were so outrageous that the ships could not keep their intended course, but some were perforce driven one way and some another way to their great peril and hazard. The General with his loudest voice cried out to Richard Chancelor, and earnestly requested him not to go far from him : but he neither would nor could keep company with him, if he sailed still so fast : for the *Admiral* was of better sail than his ship. But the said *Admiral* (I know not by what means) bearing all his sails, was carried away with so great force and swiftness that not long after he was quite out of sight, and the third ship also with the same storm and like rage was dispersed and lost us.

The ship boat of the *Admiral* (striking against the ship) was overwhelmed in the sight and view of the mariners of the *Bonaventure*; and as for them that are already returned and arrived, they know nothing of the rest of the ships what was become of them.

But if it be so, that any miserable mishap have overtaken them, if the rage and fury of the sea have devoured those good men, or if as yet they live, and wander up and down in strange countries, I must needs say they were men worthy of better fortune, and if they be living, let us wish them safety and a good return; but if the cruelty of death hath taken hold of them God send them a Christian grave and sepulchre.

Now Richard Chancelor with his ship and company being thus left alone and become very pensive, heavy and sorrowful by this dispersion of the fleet, he according to the order before taken, shapeth his course for Wardhouse in Norway, there to expect and abide the arrival of the rest of the ships. And being come thither and having stayed the space of seven days and looked in vain for their coming, he determined at length to proceed alone in the purposed voyage. And as he was preparing himself to depart, it happened that he fell in company and speech with certain Scotchmen: who having understanding of his intention and wishing well to his actions, began earnestly to dissuade him from the further prosecution of the discovery, by amplifying the dangers, which he was to fall into, and omitted no reason that might serve to that purpose. But he holding nothing so ignominious and reproachful as inconstancy and levity of mind and persuading himself that a man of valour could not commit a more dishonourable part than for fear of danger to avoid and shun great attempts was nothing at all changed or discouraged with the speeches and words of the Scots, remaining steadfast and immutable in his first resolution, determining either to bring that to pass which was intended or else to die the death.

And as for them which were with Master Chancelor in his ship, although they had great cause of discomfort by the loss of their company (whom the aforesaid tempest had separated from them) and were not a little troubled with cogitations and perturbations of mind in respect of their doubtful course, yet notwithstanding, they were of such consent and agreement of mind with Master Chancelor that they were resolute and prepared under his direction and government to make proof and trial of all adventures without fear or mistrust of future dangers. Which constancy of mind in all the company did exceedingly increase their Captain's carefulness, for he being swallowed up with like goodwill and love towards them, feared lest through any error of his the safety of the company should be endangered. To conclude, when they saw their desire and hope of the arrival of the rest of the ships to be every day more and more frustrated, they provided to sea again, and Master Chancelor held on his course towards that unknown part of the world and sailed so far that he came at last to the place where he found no night at all, but a continual light and brightness of the sun shining clearly upon the huge and mighty sea. And having the benefit of this perpetual light for certain days at length it pleased God to bring them into a certain great bay, which was of one hundred miles or thereabout over. Whereinto they entered and somewhat far within it cast anchor, and looking every way about them, it happened that they espied afar off a certain fisher boat, which Master Chancelor, accompanied with a few of his men, went towards to commune with the fishermen that were in it and to know of them what country it was, and what people and of what manner of living they were.

But they being amazed with the strange greatness of his ship (for in those parts before that time they had never seen the like) began presently to avoid and to flee. But he still following them at last overtook them, and being come to them, they being in great fear as men half dead prostrated themselves before him, offering to kiss his feet; but he according to his great and singular courtesy looked pleasantly upon them, comforting them by signs and gestures, refusing those duties and reverences of theirs and taking them up in all loving sort from the ground. And it is strange to consider how much favour afterwards in that place this humanity of his did purchase to himself. For they being dismissed spread by and by a report abroad of the arrival of a strange nation of a singular gentleness and courtesy. Whereupon the common people came together offering to these new come guests victuals freely and not refusing to traffic with them except they had been bound by a certain religious use and custom not to buy any foreign commodities without the knowledge and consent of the king.

By this time our men had learned that this country was called Russia or Muscovy and that Ivan Vasiliwich (which was at that time their king's name) ruled and governed far and wide in those places. And the barbarous Russians asked likewise of our men whence they were and what they came for. Whereunto answer was made that they were Englishmen sent into those coasts from the most excellent King Edward the Sixth, having from him in commandment certain things to deliver to their king, and seeking nothing else but his amity and friendship and traffic with his people, whereby they doubted not but that great commodity and profit would grow to the subjects of both kingdoms.

The barbarians heard these things very gladly and promised their aid and furtherance to acquaint their king out of hand with so honest and a reasonable request.

In the meantime Master Chancelor entreated victuals for his money of the Governor of that place (who together with others came aboard him) and required hostages of them likewise for the more assurance of safety to himself and his company. To whom the Governors answered that they knew not in that case the will of their king, but were willing in such things as they might lawfully do to pleasure him, which was as then to afford him the benefit of victuals.

Now while these things were adoing they secretly sent a messenger unto the Emperor to certify him of the arrival of a strange nation and withal to know his pleasure concerning them. Which message was very welcome unto him, insomuch that voluntarily he invited them to come to his court. But if by reason of the tediousness of so long a journey they thought it not best so to do, then he granted liberty to his subjects to bargain and to traffic with him, and further promised that if it would please them to come to him he himself would bear the whole charges of post horses. In the meantime the governors of the place deferred the matter from day to day, pretending divers excuses, and saying one while that the consent of all the governors, and another while that the great and weighty affairs of the kingdom compelled them to defer their answer. And this they did of purpose, so long to protract the time until the messenger (sent before to the king) did return with relation of his will and pleasure.

But Master Chancelor, seeing himself held in this suspense with long and vain expectation and thinking that of intention to delude him they posted the matter off so often, was very instant with them to perform their promise, which if they would not do he told them that he would depart and proceed in his voyage. So that the Muscovites (although as yet they knew not the mind of their king) yet fearing the departure indeed of our men who had such wares and commodities as they greatly desired, they at last resolved to furnish our people with all things necessary and to conduct them by land to the presence of their king. And so Master Chancelor began his journey, which was very long and most troublesome, wherein he had the use of certain sledges, which in that country are very common, for they are carried themselves upon sledges, and all their carriages are in the same sort, the people almost not knowing any other manner of carriage, the cause whereof is the exceeding hardness of the ground, congealed in the winter time by the force of the cold, which in those places is very extreme and horrible, whereof hereafter we will say something.

But now they having passed the greater part of their journey met at last with the *Sleddeman* (of whom I spoke before) sent to the king secretly from the justices or governors, who by some ill hap had lost the way and had gone to the sea side, which is near to the country of the Tartars, thinking there to have found our ship. But having long erred and wandered out of his way at the last in his direct return he met as he was coming our Captain on the way. To whom he by and by delivered the Emperor's letters, which were written to him with all courtesy and in the most loving manner that could be : wherein express commandment was given that post horses should be got for him and the rest of his company without any money. Which thing was of all the Russians in the rest of their journey so willingly done that they began to quarrel, yea, and to fight also in striving and contending which of them should put their post horses to the sledge : so that after much ado and great pains taken in this long and weary journey (for they had travelled very near fifteen hundred miles) Master Chancelor came at last to Moscow, the chief city of the kingdom and the seat of the king : of which city and of the Emperor himself and of the principal cities of Muscovy we will speak immediately more at large in this discourse.

Of Muscovy, which is also called Russia.

Muscovy, which hath the name also of Russia the White, is a very large and spacious country, every way bounded with divers nations. Towards the south and the east it is compassed with Tartaria : the northern side of it stretcheth to the Scythian Ocean : upon the west part border the Lappians, a rude and savage nation, living in woods, whose language is not known to any other people next unto these, more towards the south, is Swecia, then Finlandia, then Livonia and last of all Lituania. This country of Muscovy hath also very many and great rivers in it and is marshy ground in many places : and as for the rivers, the greatest and most famous amongst all the rest is that which the Russians in their own tongue call Volga, but others know it by the name of Rha. Next unto it in fame is Tanais, which they call Don, and the third Boristhenes which at this day they call Dnieper.

Two of these, to wit, Rha and Boristhenes issuing both out of one fountain, run very far through the land ; Rha receiving many other pleasant rivers into it and running from the very head or spring of it towards the east, after many crooked turnings and windings, dischargeth itself and all the other waters and rivers that fall into it by divers passages into the Caspian Sea. Tanais springing from a fountain of great name in those parts and growing great near to his head, spreads itself at length very largely and makes a great lake : and then growing narrow again, doth so run for certain miles until it fall into another lake, which they call Ivan : and therehence fetching a very crooked course, comes very near to the river Volga : but disdaining as it were the company of any other river, doth there turn itself again from Volga and runs toward the south and falls at last into the Lake of Moeotis. Boristhenes, which comes from the same head that Rha doth, (as we said before) carrieth both itself and other waters that are near unto it towards the south, not refusing the mixture of other small rivers : and running by many great and large countries falls at last into Pontus Euxinus.

Besides these rivers are also in Muscovy certain lakes and pools ; the lakes breed fish by the celestial influence : and amongst them all the chiefest and most principal is called Bealozera, which is very famous by reason of a very strong tower built in it, wherein the kings of Muscovy reserve and repose their treasure in all time of war and danger.

Touching the Riphean mountains, whereupon the snow lieth continually and wherehence in times past it was thought that Tanais the river did spring, and that the rest of the wonders of nature which the Grecians feigned and invented of old were there to be seen. Our men which lately came from thence neither saw them nor yet have brought home any perfect relation of them, although they remained there for the space of three months and had gotten in that time some intelligence of the language of Muscovy. The whole country is plain and champaigne, and few hills in it : and towards the north it hath very large and spacious woods, wherein is great store of fir trees, a wood very necessary and fit for the building of houses. There are also wild beasts bred in those woods, as buffes, bears and black wolves and another kind of beast unknown to us, but called by them Rossomakka : and the nature of the same is very rare and wonderful : for when it is great with young, and ready to bring forth, it seeketh out some narrow place between two stakes, and so going through them, presseth itself, and by that means is eased of her burden, which otherwise could not be done. They hunt their buffes for the most part ahorseback, but their bears afoot, with wooden forks. The north parts of the country are reported to be so cold that the very ice or water which distilleth out of the moist wood which they lay upon the fire is presently congealed and frozen : the diversity growing suddenly to be so great that in one and the selfsame firebrand a man shall see both fire and ice. When the winter doth once begin there it doth still more and more increase by a perpetuity of cold : neither does that cold slake until the force of the sunbeams doth dissolve the cold and make glad the earth, returning to it again. Our mariners which we left in the ship in the meantime to keep it, in their going up only from their cabins to the hatches had their breath oftentimes so suddenly taken away that they eftsoons fell down as men very near dead, so great is the sharpness of that cold climate ; but as for the south parts of the country, they are somewhat more temperate.

Of Moscow the Chief City of the Kingdom and of the Emperor thereof.

It remaineth that a larger discourse be made of Moscow, the principal city of that country, and of the prince also, as before we have promised. The empire and government of the king is very large and his wealth at this time exceeding great. And because the city of Moscow is the chiefest of all the rest it seemeth of itself to challenge the first place in this discourse. Our men say that in bigness it is as great as the city of London, with the suburbs thereof. There are many and great buildings in it, but for beauty and fairness nothing comparable to ours. There are many towns and villages also, but built out of order and with no handsomeness : their streets and ways are not paved with stone as ours are : the walls of their houses are of wood : the roofs for the most part are covered with shingle boards. There is hard by the city a very fair castle, strong and furnished with artillery, whereunto the city is joined directly towards the north with a brick wall : the walls also of the castle are built with brick and are in breadth or thickness eighteen foot. This castle hath on the one side a dry ditch, on the other side the river Moscua, whereby it is made almost inexpugnable. The same Moscua trending towards the east doth admit into it the company of the river Occa.

In the castle aforesaid there are in number nine churches or chapels, not altogether unhandsome, which are used and kept by certain religious men over whom there is after a sort a Patriarch or Governor, and with him other reverend fathers, all which for the greater part dwell within the castle. As for the king's court and palace, it is not of the neatest, only in form it is four-square and of low building, much surpassed and excelled by the beauty and elegance of the houses of the kings of England. The windows are very narrowly built, and some of them by glass, some other by lattices admit the light : and whereas the palaces of our princes are decked and adorned with hangings of cloth of gold there is none such there: they build and join to all their walls benches, and that not only in the court of the Emperor, but in all private men's houses.

Now after that they had remained about twelve days in the city there was then a messenger sent unto them, to bring them to the king's house: and they being after a sort wearied with their long stay, were very ready and willing so to do: and being entered within the gates of the court, there sat a very honourable company of courtiers to the number of one hundred, all apparelled in cloth of gold down to their ankles. And therehence being conducted into the chamber of presence, our men began to wonder at the majesty of the Emperor. His seat was aloft in a very royal throne, having on his head a diadem or crown of gold, apparelled with a robe all of goldsmith's work, and in his hand he held a sceptre garnished and beset with precious stones. And besides all other notes and appearances of honour, there was a majesty in his countenance proportionable with the excellency of his estate. On the one side of him stood his Chief Secretary, on the other side, the great Commander of Silence, both of them arrayed also in cloth of gold. And then there sat the Council of one hundred and fifty in number, all in like sort arrayed and of great state. This so honourable an assembly, so great a majesty of the Emperor and of the place might very well have amazed our men, and have dashed them out of countenance.

But notwithstanding Master Chancelor being therewithal nothing dismayed saluted and did his duty to the Emperor after the manner of England and withal delivered unto him the letters of our King, Edward the Sixth. The Emperor having taken and read the letters, began a little to question with them and to ask them of the welfare of our King: whereunto our men answered him directly and in few words. Hereupon our men presented something to the Emperor by the Chief Secretary, which at the delivery of it put off his hat, being before all the time covered. And so the Emperor having invited them to dinner, dismissed them from his presence : and going into the chamber of him that was Master of the Requests to the Emperor and having stayed there the space of two hours, at the last the messenger cometh and calleth them to dinner. They go, and being conducted into the Golden Court (for so they call it, although not very fair) they find the Emperor sitting upon an high and stately seat, apparelled with a robe of silver and with another diadem on his head. Our men being placed over against him sit down.

In the middle of the room stood a mighty cupboard upon a square foot, whereupon stood a round board, in manner of a diamond broad beneath and towards the top narrow, and every step rose up more narrow than another. Upon this cupboard was placed the Emperor's plate, which was so much that the very cupboard itself was scant able to sustain the weight of it. The better part of all the vessels and goblets was made of very fine gold : and amongst the rest there were four pots of very large bigness which did adorn the rest of the plate in great measure : for they were so high that they thought them at the least five foot long. There were also upon this cupboard certain silver casks not much differing from the quantity of our firkins, wherein was reserved the Emperor's drink : on each side of the hall stood four tables, each of them laid and covered with very clean table cloths, whereunto the company ascended by three steps or degrees, all which were filled with the assembly present : the guests were all apparelled with linen without and with rich skins within and so did notably set out this royal feast.

The Emperor, when he takes any bread or knife in his hand, doth first of all cross himself upon his forehead : they that are in special favour with the Emperor sit upon the same bench with him, but somewhat far from him : and before the coming in of the meat the Emperor himself, according to an ancient custom of the kings of Muscovy, doth first bestow a piece of bread upon every one of his guests, with a loud pronunciation of his title and honour, in this manner : The great Duke of Muscovy and chief Emperor of Russia, John Basiliwich (and then the officer nameth the guest) doth give thee bread. Whereupon all the guests rise up and by and by sit down again. This done, the Gentleman Usher of the Hall comes in with a notable company of servants carrying the dishes, and having done his reverence to the Emperor, puts a young swan in a golden platter upon the table and immediately takes it thence again, delivering it to the carver and seven other of his fellows to be cut up : which being performed, the meat is then distributed to the guests with the like pomp and ceremonies. In the meantime the Gentleman Usher receives his bread and tasteth to the Emperor, and afterward, having done his reverence, he departeth. Touching the rest of the dishes, because they were brought in out of order, our men can report no certainty : but this is true, that all the furniture of dishes and drinking vessels, which were then for the use of a hundred guests, was all of pure gold, and the tables were so laden with vessels of gold that there was no room for some to stand upon them.

We may not forget that there were a hundred and forty servitors arrayed in cloth of gold that in the dinner time changed thrice their habit and apparel, which servitors are in like sort served with bread from the Emperor, as the rest of the guests. Last of all, dinner being ended and candles brought in, (for by this time night was come) the Emperor calleth all his guests and noblemen by their names, in such sort that it seems miraculous that a Prince otherwise occupied in great matters of estate should so well remember so many and sundry particular names. The Russians told our men that the reason thereof, as also of the bestowing of bread in that manner, was to the end that the Emperor might keep the knowledge of his own household : and withal, that such as are under his displeasure might by this means be known.

BARENTS

The narrative of Barents's third voyage here given is made up of extracts selected by the editor from The Third Voyage Northwarde unto the Kingdoms of Cathaia and China, *written by Gerrit de Vere, a sailor on the voyage, and translated into English by William Phillip in* 1607. *The first edition was printed in Dutch in* 1598.

De Vere has been criticised by modern students for his inaccuracies, and he will not greatly enlighten the reader on the scientific results of this voyage. At times he is ignorant with the ignorance of his age, and at others he forces results not justified by the data, as when he " cooks " the latitude in order to make it correspond with his reckoning. He also was guilty of omitting the name Spitzbergen, whose discovery was the most important result of the voyage. The human story he tells, however, and his succinct, unaffected telling of it, excuse many faults, and leave him a great chronicler, if not a great authority on geography.

It might be added that this third voyage of Barents took place in the winter of 1596–7, *and the scene of the story is Cape Desire, in Nova Zembla.*

THE 21st of August we sailed a great way into the Ice Haven, and that night anchored therein: next day, the current going extreme hard eastward, we haled out again from thence, and sailed again to the Island Point; but for that it was misty weather, coming to a piece of ice, we made the ship fast thereunto, because the wind began to blow hard south-west and south south-west. There we climbed up upon the ice, and wondered much thereat, it was such manner of ice: for on the top it was full of earth, and there we found above 40 eggs, and it was not like other ice, for it was of a perfect azure colour, like to the skies, whereby there grew great contention in words amongst our men, some saying that it was ice, others that it was frozen land; for it lay unreasonable high above the water, it was at least 18 fathoms under the water: there stayed all that storm, the wind being south-west and by west.

The 23rd of August we sailed again from the ice south-eastward into the sea, but entered presently into it again, and turned back to the Ice Haven. The next day it blew hard north north-west, and the ice came mightily driving in, whereby we were in a manner compassed about therewith, and withal the wind began more and more to rise, and the ice still drove harder and harder, so that the pin of the tiller and the tiller were broken in pieces, and our boat was stove in between the ship and the ice, we expecting nothing else but that the ship also would be pressed and crushed in pieces with the ice.

The 25th of August the weather began to be better, and we took great pains and bestowed much labour to get the ice, wherewith we were so inclosed, to go from us, but what means soever we used it was all in vain. But when the sun was south-west ($\frac{1}{2}$ p. 2 p.m.) the ice began to drive out again with the current, and we thought to sail southward about Nova Zembla, and so westwards to the Straits of Mergates. For that seeing we could there find no passage, now that we had passed Nova Zembla, we were of opinion that our labour was all in vain and that we could not get through, and so agreed to go that way home again ; but coming to the Streame Bay, we were forced to go back again, because of the ice which lay so fast thereabouts ; and the same night also it froze, that we could hardly get through there with the little wind that we had, the wind then being north.

The 26th of August there blew a reasonable gale of wind, at which time we determined to sail back to the Point of Desire, and so home again, seeing that we could not get through by the way towards Wergats, although we used all the means and industry we could to get forward ; but when we had passed by the Ice Haven the ice began to dive with such force that we were enclosed round about therewith, and yet we sought all the means we could to get out, but it was all in vain. And at that time we had like to have lost three men that were upon the ice to make way for the ship, if the ice had held the course it went ; but as we drew back again, and that the ice also whereon our men stood in like sort drew, they being nimble, as the ship drew by them one of them caught hold of the beak head, another upon the sheet, and the third upon the main brace that hung out behind, and so by great adventure by the hold that they took they got safe into the ship again, for which they thanked God with all their hearts : for it was much likelier that they should rather have been carried away with the ice, but God, by the nimbleness of their hands, delivered them out of that danger, which was a pitiful thing to behold, although it fell out for the best, for if they had not been nimble they had surely died for it.

The same day in the evening we got to the west side of the Ice Haven, where we were forced, in great cold, poverty, misery, and grief, to stay all that winter ; the wind then being east north-east.

The 27th of August the ice drew round about the ship, and yet it was good weather ; at which time we went on land, and being there it began to blow south-east with a reasonable gale, and then the ice came with great force before the bow of the ship, and drew the ship up four foot high before, and behind it seemed as if the keel lay on the ground, so that it seemed that the ship would be overthrown in the place ; whereupon they that were in the ship put out the yawl, therewith to save their lives, and withal put out a flag to make a sign to us to come on board : which we perceiving, and beholding the ship to be lifted up in that sort, made all the haste we could to get on board, thinking that the ship was burst in pieces, but coming unto it we found it to be in better case than we thought it had been.

The 28th of August the ice gave way a little, and the ship began to sit upright again ; but before it was fully upright, as William Barents and the other pilot went forward to the bow to see how the ship lay and how much it was risen, and while they were busy upon their knees and elbows to measure how much it was, the ship burst out of the ice with such a noise and so great a crack that they thought verily that they were all cast away, knowing not how to save themselves.

The 29th of August, the ship lying upright again, we used all the means we could, with iron crowbars and other instruments, to break the flakes of ice that lay one heaped upon the other, but all in vain ; so that we determined to commit ourselves to the mercy of God, and to attend aid from him, for that the ice drew not away in any such sort that it could help us.

The 30th of August the ice began to drive together one upon the other with greater force than before, and bore against the ship with a boisterous south by west wind and a great snow, so that all the whole ship was borne up and squeezed, whereby all that was both about and in it began to crack, so that it seemed to burst in a 100 pieces, which was most fearful both to see and hear, and made all the hair of our heads to rise upright with fear ; and after that the ship (by the ice on both sides that joined and got under the same) was driven so upright in such sort as if it had been lifted up with a wrench or vice.

The 31st of August, by the force of the ice, the ship was driven up 4 or 5 feet high at the stem, and the hind part thereof lay in a crevice of ice, whereby we thought that the rudder would be freed from the force of the ice, but, notwithstanding, it broke in pieces tiller and all : and if that the hind part of the ship had been in the ice that drew as well as the fore part was, then the entire forepart of the ship would have been driven wholly upon the ice or possibly have gone to the bottom, and for that cause we were in great fear, and set our boat and yawl out upon the ice, if need were, to save ourselves. But within 4 hours after, the ice drew away of itself, wherewith we were exceeding glad, as if we had saved our lives, for that the ship was then on float again ; and upon that we made a new rudder and a tiller, and hung the rudder out upon the hooks, that if we chanced to be carried upon the ice again, as we had been, it might so be freed from it.

The 1st of September, being Sunday, while we were at prayer, the ice began to gather together again, so that the ship was lifted up bodily two foot at the least, but it remained quite tight. The same afternoon the ice continued in that sort still driving and gathering together, so that we made preparation to draw our yawl and the boat over the ice upon the land, the wind then blowing south-east.

The 2nd of September it snowed hard with a north-east wind, and the ship began to rise up higher upon the ice, at which time the ice burst and cracked with great force, so that we were of opinion to carry our yawl on land in that foul weather, with 13 barrels of bread and two small casks of wine to sustain ourselves if need were.

The 3rd of September it blew just as hard, but snowed not so much, the wind being north north-east ; at which time we began to be loose from the ice whereunto we lay fast, so that the ice-knees (chocks) started from the sternpost, but the planks wherewith the ship was lined kept the ice-knees still hanging on ; and the bumpkin likewise broke away, with a new cable, which we had made fast to the ice, but held fast again in the ice ; and yet the ship was staunch, which was wonder, in regard that the ice drew so hard and in great heaps as big as the salt hills that are in Spain, and within a harquebus shot of the ship, between the which we lay in great fear and anguish.

The 4th of September the weather began to clear up and we saw the sun, but it was very cold, the wind being north-east, we being forced to lie still.

The 5th of September it was fair sunshine weather and very calm ; and at evening, when we had supped, the ice compassed about us again, and we were hard enclosed therewith, the ship beginning to lie upon the one side and suffered much, but by God's grace it still remained tight, for we were wholly in fear to loose the ship, it was in so great danger. At which time we took counsel together and carried our old foresail, with powder, lead, pieces, muskets and other furniture on land, to make a tent (or hut) about our boat that we had driven upon the land ; and at that time we carried some bread and wine on land also, with some carpenter's tools, therewith to mend our boat, that it might serve us in time of need.

The 6th of September it was also tolerable weather and calm and sunshine, the wind being west, whereby we were somewhat comforted, hoping that the ice would drive away and that we might get from thence again.

The 7th of September it was tolerable weather again, but we perceived no opening of the water, but to the contrary we lay hard enclosed with ice, and no water at all about the ship, no, not so much as a bucketful. The same day five of our men went on land, but two of them came back again ; the other three went forward about 2 (8) miles into the land, and there found a river of sweet water, where also they found great store of wood that had been driven thither, and there they found the footsteps of deer and elks, as they thought, for they were cloven-footed, some greater footed than others, which made them judge them to be so.

The 8th of September it blew hard east north-east, which was a right contrary wind to do us any good touching the carrying away of the ice, so that we were still faster in the ice, which put us in no small discomfort.

The 9th of September it blew strongly from the north-east, with a little snow, whereby our ship was wholly enclosed with ice, for the wind drew the ice hard against it, so that we lay 3 or 4 feet deep in the ice, and the ice-knees on the stern-post broke more and more in pieces and the ship began to be somewhat loose before, but yet it was not much hurt.

In the night time two bears came close to our ship side, but we sounded our trumpet and shot at them, but hit them not because it was dark, and they ran away.

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The 11th of September it was calm weather, and 8 of us went on land, every man armed, to see if that were true as our other three companions had said, that there lay wood about the river ; for that seeing we had so long wound and turned about, sometime in the ice, and then again got out, and thereby were compelled to alter our course, and at last saw that we could not get out of the ice but rather became faster, and could not loose our ship as at other times we had done, as also that it began to be near autumn and winter, we took counsel together what we were best to do according to the circumstances of the time, in order that we might winter there and attend such adventure as God would send us : and after we had debated upon the matter, to keep and defend ourselves both from the cold and the wild beasts, we determined to build a shed or house upon the land, to keep us therein as well as we could, and so to commit ourselves unto the tuition of God. And to that end we went further into the land, to find out the convenientest place in our opinions to raise our house upon, and yet we had not much stuff to make it withal, in regard that there grew no trees, nor any other thing in that country convenient to build it withal. But we leaving no occasion unsought, as our men went abroad to view the country, and to see what good fortune might happen unto us, at last we found an unexpected comfort in our need, which was that we found certain trees, roots and all, as our three companions had said before, which had been driven upon the shore, either from Tartaria, Musconia, or elsewhere, for there was none growing upon that land ; wherewith (as if God had purposely sent them unto us) we were much comforted, being in good hope that God would show us some further favour ; for that wood served us not only to build our house, but also to burn and serve us all the winter long ; otherwise without all doubt we had died there miserably with extreme cold.

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The 13th of September it was calm but very misty weather, so that we could do nothing, because it was dangerous for us to go into the land, in regard that we could not see the wild bears ; and yet they could smell us, for they smell better than they see.

The 14th of September it was clear sunshine weather, but very cold ; then we went into the land, and laid the wood in heaps one upon the other, that it might not be covered over with the snow, and from thence intended to carry it to the place where we intended to build our house.

The 15th of September in the morning, as one of our men held watch, we saw three bears, whereof the one lay still behind a piece of ice and the other two came close to the ship, which we perceiving, made our pieces ready to shoot at them ; at which time there stood a tubful of meat upon the ice to freshen, for that close by the ship there was no water ; one of the bears went unto it, and put in her head into the tub to take out a piece of the beef, but it agreed with her as the pudding (sausage) did with the dog; for as she was snatching at the beef, she was shot into the head, wherewith she fell down dead and never stirred. There we saw a curious sight: the other bear stood still, and looked upon her fellow as if wondering why she remained so motionless; and when she had stood a good while she smelt her fellow, and perceiving that she lay still and was dead, she ran away, but we took halberts and other arms with us and watched for her coming back. And at last she came again towards us, and we prepared ourselves to withstand her, wherewith she rose up upon her hinder feet, thinking to ramp at us; but while she reared herself up, one of our men shot her into the belly, and with that she fell upon her forefeet again, and roaring as loud as she could, ran away. Then we took the dead bear, and ripped her belly open; and taking out her guts we set her upon her forefeet, so that she might freeze as she stood, intending to carry her with us into Holland if we might get our ship loose: and when we had set the bear upon her four feet, we began to make a sled, thereon to draw the wood to the place where we meant to build our house. At that time it froze two fingers thick in the salt water of the sea, and it was exceeding cold, the wind blowing north-east.

The 16th of September the sun shone, but towards the evening it was misty, the wind being easterly; at which time we went (for the first time) to fetch wood with our sleds, and then we drew four beams nearly a mile (4 miles) upon the ice and the snow. That night again it froze about two fingers thick.

The 17th of September thirteen of us went where the wood lay with our sleds, and so drew five and five in a sled, and three remained behind with the wood, to hew it, so that it might be the lighter to draw; and in that manner we drew wood twice a day, and laid it on a heap by the place where we meant to build our house.

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The 23rd of September we fetched more wood to build our house, which we did twice a day, but it grew to be misty and still weather again, the wind blowing east and east north-east. That day our carpenter (being of Purmecaet) died as we came aboard about evening.

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The 25th of September it was dark weather, the wind blowing west and west south-west and south-west, and the ice began somewhat to open and drive away ; but it continued not long, for that having driven about the length of a falconet shot, it lay three fathoms deep upon the ground : and where we lay the ice drew not, for we lay in the middle of the ice ; but if we had laid in the open or main sea, we would have hoisted sail, although it was then late in the year. The same day we raised up the beams of our house, and began to work hard thereon ; but if the ship had been loose we would have left our building and repaired the ice-knees of the ship, that we might have been ready to sail away if it had been possible; for that it grieved us much to lie there all that cold winter, which we knew would fall out to be extreme bitter ; but being bereaved of all hope, we were compelled to make necessity a virtue, and with patience to attend what issue God would send us.

The 26th of September we had a west wind and an open sea, but our ship lay fast, wherewith we were not a little grieved ; but it was God's will, which we must patiently bear, and we began by degrees to close up the side of the house : part of our men fetched wood to burn, the rest played the carpenters and were busy about the house. As then we were sixteen men in all, for our carpenter was dead, and of our sixteen men there was still one or other sick.

The 27th of September it blew hard north-east, and it froze so hard that as we put a nail into our mouths (as when men work carpenter's work they use to do), there would ice hang thereon when we took it out again, and made the blood follow. The same day there came an old bear and a young one towards us as we were going to our house, being altogether (for we durst not go alone), which we thought to shoot at, but she ran away. At which time the ice came forcibly driving in, and it was fair sunshine weather, but so extreme cold that we could hardly work, but extremity forced us thereunto.

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The 29th of September in the morning, the wind was west, and after noon it again blew northly, and then we saw three bears between us and the house, an old one and two young ; but we notwithstanding drew our goods from the ship to the house, and so got before the bears, and yet they followed us : nevertheless we would not shun the way for them, but hollowed out as loud as we could, thinking that they would have gone away ; but they would not once go out of their foot path, but got before us, wherewith we and they that were at the house made a great noise, which made the bears run away, and we were not a little glad thereof.

The 30th of September the wind was east and east south-east, and all that night and the next day it snowed so fast that our men could fetch no wood, it lay so close and high one upon the other. Then we made a great fire without the house, therewith to thaw the ground, that so we might lay it about the house that it might be the closer ; but it was all lost labour, for the earth was so hard and frozen so deep into the ground that we could not thaw it, and it would have cost us too much wood, and therefore we were forced to leave off that labour.

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The 2nd of October before noon the sun shone, and after noon it was cloudy again and it snowed, but the weather was still, the wind being north and then south, and we erected (i.e. completed the erection of) our house and upon it we placed a may-tree made of frozen snow.

The 3rd of October before noon it was a calm sunshine weather, but so cold that it was hard to be endured; and after noon it blew hard out of the west, with so great and extreme cold that if it had continued we should have been forced to leave our work.

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The 5th of October it blew hard north-west, and the sea was quite open and without ice as far as we could discern; but we lay still frozen as we did before, and our ship lay two or three foot deep in the ice, and we could not perceive otherwise but that we lay frozen right down to the ground, and then it was three fathoms and a half deep. The same day we broke up the lower deck of the forecastle of our ship, and with those planks we covered our house, and made it somewhat higher in the middle that the water might run off; at which time it was very cold.

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The 10th of October the weather was somewhat fairer and the wind calmer, and it blew south-west and west south-west; and that time the water flowed two foot higher than ordinary, which we guessed to proceed from the first north wind which as then had blown. The same day the weather began to be somewhat better, so that we began to go out of our ship again; and as one of our men went out, he chanced to meet a bear, and was almost at him before he knew it, but presently he ran back again towards the ship and the bear after him: but the bear coming to the place where before that we killed another bear and set her upright and there let her freeze, which after was covered over with snow and yet one of her paws reached about it, she stood still, whereby our man got before her and climbed up into the ship in great fear, crying, a bear, a bear; which we hearing came on deck to look on her and to shoot at her, but we could not see her by means of the exceeding great smoke that had so sore tormented us while we lay under hatches in the foul weather, which we would not have endured for any money ; but by reason of the cold and snowy weather we were constrained to do it if we would save our lives, for aloft on the deck of the ship we must undoubtedly have died. The bear stayed not long there, but ran away, the wind then being north-east.

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The 13th of October the wind was north and north-west, and it began again to blow hard, and then three of us went aboard the ship and loaded a sled with bear ; but when we had loaded it, thinking to go to our house with it, suddenly there arose such a wind and so great a storm and cold that we were forced to go into the ship again, because were we not able to stay without. And we could not get the bear into the ship again, but were forced to let it stand without upon the sled. Being in the ship we endured extreme cold because we had but a few clothes in it.

The 14th of October as we came out of the ship we found the barrel of beer standing in the open air upon the sled, which, being a cask of spruce beer, had burst at the bottom through the frost, yet by reason of the great cold the beer that ran out froze as hard upon the bottom of the barrel as if it had been glued thereon, and in that sort we drew it to our house and set the barrel on end and drank it first up. But we were forced to melt the beer, for there was scarcely any unfrozen beer in the barrel, but in that thick yeast that was unfrozen lay the whole strength of the beer, so that it was too strong to drink alone, and that which was frozen tasted like water ; and being melted we mixed one with the other, and so drank it, but it had neither strength nor taste.

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The 23rd of October it was calm weather and the wind blew north-east. Then we went aboard our ship to see if the rest of our men would come home to the house.

But we feared that it would blow hard again, and therefore durst not stir with the sick man, but let him lie still that day, for he was very weak.

The 24th of October the rest of our men, being eight persons, came to the house and drew the sick man upon a sled, and then with great labour and pain we drew our yawl home to our house, and turned the bottom thereof upwards, that when time served us (if God saved our lives in the winter time) we might use it. And after that perceiving that the ship lay fast and that there was nothing less to be expected than the opening of the water, we put our (kedge-) anchor into the ship again, because it should not be covered over and lost in the snow, that towards the summer we might use it. For we always trusted in God that he would deliver us from thence towards summer time either one way or other.

Things standing at this point with us, as the sun (when we might see it best and highest) began to leave us, we used all the speed we could to fetch all things with sleds out of our ship into our house, not only meat and drink but all other necessaries ; at which time the wind was north.

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The 26th of October we fetched all things that were necessary for the furnishing of our boat and our yawl : and when we had laden the last sled and stood in the track-ropes ready to draw it to the house, our master looked about him and saw three bears behind the ship that were coming towards us, whereupon he cried out aloud to frighten them away, and we presently leaped forth from the track-ropes to defend ourselves as well as we could. And as good fortune was, there lay two halberds upon the sled, whereof the master took one and I the other, and made resistance against them as well as we could. But the rest of our men ran to save themselves in the ship, and as they ran one of them fell into a crevice in the ice, which grieved us much, for we thought verily that the bears would have run unto him to devour him; but God defended him, for the bears still made towards the ship after the men that ran thither to save themselves. Meantime we and the man that fell into the crevice in the ice took our advantage, and got into the ship on the other side; which the bears perceiving, they came fiercely towards us, that had no other arms to defend us withal but only the two halberds, which we doubting would not be sufficient, we still gave them work to do by throwing billets of fire-wood and other things at them, and every time we threw they ran after them, as a dog useth to do at a stone that is cast at him. Meantime we sent a man down below hatches into the caboose to strike fire and another to fetch pikes; but we could get no fire, and so we had no means to shoot. At the last, as the bears came fiercely upon us, we struck one of them with a halberd upon the snout, wherewith she gave back when she felt herself hurt and went away, which the other two that were not so great as she perceiving, ran away; and we thanked God that we were so well delivered from them, and so drew our sled quietly to our house, and there showed our men what had happened unto us.

The 27th of October the wind blew north-east, and it snowed so fast that we could not work without the door. That day our men killed a white fox, which they flayed, and after they had roasted it ate thereof, which tasted like rabbit's flesh. The same day we set up our clock, so that it went and struck the hour. And we hung up a lamp to burn in the night time, wherein we used the fat of the bear, which we melted and burnt in the lamp.

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The 7th of November it was dark weather and very still, the wind west; at which time we could hardly discern the day from the night, especially because at that time our clock stood still and by that means we thought that it was not day, when it already was day. And our men had not that day been out of bed, and therefore they knew not very well whether the light they saw was the light of the day or of the moon, whereupon they were of several opinions, some saying it was the light of the day, the others of the night ; but as we took good regard thereunto, we found it was truly the height of day, about twelve of the clock at noon.

The 8th of November it was still weather, the wind blowing south and south-west. The same day our men fetched another sled of firewood, and then also we took a white fox, and saw much open water in the sea. The same day we shared our bread amongst us, each man having four pounds and ten ounces for his allowance in eight days ; so that then we were eight days eating a barrel of bread, whereas before we ate it up in five or six days. As yet we had no need to share our flesh and fish, for we had more store thereof ; but our drink failed us, and therefore we were forced to share that also : but our best beer for the most part had almost all its strength frozen out of it, so that it had no savour at all, and besides all this there was a great deal of it spilt.

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The 19th of November it was foul weather, with an east wind ; and then the chest with linen was opened and divided amongst the men for shirts, for they had need of them, for then our only care was to find all the means we could to defend our body from the cold.

The 20th of November it was still fair weather, the wind easterly. Then we washed our shirts, but it was so cold that when we had washed and wrung them, they presently froze so stiff (out of the warm water) that, although we lay them by a great fire, the side that lay next the fire thawed, but the other side was hard frozen ; so that we should sooner have broken them than have opened them, whereby we were forced to put them into the boiling water again to thaw them, it was so exceeding cold.

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The 7th of December it was still foul weather, and we had a great storm with a hurricane out of the north-east, which brought an extreme cold with it ; at which time we knew not what to do, and while we sat consulting together what were best for us to do, one of our companions gave us counsel to burn some of the sea coal that we had brought out of the ship, which would cast a great heat and continue long ; and so at evening we made a great fire thereof, which cast a great heat. But we did not guard ourselves against the consequences, for that the heat being so great a comfort unto us, we took care how to make it continue long ; whereupon we agreed to stop up all the doors and the chimney, thereby to keep in the heat, and so went into our cots to sleep, well comforted with the heat, and so lay a great while talking together ; but at last were taken with a sudden dizziness in our heads, yet some more than other some, which we first perceived by a sick man and therefore the less able to bear it, and found ourselves to be very ill at ease, so that some of us that were strongest started out of their cots, and first opened the chimney and then the doors, but he that opened the door fell down in a swoon with much groaning upon the snow ; which I hearing, as lying in my cot next to the door, ran thither and there saw him lying in a swoon and quickly fetched some vinegar and rubbed his face with it and recovered him and so he rose up. And when the doors were open, we all recovered our health again by reason of the cold air. And so the cold, which before had been so great an enemy unto us, was then the only relief that we had ; otherwise without doubt we had all died in a swoon. After that the master, when we were come to ourselves again, gave every one of us a little wine to comfort our hearts.

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The 11th of December it was fair weather and a bright sky, but very cold, which he that felt not would not believe, for our shoes froze as hard as horns upon our feet, and within they were white frozen, so that we could not wear our shoes, but were forced to make loose clogs or slippers, the upper part being sheepskins, which we put on over three or four pairs of socks, and so went in them to keep our feet warm.

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The 25th of December being Christmas Day, it was foul weather with a north-west wind ; and yet, though it was very foul weather, we heard the foxes run over our house, wherewith some of our men said it was an ill sign ; and while we sat disputing why it should be an ill sign, some of our men made answer that it was an ill sign because we could not take them to put them in the pot or on the spit, for that had been a very good sign for us.

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The 5th of January the weather was somewhat milder. Then we digged our door open again, that we might go out and carry out all the filth that had been made during the time of our being shut in the house, and made everything handsome, and fetched in wood, which we cleft. And it was all our day's work to further ourselves as much as we could, fearing lest we should be shut up again. And as there were three doors in our portal, and for that our house lay covered over in snow, we took the middle door thereof away and digged a great hole in the snow that lay without the house, like the arch of a vault or cellar, wherein we might go to ease ourselves and cast other filth into it. And when we had toiled all day, we remembered ourselves that it was Three Kings' Even, and then we requested the skipper that (in the midst of all our troubles) we might be merry that night, and said that we were content to spend some of the wine that night which we had spared and which was our share every second day, and whereof for certain days we had not drunk ; and so that night we made merry and drew for king. And therewith we had two pounds of meal (which we had taken to make paste for the cartridges) whereof we now made pancakes with oil, and we laid to every man a captain's biscuit made of wheaten flour which we sopped in the wine. And so fancying ourselves to be in our own country and amongst our friends, it comforted us as well as if we had made a great banquet in our own house. And we also distributed tickets, and our gunner was King of Nova Zembla, which is at least two hundred (800) miles long and lieth between two seas.

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The 24th of January it was fair clear weather, with a west wind. Then I and Jacob Hermskercke, and another with us, went to the sea side on the south side of Nova Zembla, where contrary to our expectation, I the first of all saw the edge of the sun ; wherewith we went speedily home again to tell William Barents and the rest of our companions that joyful news. But William Barents, being a wise and well experienced pilot, would not believe it, esteeming it to be about fourteen days too soon that the sun should appear there and in that latitude ; but we earnestly affirmed the contrary and said we had seen the sun, whereupon divers wagers were laid.

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The 27th of January it was fair clear weather, with a south-west wind. Then in the morning we digged a hole in the snow, hard by the house, but it was still so extremely cold that we could not stay long at work, and so we digged by turns every man a little while, and then went to the fire, and another went and supplied his place, till at last we digged seven feet deep, where we went to bury the dead man ; after that, we made a sort of funeral discourse, read prayers and sang psalms, and all went out and buried the man ; which done, we went in and ate the funeral meal. And while we were at meat and discoursed amongst ourselves touching the great quantity of snow that continually fell in that place, we said that if it fell out that our house should be closed up again with snow, we would find the means to climb out at the chimney ; whereupon our skipper went to try if he could climb up through the chimney and so get out, and while he was climbing one of our men went forth of the door to see if the master were out or not, who, standing upon the snow, saw the sun, and called us all out, wherewith we all went forth and saw the sun in his full roundness a little above the horizon, and then it was without all doubt that we had seen the sun upon the 24th of January, which made us all glad, and we gave God hearty thanks for his grace showed unto us, that that glorious light appeared unto us again.

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The 12th of February it was clear weather and very calm, the wind south-west. Then we made our traps and springs clean again : meantime there came a great bear towards our house, which made us all go in, and we levelled at her with our muskets, and as she came right before our door we shot her into the breast clean through the heart, the bullet passing through her body and went out again at her tail, and was as flat as a copper doit that has been beaten out with a hammer. The bear feeling the blow, leapt backwards, and ran twenty or thirty feet from the house, and there lay down, wherewith we leapt all out of the house and ran to her, and found her still alive. And when she saw us she reared up her head, as if she wished to see who had done it to her ; but we trusted her not, for that we had tried her strength sufficiently before, and therefore we shot her twice into the body again, and therewith she died. Then we ripped up her belly, and taking out her guts, drew her home to the house, where we flayed her and took at least one hundred pounds of fat out of her belly, which we melted and burnt in our lamp. This grease did us great good service, for by that means we still kept a lamp burning all night long, which before we could not do for want of grease ; and further every man had means to burn a lamp in his cabin for such necessaries as he had to do. The bearskin was nine feet long and seven feet broad.

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The 19th of February it was fair clear weather with a south-west wind. Then we took the height of the sun, which in long time before we could not do because the horizon was not clear, as also for that it mounted not so high nor gave not so much shadow as we required in our astrolabium, and therefore we made an instrument that was half round, on the one half having 90 degrees marked thereon, whereon we hung a thread with a plummet of lead, as water levels have, and therewith we took the height of the sun when it was at the highest and found that it was three degrees elevated above the horizon, his declination eleven degrees and sixteen minutes, which being added to the height aforesaid made 14 degrees and 16 minutes, which subtracted from 90 degrees, there rested 75 degrees and 44 minutes for the height of the Pole ; but the aforesaid three degrees of height being taken at the lowest side of the sun, the 16 minutes might well be added to the height of the Pole, and so it was just 76 degrees, as we had measured it before.

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The 22nd of February it was clear fair weather with a south-west wind. Then we made ready a sled to fetch more wood, for need compelled us thereunto ; for, as they say, hunger driveth the wolf out of his den. And eleven of us went together, all well appointed with our arms ; but coming to the place where we should have the wood, we could not come by it by reason it lay so deep under the snow, whereby of necessity we were compelled to go further, where with great labour and trouble we got some ; but as we returned back again therewith, it was so sore labour unto us that we were almost out of comfort, for that by reason of the long cold and trouble that we had endured, we were become so weak and feeble that we had little strength, and we began to be in doubt that we should lose our strength and should not be able to fetch any more wood, and so we should have died with cold; but the present necessity and the hope we had of better weather increased our forces, and made us do more than our strengths afforded. And when we came near to our house, we saw much open water in the sea, which in long time we had not seen, which also put us in good comfort that things would be better.

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The 27th of February it was calm weather, with a south wind, but very cold. Then our wood began to lessen, which put us in no small discomfort to remember what trouble we had to draw the last sledful home, and we must do the like again if we would not die with cold.

The 28th of February it was still weather with a south-west wind. Then ten of us went and fetched another sledful of wood, with no less pain and labour than we did before; for one of our companions could not help us, because that the first joint of one of his great toes was frozen off, so he could do nothing.

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The 6th of March it was foul weather, with a great storm out of the south-west and much snow. The same day some of us climbed out of the chimney, and perceived that in the sea and about the land there was much open water, but the ship lay fast still.

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The 10th of March it was clear weather, the wind north. Then we made our house clean, and digged ourselves out and came forth; at which time we saw quite an open sea, whereupon we said unto each other that if the ship were loose we might venture to sail away, for we were not of opinion to do it with our boats, considering the great cold that we found there. Towards evening, nine of us went to the ship with a sled to fetch wood, when all our wood was burnt; and found the ship in the same order that it lay, and fast in the ice.

The 11th of March it was cold, but fair sunshine weather, the wind north-east. Then we took the height of the sun with our astrolabium, and found it to be elevated above the horizon 10 degrees and 19 minutes, his declination was 3 degrees, 41 minutes, which being added to the height aforesaid, made 14 degrees, which subtracted from 90 degrees, there resteth 76 degrees for the height of the Pole. Then twelve of us went to the place where we used to go, to fetch a sled of wood, but still we had more pain and labour therewith, because we were weaker; and when we came home with it and were very weary, we prayed the skipper to give either of us a draught of wine, which he did, wherewith we were somewhat relieved and comforted, and after that were the more willing to labour, which was unsupportable for us if mere extremity had not compelled us thereunto, saying oftentimes one unto the other, that if the wood were to be bought for money we would give all our earnings or wages for it.

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The 15th of April it was fair calm weather with a north wind; then seven of us went aboard the ship to see in what case it was, and found it to be all in one sort; and as we came back again there came a great bear towards us, against whom we began to make defence, but she perceiving that, made away from us, and we went to the place from whence she came to see whether she had any holes there, where we found a great hole made in the ice, about a man's length in depth, the entry thereof being very narrow, and within wide. There we thrust in our pikes to feel if there was anything within it, but perceiving it was empty, one of our men crept into it, but not too far, for it was fearful to behold. After that we went along by the sea side, and there we saw that in the end of March and the beginning of April the ice was in such wonderful manner risen and piled up one upon the other that it was wonderful, in such manner as if there had been whole towns made of ice with towers and bulwarks round about them.

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The 8th of May it was foul weather with great store of snow, the wind west. Then some of our men agreed amongst themselves to speak unto the skipper, namely, Jacob Heemskerck, and to tell him that it was more than time for us to see about getting from thence, but each was reluctant to make the skipper acquainted with it, because he had given them to understand that he desired to wait until the end of June, which was the best of the summer, to see if the ship would then be loose.

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The 11th of May it was fair weather, the wind southwest, whereby it was quite open water in the sea, when our men prayed William Barents once again to move the master to make preparation to go from thence, which he promised to do as soon as convenient time served him.

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The 14th of May it was fine clear weather with a north wind. Then we fetched our last sled with firewood, and still wore our shoes made of felt on our feet, wherewith we did ourselves much pleasure, and they furthered us much. At the same time we spoke to William Barents again to move the master about going from thence, which he promised he would do on the following day.

The 15th of May it was fair weather with a west wind, and it was agreed that all our men should go out to exercise their bodies with running, walking, playing at golf and other exercises, thereby to stir their joints and make them nimble. Meantime William Barents told the skipper what the crew thought was best to be done, who made him answer that they should stay no longer than to the end of that month, and that if then the ship could not be loosed that preparation should be made to go away with the boat and the yawl.

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The 20th of May it was foul weather with a north-east wind, whereby the ice began to come in strongly again. And at noon we spoke unto the master and told him that it was time to make preparation to be gone if the time should ever come when we might get away ; whereunto he made answer that his own life was as dear unto him as any of ours unto us, nevertheless he willed us to make haste to prepare our clothes and other things ready and fit for our voyage, and that in the meantime we should patch and mend them, that after it might be no hinderance unto us, and that we should stay till the month of May was past, and then make ready the boat and the yawl and all other things fit and convenient for our journey.

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The 29th of May in the morning it was reasonable fair weather with a west wind. Then ten of us went unto the boat in order to repair it near the house, but on coming to it we found it deep hidden under the snow, and were fain with great pain and labour to dig it out, but when we had got it out of the snow, and thought to draw it to the house, we could not do it, because we were too weak, wherewith we became wholly out of heart, doubting that we should not be able to go forward with our labour ; but the master encouraging us bade us strive to do more than we were able, saying that both our lives and our welfare consisted therein, and that if we could not get the boat from thence and make it ready, then he said we must dwell there as burgesses or citizens of Nova Zembla, and make our graves in that place. But there wanted no goodwill in us, but only strength, which made us for that time to leave off working and let the boat lie still, which was no small grief unto us and trouble to think what were best for us to do. But after noon, being thus comfortless come home, we took heart again and determined to turn the yawl that lay by the house with her keel upwards, and we began to mend it and to heighten the gunwales, so that it might be the fitter to carry us over the sea, for we made full account that we had a long, troublesome voyage in hand, wherein we might have many crosses and wherein we should not be sufficiently provided for all things necessary, although we took never so much care ; and while we were busy about our work there came a frightful bear unto us, wherewith we went into our house and stood to watch her in our three doors with harquebuses, and one stood in the chimney with a musket. This bear came more boldly unto us than ever any had done before, for she came to the lower step that went to one of our doors, and the man that stood in the door saw her not because he looked towards the other door, but they that stood within saw her and in great fear called to him, wherewith he turned about, and although he was in a maze he shot at her, and the bullet passed clean through her body, whereupon she ran away. Yet it was a fearful thing to see, for the bear was almost upon him before he saw her, so that if the piece had failed to give fire (as oftentimes they do) it had cost him his life, and it may be that the bear would have got into the house. The bear being gone somewhat from the house, lay down, wherewith we went all armed with guns, muskets and half pikes and killed her outright, and when we had ripped open her belly we found pieces of seals, with the skin and hair, which not long before she had torn and devoured.

The 31st of May it was fair weather, but somewhat colder than before, the wind being south-west, whereby the ice drove away, and we wrought hard about our boat ; but when we were in the chiefest part of work, there came another bear, as if they had smelt that we would be gone, and that therefore they desired first to have a taste of us, for that was the third day, one after the other, that they set so fiercely upon us ; so that we were forced to leave our work and go into the house, and she followed us, but we stood with our pieces to watch her, and shot three pieces at her, two from our doors and one out of the chimney, which all three hit her, so that it agreed with her as the sausage did with the dog. But her death did us more hurt than her life, for after we ripped her belly we dressed her liver and ate it, which in the taste liked us well, but it made us all sick, especially three that were exceeding sick, and we verily thought that we should have lost them, for all their skins came off from the foot to the head, but yet they recovered again, for the which we gave God hearty thanks, for if as then we had lost these three men perhaps we should never have got from thence, because we should have had too few men to draw and lift at our need.

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The 4th of June it was fair, clear, sunny weather and not very cold. And about the south-east sun (half-past seven a.m.) eleven of us went to our boat on the beach where it then lay, and drew it towards the ship, at which time the labour seemed lighter unto us than it did before when we took it in hand and were forced to leave it off again. The reason thereof was the opinion that we had that the snow as then lay harder upon the ground and so was become stronger, and it may be that our courages were better to see that the time gave us open water, and that our hope was that we should get from thence ; and so three of our men stayed by the boat to build her to our minds, and for that it was a herring boat, which are made narrow behind, therefore they sawed it a little off behind, and so got it ready in the fittest manner in their power. The rest of our men were busy in the house to make all other things ready for our voyage, and that day drew two sleds with victuals and other goods from the house unto the ship, that lay about half way between the house and the open water, so that after they might have so much the shorter way to carry the goods unto the waterside, when we should go away. At which time all the labour and pains that we took seemed light and easy unto us, because of the hope that we had to get out of that wild, desert, irksome, fearful and cold country.

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The 6th of June in the morning it was fair weather, the wind north-east. Then we went with our carpenters to the ship to build up our boat, and carried two sleds full of goods into the ship, both victuals and merchandise, with other things which we meant to take with us. After that there rose very foul weather in the south-west, with snow, hail, and also rain, which we in long time had not had, whereby the carpenters were forced to leave their work and go home to the house with us, where also we could not be dry, for because we had taken off the deals from the house, therewith to amend our yawl and our boat, there lay but a sail over it, which would not hold out the water ; and the way that lay full of snow began to be soft, so that we left off our shoes made of rug and felt, and again put on our leather shoes.

. . . .

The 8th of June it was fair weather, and we drew the wares to the ship which we had packed and made ready ; and the carpenters made ready the boat, so that the same evening it was almost done. The same day all our men went to draw our yawl to the ship, and made ropes to draw withal, such as we use to draw with in sleds, which we cast over our shoulders so that we could likewise grasp them with our hands, and so drew both with our hands and our shoulders, which gave us more force ; and especially the desire and great pleasure we took to work at that time made us stronger, so that we did more then than at other times we should have done, for that goodwill on the one side and hope on the other side increased our strength.

The 9th of June it was fair weather with variable winds.

Then we washed our shirts and all our linen against we should be ready to sail away, and the carpenters were still busy to make the bottom-boards (ceiling) of the yawl and boat.

. . . .

The 13th of June it was fair weather. Then the master and the carpenters went to the ship and there made the boat and the yawl ready, so that there rested nothing as then but only to bring it down to the waterside. The master and those that were with him, seeing that it was open water and a good west wind, came back to the house again, and there he spoke unto William Barents (that had been long sick) and showed him that he thought it good (seeing it was a fit time) to go from thence, and they then resolved jointly with the ship's company to take the yawl and the boat down to the waterside, and in the name of God to begin our voyage to sail from Nova Zembla. And William Barents had previously written a small scroll and placed it in a *bandoleer*, and hanged it up in the chimney, showing how he came out of Holland to sail to the Kingdom of China, and what had happened unto us being there on land, with all our crosses, that if any man chanced to come thither, they might know what had happened unto us, how we had fared, and how we had been forced in our extremity to make that house, and had dwelt ten months therein. And for that we were now forced to put to sea in two small open boats and to undertake a dangerous and adventurous voyage in hand ; the master also wrote two letters, which most of us subscribed unto, signifying how we had stayed there upon the land in great trouble and misery, in hope that our ship would be freed from the ice and that we should sail away with it again, and how it fell out to the contrary, and that the ship lay fast in the ice, so that in the end, the time passing away and our victuals beginning to fail us, we were forced, for the saving of our own lives, to leave the ship and to sail away in our open boats and so to commit ourselves into the hands of God. Of which letters each boat had one, that if we chanced to lose one another or that by storms or any other misadventure we happened to be cast away, that then by the boat that escaped men might know how we left each other. And so, having finished all things as we determined, we drew the yawl to the waterside and left a man in it and went and fetched the boat, and after that eleven sleds with goods, as victuals and some wine that yet remained, and the merchants' goods, of which we took every care to preserve as much as was possible, viz., six packs with the finest woollen cloth, a chest with linen, two packets with velvet, two small chests with money, two trunks with the men's clothes, such as shirts and other things, thirteen barrels of oil, six small runlets of wine, two runlets of vinegar, with other packs and clothes belonging to the sailors and many other things ; so that when they lay all together in a heap a man would have judged that they would not have gone into the boats. Which being all put into them, we went to the house, and first drew William Barents upon a sled to the place where our boats lay, and after that we fetched Claes Adrianson, both of them having been long sick. And so we entered into the boats and divided ourselves into each of them alike, and put into either of them a sick man. Then the master caused both the boats to lie close one by the other, and there we subscribed to the letters which he had written as is above mentioned, the copy whereof hereafter ensueth. And so committing ourselves to the will and mercy of God, with a west north-west wind and an indifferent open water, we set sail and put to sea.

. . . .

The Copy of their Letter.

Having till this day stayed for the time and opportunity, in hope to get our ship loose, whereof there is now little or no hope, for that it lieth fast shut up and enclosed in the ice, and in the end of March and the beginning of April the ice did so mightily gather together in great hills, we considered well how to get our boat and yawl into the water or where to find a convenient place for it. And for that it seemed almost impossible to get the ship out of the ice, therefore I, with William Barents and the chief boatswain and other officers and the rest of the crew, considering with ourselves which would be the best course for us to save our own lives and some wares belonging to the merchants, we could find no better means than to mend our yawl and boat and to provide ourselves as well as we could with all things necessary, that being ready we might not lose or overslip any fit time and opportunity that God should send us ; for it was requisite for us to take the fittest time, otherwise we should surely have perished with hunger and cold, which as yet is to be feared will go hard enough with us, for that there are three or four of us from whom in our work we have no help, and the best and strongest of us are so weak with the great cold and diseases that we have so long time endured that we have but half a man's strength. And it is to be feared that it will rather be worse than better in regard of the long voyage that we have in hand, and our bread will not last us longer than to the end of the month of August, and it may easily fall out, that the voyage being contrary and cross unto us, that before that time we shall not be able to get to any land, where we may procure any victuals or other provisions for ourselves, even if from this moment we did our best. Therefore we thought it our best course not to stay any longer here, for by nature we are bound to seek our own good and securities. And so we determined hereupon, and have under written this present letter which was in general by us all subscribed, done and concluded upon the first of June 1597. And while upon the same day we were ready and had a west wind with an easy breeze and an indifferent open sea, we did in God's name prepare ourselves and entered into our voyage, the ship lying as fast as ever it did enclosed in the ice, notwithstanding that while we were making ready to be gone we had a great wind out of the west, north and north-west, and yet find no alteration nor bettering in the weather, and therefore we have at length abandoned it. Dated upon the 13th of June and signed by

Iacob Heemskerck
WILLEM BARENTZ
Pieter Pietersz. Vos
Gerrir de Veer
Meester Hans Vos
Lenaert Hendricksz
Laurens Willemsz
Iacob Iansz. Schiedam
Pieter Cornelisz
Iacob Iansz. Sterrenburch
Ian Reyneirsz.

. . . .

The 16th of June we set sail again, and got to the Islands of Orange with a south wind, which is 8 (32) miles distant from the Point of Desire ; there we went on land with two small barrels and a kettle, to melt snow and to put the water into the barrels, as also to seek for birds and eggs to make meat for our sick men ; and being there we made fire with such wood as we found there, and melted the snow, but found no birds ; but three of our men went over the ice to the other island, and got three birds, and as we came back again, our master (which was one of the three) fell into the ice, where he was in great danger of his life, for in that place there ran a strong current ; but by God's help he got out again and came to us, and there dried himself by the fire that we had made, at which fire we dressed the birds, and carried them to the boat to our sick men, and filled our two runlets with water that held about eight gallons apiece ; which done, we put to the sea again with a south-east wind and nasty drizzly weather, whereby we were all damp and wet, for we had no shelter in our open boats, and sailed west and west and by south to opposite the Ice Point. And being there, both our boats lying hard by each other, the skipper, namely, Jacob Heemskerck, called to William Barents to know how he did, and William Barents made answer and said, " Quite well, mate. I still hope to be able to run before we get to Wardhuus." Then he spoke to me and said, " Gerrit, if we are near the Ice Point, just lift me up again. I must see that Point once more." At which time we had sailed from the Islands of Orange to the Ice Points about five (20) miles ; and then the wind went round to the west, and we made our boats fast to the drift ice and there ate somewhat ; but the weather was still fouler and fouler, so that we were once again enclosed with ice and forced to stay there.

The 17th of June in the morning, when we had broken our fast, the ice came so frightfully upon us that it made our hair stand upright upon our heads, it was so fearful to behold ; by which means we could not save our boats, so that we thought verily that it was a foreshowing of our last end ; for we drove away so hard with the ice, and were so sore pressed between a flake of ice that we thought verily the boats would burst in a hundred pieces, which made us look pitifully one upon the other, for good counsel was dear, but every instant we saw death before our eyes. At last, being in this discomfort and extreme necessity, some one said that if we could make fast a tackle or rope to the firm ice we might therewith draw the boat up and so get it out of the great drift of ice. But as this counsel was good, yet it was so full of danger that it was the hazard of his life that should take upon him to do it ; and without doing it, was it most certain that it would cost us all our lives. This counsel, as I said, was good, but no man (like to the tale of the mice) durst hang the bell about the cat's neck, fearing to be drowned. Yet necessity required to have it done, and the most danger made us chose the least. So that being in that perplexity and as a drowned calf may safely be risked, I being the lightest of all our company took on me to carry a rope upon the firm ice; and so creeping from one piece of driving ice to another, by God's help got to the firm ice, where I made a rope fast to a high hummock, and they that were in the boat drew it thereby unto the said firm ice, and then one man alone could draw more than all of them could have done before. And when we had gotten thither, in all haste we took our sick men out and lay them upon the ice, laying clothes and other things under them for them to rest on, and then took all our goods out of the boats, and so drew them upon the ice, whereby for that time we were delivered from that great danger, making account that we had escaped out of the jaws of death, as it was most true.

The 18th of June we repaired and amended our boats again, being much bruised and crushed with the racking of the ice. We had likewise to examine and close all the seams, and to lay on pieces of tarpaulin in various places, God sending us wood wherewith we melted our pitch, and did all other things that belonged thereunto. That done, some of us went towards the land to seek for eggs, which the sick men longed for, but we could find none, but we found four birds, not without great danger of our lives between the ice and the firm land, wherein we often fell, and were in no small danger.

. . . .

The 20th of June it was indifferent weather, the wind west, and when the sun was south-east (half-past seven a.m.) Claes Adrianson began to be extremely sick, whereby we perceived that he would not live long, and the chief boatswain came into our yawl and told us in what case he was, and that he could not long continue alive. Whereupon William Barents spoke and said, " Methinks with me too it will not last long." And yet we did not judge William Barents to be so sick, for we sat talking one with the other, and spoke of many things, and William Barents looked at my little chart, which I had made of our voyage, and we had some discussion about it. At last he lay away the card and spoke unto me, saying, " Gerrit, give me something to drink." And he had no sooner drunk but he was taken with so sudden a qualm that he turned his eyes in his head and died presently, and we had no time to call the master out of the other boat to speak unto him. And so he died before Claes Adrianson (who died shortly after him). The death of William Barents put us in no small discomfort, as being the chief guide and only pilot on whom we reposed ourselves, but we could not strive against God, and therefore we must of force be content.

FROBISHER

The voyage of Frobisher selected is the second, not because it is the most important necessarily, but because it is the best and most completely described within the limits of the space available. The author is Dionysus Settle, who took part in the voyage, and the version is Hakluyt's. It is given complete.

The region explored is in the neighbourhood of Hudson's Straits, and can be found on the map in the vicinity of longitude 65, *latitude* 63. *It affords a sound basis for the understanding of all Frobisher's three voyages, since the first and third were in the same waters, saw the same lands, and were for the same purpose. The three took place in consecutive years,* 1576, 7, *and* 8.

FROBISHER

The second voyage of Master Martin Frobisher, made to the west and northwest regions, in the year 1577, with a description of the country, and people: written by Master Dionise Settle.

On Whit Sunday, being the six and twentieth of May, in the year of our Lord God 1577, Captain Frobisher departed from Black Wall, with one of the Queen's Majesty's ships called The Aide, of nine score tons, or thereabouts: and two other little Barks likewise, the one called The Gabriel, whereof Master Feton, a Gentleman of my Lord of Warwicks, was Captain: and the other The Michael, whereof Master Yorke, a Gentleman of my Lord Admirals was Captain, accompanied with seven score Gentlemen, soldiers, and sailors, well furnished with victuals, and other provision necessary for one half year, on this his second voyage, for the further discovering of the passage to Cathay, and other Countries, thereunto adjacent, by West and Northwest navigations: which passage or way, is supposed to be on the North and Northwest part of America: and the said America to be an Island environed with the sea, where through our Merchants may have course and recourse with their merchandize, from these our Northern most parts of Europe, to those Oriental coasts of Asia, in much shorter time, and with greater benefit than any others, to their no little commodity and profit that do or shall frequent the same. Our said Captain and General of this present voyage and company having the year before, with two little pinnaces, to his great danger, and no small commendations, given a worthy attempt towards the performance thereof, is also prest, when occasion shall be ministered (to the benefit of his Prince, and native Country) to adventure himself further therein. As for this second voyage, it seemeth sufficient, that he hath better explored and searched the commodities of those people and Countries, which in his first voyage the year before he had found out.

Upon which considerations, the day and year before expressed, we departed from Black Wall to Harwich, where making an accomplishment of things necessary, the last of May we hoisted up sails, and with a merry wind the 7th of June we arrived at the Islands called Orcades, or vulgarly Orkney, being in number 30 subject and adjacent to Scotland, where we made provision of fresh water; in the doing whereof our General licensed the Gentlemen and soldiers for their recreation, to go on shore. At our landing, the people fled from their poor cottages, with shrieks and alarms, to warn their neighbours of enemies, but by gentle persuasions we reclaimed them to their houses. It seemeth they are often frighted with Pirates, or some other enemies, that move them to such sudden fear. Their houses are very simply builded with Pibble stone, without any chimneys, the fire being made in the midst thereof. The good man, wife, children, and other of their family eat and sleep on the one side of the house, and the cattle on the other, very beastly and rudely, in respect of civility. They are destitute of wood, their fire is turfs, and Cowshards. They have corn, big, and oats, with which they pay their King's rent, to the maintenance of his house. They take great quantity of fish, which they dry in the wind and sun. They dress their meat very filthily, and eat it without salt. Their apparel is after the rudest sort of Scotland. Their money is all base. Their Church and religion is reformed according to the Scots. The fishermen of England can better declare the dispositions of those people than I: wherefore I remit other their usages to their reports, as yearly repairs thither, in their course to and from Island for fish.

We departed herehence the 8th of June, and followed our course between West and Northwest, until the 4th of July: all which time we had no night, but that easily, and without any impediment we had when we were so disposed, the fruition of our books, and other pleasures to pass away the time : a thing of no small moment, to such as wander in unknown seas, and long navigations, especially, when both the winds and raging surges do pass their common and wonted course. This benefit endureth in those parts not six weeks, while the sun is near the Tropic of Cancer : but where the Pole is raised to 70 or 80 degrees, it continueth much longer.

All along these seas, after we were six days sailing from Orkney, we met floating in the sea, great Firtrees, which as we judged, were with the fury of great floods rooted up, and so driven into the sea. Island [Iceland] hath almost no other wood nor fuel, but such as they take up upon their coasts. It seemeth, that these trees are driven from some part of the New found land, with the current that setteth from the West to the East.

The 4th of July we came within the making of Frisland. From this shore 10 or 12 leagues, we met great Islands of ice, of half a mile, some more some less in compass, showing above the sea, 30 or 40 fathoms, and as we supposed fast on ground, where with our lead we could scarce sound the bottom for depth.

Here, in place of odoriferous and fragrant smells of sweet gums, and pleasant notes of musical birds, which other Countries in more temperate Zones do yield, we tasted the most boisterous Boreal blasts mixed with snow and hail, in the months of June and July, nothing inferior to our intemperate winter : a sudden alteration, and especially in a place or Parallel, where the Pole is not elevate above 61 degrees : at which height other Countries more to the North, yea unto 70 degrees, show themselves more temperate than this doth.

All along this coast ice lieth, as a continual bulwark, and so defendeth the Country, that those that would land there, incur great danger. Our General three days together attempted with the ship boat to have gone on shore, which for that without great danger he could not accomplish, he deferred it until a more convenient time. All along the coast lie very high mountains covered with snow, except in such places, where through the steepness of the mountains of force it must needs fall. Four days coasting along this land, we found no sign of habitation. Little birds, which we judged to have lost the shore, by reason of thick fogs which that Country is much subject unto, came flying into our ships, which causeth us to suppose, that the Country is both more tolerable, and also habitable within, then the outward shore maketh show or signification.

From hence we departed the eighth of July: and the 16 of the same, we came with the making of land, which land our General the year before had named The Queen's foreland, being an Island as we judge, lying near the supposed continent with America: and on the other side, opposite to the same, one other Island called Halls Isle, after the name of the Master of the ship, near adjacent to the firm land, supposed continent with Asia. Between the which two Islands there is a large entrance or strait, called Frobisher's strait, after the name of our General, the first finder thereof. This said strait is supposed to have passage into the sea of Sur, which I leave unknown as yet.

It seemeth that either here, or not far hence, the sea should have more large entrance, then in other parts within the frozen or intemperate Zone: and that some contrary tide, either from the East or West, with main force casteth out that great quantity of ice, which cometh floating from this coast, even unto Friseland, causing that Country to seem more intemperate than others, much more Northerly than the same.

I cannot judge that any temperature under the Pole, the time of the Sun's Northern declination being half a year together, and one whole day, (considering that the Sun's elevation surmounteth not 23 degrees and 30 minutes) can have power to dissolve such monstrous and huge ice, comparable to great mountains, except by some other force, as by swift current and tides, with the help of the said day of half a year.

Before we came within the making of these lands we tasted cold storms, in so much that it seemed we had changed summer with winter, if the length of the days had not removed us from that opinion.

At our first coming, the straits seemed to be shut up with a long mure of ice, which gave no little cause of discomfort unto us all : but our General (to whose diligence imminent dangers, and difficult attempts seemed nothing, in respect of his willing mind, for the commodity of his Prince and Country), with two little Pinnaces prepared of purposes, passed twice through them to the East shore, and the Islands thereunto adjacent : and the ship, with the two Barks lay off and on something further into the sea, from the danger of the ice.

Whilst he was searching the Country near the shore, some of the people of the Country showed themselves leaping and dancing, with strange shrieks and cries, which gave no little admiration to our men. Our General desirous to allure them unto him by fair means, caused knives, and other things to be proferred unto them, which they would not take at our hands : but being laid on the ground, and the party going away, they came and took up, leaving something of theirs to countervail the same. At the length two of them leaving their weapons, came down to our General and Master, who did the like to them, commanding the company to stay, and went unto them : who after certain dumb signs, and mute congratulations, began to lay hands upon them, but they deliverly escaped, and ran to their bows and arrows, and came fiercely upon them (not respecting the rest of our company which were ready for their defence), but with their arrows hurt divers of them : we took the one, and the other escaped.

Whilst our General was busied in searching the Country, and those Islands adjacent on the East shore, the ship and barks having great care, not to put far into the sea from him, for that he had small store of victuals, were forced to abide in a cruel tempest, chancing in the night, amongst and in the thickest of the ice, which was so monstrous, that even the least of a thousand had been of force sufficient, to have shivered our ship and barks into small portions, if God (who in all necessities, hath care upon the infirmity of man) had not provided for this our extremity a sufficient remedy through the light of the night, whereby we might well discern to flee from such imminent dangers, which we avoided with 14 Bards in one watch the space of four hours. If we had not incurred this danger amongst these monstrous Islands of ice, we should have lost our General and Master, and the most of our best sailors, which were on the shore destitute of victuals: but by the valour of our Master Gunner, Master Jackman, and Andrew Dier, the Master's Mates, men expert both in navigation, and other good qualities, we were all content to incur the dangers aforerehearsed, before we would with our own safety, run into the seas, to the destruction of our said General, and his company.

The day following, being the 19th of July, our captain returned to the ship, with report of supposed riches, which showed itself in the bowels of those barren mountains, wherewith we were all satisfied.

Within four days after we had been at the entrance of the straits, the Northwest and West winds dispersed the ice into the sea, and made us a large entrance into the straits, so that without any impediment, on the 19th of July we entered them, and the 20th thereof, our General and Master with great diligence, sought out and sounded the West shore, and found out a fair Harbour for the ship and barks to ride in, and named it after our Master's mate, Jackman's sound, and brought the ship, barks, and all their company to safe anchor, except one man, which died by God's visitation.

At our first arrival, after the ship rode at anchor, our General, with such company as could well be spared from the ships, in marching order entered the land, having special care by exhortations, that at our entrance thereinto, we should all with one voice, kneeling upon our knees, chiefly thank God for our safe arrival: secondly beseech him, that it would please his divine Majesty, long to continue our Queen, for whom he, and all the rest of our company in this order took possession of the Country : and thirdly, that by our Christian study and endeavour, those barbarous people trained up in Paganism, and infidelity, might be reduced to the knowledge of true religion, and to the hope of salvation in Christ our Redeemer. With other words very apt to signify his willing mind and affection toward his Prince and Country : whereby all suspicion of an undutiful subject, may credibly be judged to be utterly exempted from his mind. All the rest of the Gentlemen and other deserve worthily herein, their due praise and commendation.

These things in this order accomplished, our General commanded all the company to be obedient in things needful for our own safeguard, to Master Fenton, Master Yorke, and Master Best his Lieutenant, while he was occupied in other necessary affairs, concerning our coming thither.

After this order we marched through the Country, with Ensign displayed, so far as was thought needful, and now and then heaped up stones on high mountains, and other places in token of possession, as likewise to signify unto such as hereafter may chance to arrive there, that possession is taken in the behalf of some other Prince, by those who first found out the Country.

Whoso maketh navigations to those Countries, hath not only extreme winds, and furious seas to encounter withall, but also many monstrous and great Islands of ice : a thing both rare, wonderful, and greatly to be regarded.

We were forced sundry times, while the ship did ride here at anchor, to have continual watch, with boats and men ready with hawsers to knit fast unto such ice, as with the ebb and flood were tossed to and fro in the harbour, and with force of oars to hale them away, for endangering the ship.

Our General certain days searched this supposed continent with America, and not finding the commodity to answer his expectation, after he had made trial thereof he departed thence with two little barks, and men sufficient to the East shore being the supposed continent of Asia, and left the ship with most of the Gentlemen, soldiers, and sailors, until such time as he either thought good to send or come for them.

The stones of this supposed continent with America be altogether sparkled, and glister in the Sun like gold : so likewise doth the sand in the bright water, yet they verify the old Proverb : All is not gold that glistereth.

On this West shore we found a dead fish floating, which had in his nose a horn straight and torquet, of length two yards lacking two inches, being broken in the top, where we might perceive it hollow, into the which some of our sailors putting spiders they presently died. I saw not the trial hereof, but it was reported unto me a truth : by the virtue whereof we supposed it to be the sea Unicorn.

After our General had found out good harbour for the ship and barks to anchor in, and also such store of supposed gold ore as he thought himself satisfied withal, he returned to the Michael, whereof Master Yorke aforesaid was Captain, accompanied with our master and his mate : who coasting along the West shore not far from whence the ship rode, they perceived a fair harbour, and willing to sound the same, at the entrance thereof they espied two tents of Seal skins, unto which the Captain, our said Master, and other company resorted. At the sight of our men the people fled into the mountains : nevertheless they went to their tents, where leaving certain trifles of ours, as glasses, bells, knives, and such like things they departed, not taking anything of theirs except one dog. They did in like manner leave behind them a letter, pen, ink, and paper, whereby our men whom the Captain lost the year before, and in that people's custody, might (if any of them were alive) be advertised of our presence and being there.

On the same day after consultation had, all the Gentlemen, and others likewise that could be spared from the ship, under the conduct and leading of Master Philpot (unto whom in our General his absence, and his Lieutenant Master Best, all the rest were obedient) went ashore, determining to see, if by fair means we could either allure them to familiarity, or otherwise take some of them, and so attain to some knowledge of those men whom our General lost the year before.

At our coming back again to the place where their tents were before, they had removed their tents further into the said Bay or Sound, where they might if they were driven from the land, flee with their boats into the sea. We parting ourselves into two companies, and compassing a mountain came suddenly upon them by land, who espying us, without any tarrying fled to their boats, leaving the most part of their oars behind them for haste, and rowed down the bay, where our two Pinnaces met them and drove them to shore : but if they had had all their oars so swift are they in rowing, it had been lost time to have chased them.

When they were landed they fiercely assaulted our men with their bows and arrows, who wounded three of them with our arrows : and perceiving themselves thus hurt, they desperately leapt off the Rocks into the Sea, and drowned themselves : which if they had not done, but had submitted themselves, or if by any means we could have taken them alive (being their enemies as they judged) we would both have saved them, and also have sought remedy to cure their wounds received at our hands. But they altogether void of humanity, and ignorant what mercy meaneth, in extremities look for no other than death : and perceiving they should fall into our hands thus miserably by drowning rather desired death than otherwise to be saved by us : the rest perceiving their fellows in this distress, fled into the high mountains. Two women not being so apt to escape as the men were, the one for her age, and the other being encumbered with a young child, we took. The old wretch, whom divers of our Sailors supposed to be either a devil, or a witch, had her buskins plucked off, to see if she were cloven footed, and for her ugly hue and deformity we let her go: the young woman and the child we brought away. We named the place where they were slain, Bloody Point: and the Bay or Harbour, Yorke's Sound, after the name of one of the Captains of the two barks.

Having this knowledge both of their fierceness and cruelty, and perceiving that fair means as yet is not able to allure them to familiarity, we disposed ourselves, contrary to our inclination, something to be cruel, returned to their tents and made a spoil of the same: where we found an old shirt, a doublet, a girdle, and also shoes of our men, whom we lost the year before: on nothing else unto them belonging could we set our eyes.

Their riches are not gold, silver or precious Drapery, but their said tents and boats, made of the skins of red Deer and Seal skins: also dogs like unto wolves, but for the most part black, with other trifles, more to be wondered at for their strangeness, then for any other commodity needful for our use.

Thus returning to our ship the 3 of August, we departed from the West shore supposed firm with America, after we had anchored there 13 days: and so the 4 thereof we came to our General on the East shore, and anchored in a fair Harbour named Anne Warwick's Sound, unto which is annexed an Island both named after the Countess of Warwick, Anne Warwick's Sound and Isle.

In this Isle our General thought good for this voyage, to freight both the ship and barks, with such stone or supposed gold mineral, as he judged to countervail the charges of his first, and this his second navigation to these Countries.

In the meantime of our abode here some of the country people came to show themselves unto us, sundry times on the main shore, near adjacent to the said Isle. Our General desirous to have some news of his men, whom he lost the year before, with some company with him repaired with the ship boat to common, or sign with them for familiarity, whereunto he is persuaded to bring them. They at the first show made tokens, that three of his five men were alive, and desired pen, ink, and paper, and that within three or four days they would return, and (as we judged) bring those of our men which were living, with them.

They also made signs or tokens of their King, whom they called Cacough, and how he was carried on men's shoulders, and a man far surmounting any of our company, in bigness and stature.

With these tokens and signs of writing, pen, ink, and paper was delivered them, which they would not take at our hands, but being laid upon the shore, and the party gone away, they took up : which likewise they do when they desire any thing for change of theirs, laying for that which is left so much as they think will countervail the same, and not coming near together. It seemeth they have been used to this trade or traffic, with some other people adjoining, or not far distant from their Country.

After four days some of them showed themselves upon the firm land, but not where they were before. Our General very glad thereof, supposing to hear of our men, went from the Island, with the boat, and sufficient company with him. They seemed very glad, and allured him about a certain point of the land : behind which they might perceive a company of the crafty villains to lie lurking, whom our General would not deal with all, for that he knew not what company they were, and so with few signs dismissed them and returned to his company.

An other time as our said General was coasting the Country with two little Pinnaces, whereby at our return he might make the better relation thereof, three of the crafty villains, with a white skin allured us to them. Once again our General, for that he hoped to hear of his men, went towards them : at our coming near the shore whereon they were, we might perceive a number of them lie hidden behind great stones, and those three in sight labouring by all means possible that some would come on land: and perceiving we made no haste by words nor friendly signs, which they used by clapping of their hands, and being without weapon, and but three in sight, they sought further means to provoke us thereunto. One alone laid flesh on the shore, which we took up with the Boat hook, as necessary victuals for the relieving of the man, woman, and child, whom we had taken: for that as yet they could not digest our meat: whereby they perceived themselves deceived of their expectation, for all their crafty allurements. Yet once again to make (as it were) a full show of their crafty natures, and subtle sleights, to the intent thereby to have entrapped and taken some of our men, one of them counterfeited himself impotent and lame of his legs, who seemed to descend to the water side, with great difficulty: and to cover his craft the more, one of his fellows came down with him, and in such places where he seemed unable to pass, he took him on his shoulders, set him by the water side, and departed from him, leaving him (as it should seem) all alone, who playing his counterfeit pageant very well, thought thereby to provoke some of us to come on shore, not fearing, but that one of us might make our party good with a lame man.

Our General having compassion of his impotency, thought good (if it were possible) to cure him thereof: wherefore he caused a soldier to shoot at him with his Caleever, which grazed before his face. The counterfeit villain deliverly fled, without any impediment at all, and got him to his bow and arrows, and the rest from their lurking holes, with their weapons, bows, arrows, slings, and darts. Our General caused some caleevers to be shot off at them, whereby some being hurt, they might hereafter stand in more fear of us.

This was all the answer for this time we could have of our men, or of our General's letter. Their crafty dealing at these three several times being thus manifest unto us, may plainly show their disposition in other things to be correspondent. We judged that they used these strategems, thereby to have caught some of us, for the delivering of the man, woman and child whom we had taken.

They are men of a large corporature, and good proportion: their colour is not much unlike the sunburnt country man, who laboureth daily in the Sun for his living.

They wear their hair something long, and cut before either with stone or knife, very disorderly. Their women wear their hair long, and knit up with two loops, showing forth on either side of their faces, and the rest foltred upon a knot. Also some of their women race their faces proportionally, as chin, cheeks, and forehead, and the wrists of their hands, whereupon they lay a colour which continueth dark azurine.

They eat their meat all raw, both flesh, fish, and fowl, or something parboiled with blood and a little water which they drink. For lack of water they will eat ice, that is hard frozen, as pleasantly as we will do Sugar Candy, or other Sugar.

If they for necessitie's sake stand in need of the premises, such grass as the Country yieldeth they pluck up and eat, not daintily, or salletwise to allure their stomachs to appetite: but for necessities sake without either salt, oils or washing, like brute beasts devouring the same. They neither use table, stool, or tablecloth for comeliness: but when they are imbrued with blood knuckle deep, and their knives in like sort, they use their tongues as apt instruments to lick them clean: in doing whereof they are assured to lose none of their victuals.

They frank or keep certain dogs not much unlike Wolves, which they yoke together, as we do oxen and horses, to a sled or trail: and so carry their necessaries over the ice and snow from place to place: as the captive, whom we have, made perfect signs. And when those dogs are not apt for the same use: or when with hunger they are constrained for lack of other victuals, they eat them:

so that they are as needful for them in respect of their bigness, as our oxen are for us.

They apparel themselves in the skins of such beasts as they kill, sewed together with the sinews of them. All the fowl which they kill, they skin, and make thereof one kind of garment or other, to defend them from the cold.

They make their apparel with hoods and tails, which tails they give when they think to gratify any friendship showed unto them : a great sign of friendship with them. The men have them not so wide as the women.

The men and women wear their hose close to their legs, from the waist to the knee without any open before, as well the one kind as the other. Upon their legs they wear hose of leather, with the fur side inward two or three pair on at once, and especially the women. In those hose they put their knives, needles, and other things needful to bear about. They put a bone within their hose, which reacheth from the foot to the knee, whereupon they draw their said hose, and so in place of garters they are holden from falling down about their feet.

They dress their skins very soft and supple with the hair on. In cold weather or Winter they wear the fur side inward : and in Summer outward. Other apparel they have none but the said skins.

Those beasts, fishes, and fowls, which they kill, are their meat, drink, apparel, houses, bedding, hose, shoes, thread, and sails for their boats, with many other necessaries whereof they stand in need, and almost all their riches.

Their houses are tents made of Seal skins, pitched up with four Fir quarters four square meeting at the top, and the skins sewed together with sinews, and laid thereupon : they are so pitched up, that the entrance into them is always South or against the Sun.

They have other sorts of houses which we found not to be inhabited, which are raised with stones and Whale bones, and a skin layed over them, to withstand the rain, or other weather : the entrance of them being not much unlike an Oven's mouth, whereto I think they resort for a time to fish, hunt, and fowl, and so leave them until the next time they come thither again.

Their weapons are bows, arrows, darts, and slings. Their bows are of wood of a yard long, sinewed at the back with strong sinews, not glued to, but fast girded and tied on. Their bow strings are likewise sinews. Their arrows are three pieces nocked with bone, and ended with bone, with those two ends, and the wood in the midst, they pass not in length half a yard or little more. They are feathered with two feathers the pen end being cut away, and the feathers laid upon the arrow with the broad side to the wood ; insomuch that they seem when they are tied on, to have four feathers. They have also three sorts of heads to those arrows : one sort of stone or iron, proportioned like to a heart : the second sort of bone, much like unto a stopped head, with a hook on the same : the third sort of bone likewise made sharp at both sides, and sharp pointed. They are not made very fast but lightly tied to, or else set in a nock, that upon small occasion the arrows leave these heads behind them : and they are of small force, except they be very near when they shoot.

Their Darts are made of two sorts : the one with many forks of bones in the fore end and likewise in the midst : their proportions are not much unlike our toasting irons but longer : these they cast out of an instrument of wood, very readily. The other sort is greater than the first aforesaid, with a long bone made sharp on both sides not much unlike a Rapier, which I take to be their most hurtful weapon.

They have two sorts of boats made of leather, set out on the inner side with quarters of wood, artificially tied together with thongs of the same : the greater sort are not much unlike our wherries, wherein sixteen or twenty men may sit : they have for a sail dressed the guts of such beasts as they kill very fine and thin, which they sew together : the other boat is but for one man to sit and row in with one oar.

Their order of fishing, hunting, and fowling are with these said weapons : but in what sort, or how they use them we have no perfect knowledge as yet.

I can suppose their abode or habitation not to be here, for that neither their houses or apparel, are of such force to withstand the extremity of cold, that the Country seemeth to be infected with all : neither do I see any sign likely to perform the same.

Those houses or rather dens which stand there, have no sign of footway, or anything else trodden, which is one of the chiefest tokens of habitation. And those tents which they bring with them, when they have sufficiently hunted and fished, they remove to other places : and when they have sufficiently stored them of such victuals, as the Country yieldeth or bringeth forth, they return to their winter stations or habitations. This conjecture do I make, for the infertility which I conjecture to be in that Country.

They have some iron whereof they make arrow heads, knives, and other little instruments, to work their boats, bows, arrows, and darts withal, which are very unapt to do anything withal but with great labour.

It seemeth that they have conversation with some other people, of whom for exchange they should receive the same. They are greatly delighted with any thing that is bright, or giveth a sound.

What knowledge they have of God, or what Idol they adore, we have no perfect intelligence, I think them rather Anthropophagi, or devourers of man's flesh than otherwise : for that there is no flesh or fish which they find dead (smell it never so filthily) but they will eat it, as they find it without any other dressing. A loathsome thing, either to the beholders or hearers.

There is no manner of creeping beast hurtful, except some Spiders (which as many affirm, are signs of great store of gold) and also certain stinging Gnats, which bite so fiercely, that the place where they bite shortly after swelleth and itcheth very sore.

They make signs of certain people that wear bright plates of gold in their foreheads, and other places of their bodies.

The Countries on both sides the straits lie very high with rough stony mountains, and great quantity of snow thereon. There is very little plain ground and no grass, except a little which is much like unto moss that groweth on soft ground, such as we get Turves in. There is no wood at all. To be brief there is nothing fit or profitable for the use of man, which that Country with root yieldeth or bringeth forth : Howbeit there is great quantity of Deer, whose skins are like unto Asses, their heads or horns do far exceed, as well in length as also in breadth, any in these our parts or Countries : their feet likewise are as great as our oxen's, which we measured to be seven or eight inches in breadth. There are also hares, wolves, fishing bears, and sea fowl of sundry sorts.

As the Country is barren and unfertile, so are they rude and of no capacity to culture the same to any perfection : but are contented by their hunting, fishing, and fowling, with raw flesh and warm blood to satisfy their greedy paunches, which is their only glory.

There is great likelihood of Earthquakes or thunder : for that there are huge and monstrous mountains, whose greatest substance are stones, and those stones so shaken with some extraordinary means that one is separated from another, which is discordant from all other Quarries.

There are no rivers or running springs, but such as through the heat of the Sun, with such water as descendeth from the mountains and hills, whereon great drifts of snow do lie, are engendered.

It argueth also that there should be none : for that the earth, which with the extremity of the Winter is so frozen within, that that water which should have recourse within the same to maintain springs, hath not this motion, whereof great waters have their original, as by experience is seen otherwhere. Such valleys as are capable to receive the water, that in the Summer time by the operation of the Sun descendeth from great abundance of snow, which continually lieth on the mountains and hath no passage, sinketh into the earth and so vanisheth away, without any runnel above the earth, by which occasion or continual standing of the said water, the earth is opened, and the great frost yieldeth to the force thereof, which in other places four or five fathoms within the ground for lack of the said moisture, the earth (even in the very Summer time) is frozen, and so combineth the stones together, that scarcely instruments with great force can unknit them.

Also where the water in those valleys can have no such passage away, by the continuance of time in such order as is before rehearsed, the yearly descent from the mountains filleth them full, that at the lowest bank of the same, they fall into the valley, and so continue as fishing Ponds or Stagnes in Summer time full of water, and in the Winter hard frozen : as by scars that remain thereof in Summer may easily be perceived : so that the heat of Summer is nothing comparable or of force to dissolve the extremity of cold that cometh in Winter.

Nevertheless I am assured that below the force of the frost within the earth, the waters have recourse, and empty themselves out of sight into the sea, which through the extremity of the frost are constrained to do the same : by which occasion the earth within is kept the warmer, and springs have their recourse, which is the only nutriment of gold and Minerals within the same.

There is much to be said of the commodities of these Countries, which are couched within the bowels of the earth, which I let pass till more perfect trial be made thereof.

The 24th of August, after we had satisfied our minds with freight sufficient for our vessels, though not our covetous desires with such knowledge of the Country, people, and other commodities as are before rehearsed, we departed therehence. The 17th of September we fell with the land's end of England, and so sailed to Milford Haven, from whence our General rode to the Court for order, to what Port or Haven to conduct the ship.

We lost our two Barks in the way homeward, the one the 29 of August, the other the 31 of the same month, by occasion of great tempest and fog. Howbeit God restored the one to Bristowe, and the other made his course by Scotland to Yarmouth. In this voyage we lost two men, one in the way by God's visitation, and the other homeward cast overboard with a surge of the sea.

DAVIS

Davis succeeded in arriving much farther north than Frobisher and finding a more promising opening into the North-West Passage. He explored what is now known as Davis's Straits and the southern area of Baffin's Bay. His voyage began in June 1585 and ended on the 30th September of the same year.

The account here taken is from Hakluyt, and its author was one James Marchant, "servant to the Worshipful Master William Sanderson," one of the backers of the voyage. Its authenticity depends only on Hakluyt's inclusion, since the author did not accompany Davis, but Hakluyt was always reliable when the discoverer was alive to verify his information.

DAVIS

CERTAIN Honourable personages and worthy Gentlemen of the Court and Country, with divers worshipful Merchants of London and of the West Country, moved with desire to advance God's glory and to seek the good of their native Country, consulting together of the likelihood of the Discovery of the Northwest passage, which heretofore had been attempted, but unhappily given over by accidents unlooked for, which turned the enterprisers from their principal purpose, resolved after good deliberation, to put down their adventures to provide for necessary shipping, and a fit man to be chief Conductor of this so hard an enterprise. The setting forth of this Action was committed by the adventurers, especially to the care of M. William Sanderson Merchant of London, who was so forward therein, that besides his travail which was not small, he became the greatest adventurer with his purse, and commended unto the rest of the company one M. John Davis, a man very well grounded in the principles of the Art of Navigation, for Captain and chief Pilot of this exploit.

Thus therefore all things being put in a readiness, we departed from Dartmouth the seventh of June, towards the discovery of the aforesaid Northwest passage, with two Barks, the one being of 50 tons, named the Sunshine of London, and the other being 35 tons, named the Moonshine of Dartmouth. In the Sunshine we had 23 persons, whose names are these following, M. John Davis Captain, William Eston Master, Richard Pope Masters mate, John Jane Marchant, Henry Davie gunner, William Crosse boatswain, John Bagge, Walter Arthur, Luke Adams, Robert Coxworthie, John Ellis, John Kelley, Edward Helman, William Dicke, Andrew Maddock, Thomas Hill, Robert Wats Carpenter, William Russell, Christopher Gorney boy: James Cole, Francis Ridley, John Russell, Robert Cornish Musicians.

The Moonshine had 19 persons, William Bruton Captain. John Ellis Master, the rest Mariners.

The 7th of June the Captain and the Master drew out a proportion for the continuance of our victuals.

The 8th day the wind being at Southwest and West southwest, we put in for Falmouth, where we remained until the 13th.

The 13th the wind blew at North, and being fair weather we departed.

The 14th with contrary wind we were forced to put into Silley.

The 15th we departed thence, having the wind North and by East moderate and fair weather.

The 16th we were driven back again, and were constrained to arrive at new Grimsby in Silley: here the wind remained contrary 12 days, and in that space the Captain, the Master and I went about all the Islands, and the Captain did plot out and describe the situation of all the Islands, rocks and harbours to the exact use of Navigation, with lines and scale thereunto convenient.

The 28th in God's name we departed the wind being Easterly but calm.

The first of July we saw great store of Porpoises; the Master called for an harping iron, and shot twice or thrice: sometimes he missed, and at last shot one and stroke him in the side, and wound him into the ship: when we had him aboard, the Master said it was a Darlie head.

The 2nd we had some of the fish sodden, and it did eat as sweet as any mutton.

The 3rd we had more in sight, and the Master went to shoot at them, but they were so great, that they burst our irons, and we lost both fish, irons, pastime and all: yet nevertheless the Master shot at them with a pike, and had well nigh got one, but he was so strong that he burst off the bars of the pike and went away: then he took the boat-hook, and hit one with that, but all would not prevail, so at length we let them alone.

The 6th we saw a very great Whale, and every day we saw whales continually.

The 16th, 17th and 18th we saw great store of Whales.

The 19th of July we fell into a great whirling and brustling of a tide, setting to the Northwards: and sailing about half a league we came into a very calm Sea, which bent to the Southsouthwest. Here we heard a mighty great roaring of the Sea, as if it had been the breach of some shore, the air being so foggy and full of thick mist, that we could not see the one ship from the other, being a very small distance asunder: so the Captain and the Master being in distrust how the tide might set them, caused the Moonshine to hoise out her boat and to sound, but they could not find ground in 300 fathoms and better. Then the Captain, Master, and I went towards the breach, to see what it should be, giving charge to our gunners that at every glass they should shoot off a musket-shot, to the intent we might keep ourselves from losing them. Then coming near to the breach, we met many Islands of ice floating, which had quickly compassed us about: then we went upon some of them, and did perceive that all the roaring which we heard, was caused only by the rolling of this ice together: Our company seeing us not to return according to our appointment, left off shooting muskets, and began to shoot falconets, for they feared some mishap had befallen us, but before night we came aboard again with our boat laden with ice, which made very good fresh water. Then we bent our course toward the North, hopeing by that means to double the land.

The 20th as we sailed along the coast the fog broke up, and we discovered the land, which was the most deformed rocky and mountainous land that ever we saw: The first sight whereof did show as if it had been in form of a sugar-loaf, standing to our sight above the clouds, for that it did show over the fog like a white liste in the sky, the tops altogether covered with snow,and the shore beset with ice a league off into the Sea, making such irksome noise as that it seemed to be the true pattern of desolation, and after the same our Captain named it, The land of Desolation.

The 21st the wind came Northerly and overblew, so that we were constrained to bend our course South again, for we perceived that we were run into a very deep Bay, where we were almost compassed with ice, for we saw very much toward the Northnortheast, West, and Southwest : and this day and this night we cleared ourselves of the ice, running Southsouthwest along the shore.

Upon Thursday being the 22nd of this month, about three of the clock in the morning, we hoised out our boat, and the Captain with six sailors went towards the shore, thinking to find a landing place, for the night before we did perceive the coast to be void of ice to our judgement, and the same night we were all persuaded that we had seen a Canoe rowing along the shore, but afterwards we fell in some doubt of it, but we had no great reason so to do. The Captain rowing towards the shore, willed the Master to bear in with the land after him, and before he came near the shore by the space of a league, or about two miles, he found so much ice, that he could not get to land by any means. Here our mariners put to their lines to see if they could get any fish, because there were so many seals upon the coast, and the birds did beat upon the water, but all was in vain : The water about this place was very black and thick like to a filthy standing pool, we sounded and had ground in 120 fathoms. While the Captain was rowing to the shore, our men saw woods upon the rocks like to the rocks of Newfoundland, but I could not discern them, yet it might be so very well : for we had wood floating upon the coast every day, and the Moonshine took up a tree at Sea not far from the coast being sixty foot of length and fourteen handfuls about, having the root upon it : After this the Captain came aboard, the weather being very calm and fair we bent our course toward the South, with intent to double the land.

The 23rd we coasted the land which did lie Eastnortheast and Westsouthwest.

The 24th the wind being very fair at East, we coasted the land which did lie East and West, not being able to come near the shore by reason of the great quantity of ice. At this place, because the weather was somewhat cold by reason of the ice, and the better to encourage our men, their allowance was increased : the captain and the master took order that every mess, being five persons, should have half a pound of bread and a can of beer every morning to breakfast. The weather was not very cold, but the air was moderate like to our April weather in England : when the wind came from the land, or the ice, it was somewhat cold, but when it came off the sea it was very hot.

The 25th of this month we departed from sight of this land at six of the clock in the morning, directing our course to the Northwestward, hoping in God's mercy to find our desired passage, and so continued above four days.

The 29th of July we discovered land in 64 degrees 15 minutes of latitude, bearing Northeast from us. The wind being contrary to go to the Northwestwards, we bore in with this land to take some view of it, being utterly void of the pester of ice and very temperate. Coming near the coast, we found many fair sounds and good roads for shipping, and many great inlets into the land, whereby we judged this land to be a great number of Islands standing together. Here having moored our bark in good order, we went on shore upon a small Island to seek for water and wood. Upon this Island we did perceive that there had been people : for we found a small shoe and pieces of leather sowed with sinews, and a piece of fur, and wool like to Bever. Then we went upon another Island on the other side of our ships : and the Captain, the Master, and I, being got up to the top of an high rock, the people of the country having espied us, made a lamentable noise, as we thought, with great outcries and screechings : we hearing them, thought it had been the howling of wolves. At last I hallowed again, and they likewise cried. Then we perceiving where they stood, some on the shore, and one rowing in a Canoe about a small Island fast by them, we made a great noise, partly to allure them to us, and partly to warn our company of them. Whereupon M. Bruton and the Master of his ship, with others of their company, made great haste towards us, and brought our Musicians with them from our ship, purposing either by force to rescue us, if need should so require, or with courtesy to allure the people. When they came unto us, we caused our Musicians to play, ourselves dancing, and making many signs of friendship. At length there came ten Canoes from the other Islands, and two of them came so near the shore where we were, that they talked with us, the other being in their boats a pretty way off. Their pronunciation was very hollow through the throat, and their speech such as we could not understand : only we allured them by friendly embracings and signs of courtesy. At length one of them pointing up to the Sun with his hand, would presently strike his breast so hard that we might hear the blow. This he did many times before he would anyway trust us. Then John Ellis the Master of the Moonshine was appointed to use his best policy to gain their friendship ; who struck his breast, and pointed to the Sun after their order : which when he had divers times done, they began to trust him, and one of them came on shore, to whom we threw our caps, stockings and gloves, and such other things as then we had about us, playing with our music, and making signs of joy, and dancing. So the night coming, we bade them farewell, and went aboard our barks.

The next morning being the 30th of July there came 37 Canoes rowing by our ships, calling to us to come on shore : we not making any great haste unto them, one of them went up to the top of the rock, and leapt and danced as they had done the day before, showing us a seal skin, and another thing made like a timbrel, which he did beat upon with a stick, making a noise like a small drum. Whereupon we manned our boats and came to them, they all staying in their Canoes : we came to the water side where they were : and after we had sworn by the Sun after their fashion, they did trust us. So I shook hands with one of them, and he kissed my hand, and we were very familiar with them. We were in so great credit with them upon this single acquaintance, that we could have anything they had. We bought five Canoes of them : we bought their clothes from their backs, which were all made of seals' skins and birds' skins ; their buskins, their hose, their gloves, all being commonly sewed and well dressed : so that we were fully persuaded that they have divers artificers among them. We had a pair of buskins of them full of fine wool like bever. Their apparel for heat was made of birds' skins with their feathers on them. We saw among them leather dressed like Glover's leather, and thick thongs like white leather of a good length. We had of their darts and oars, and found in them that they would by no means displease us, but would give us whatsoever we asked of them, and would be satisfied with whatsoever we gave them. They took great care one of another : for when we had bought their boats, then two other would come and carry him away between them that had sold us his. They are very tractable people, void of craft or double dealing, and easy to be brought to any civility or good order : but we judge them to be idolaters and to worship the Sun.

During the time of our abode among these Islands we found reasonable quantity of wood, both fir, spruce and juniper ; which whether it came floating any great distance to these places where we found it, or whether it grew in some great Islands near the same place by us not yet discovered, we know not ; but we judge that it groweth there further into the land than we were, because the people had great store of darts and oars which they made none account of, but gave them to us for small trifles, as points and pieces of paper. We saw about this coast marvellous great abundance of seals skulling together like skulls of small fish. We found no fresh water among these Islands, but only snow water, whereof we found great pools. The cliffs were all of such ore as M. Frobisher brought from Meta incognita. We had divers shows of Study or Muscovy glass shining not altogether unlike to Crystal. We found an herb growing upon the rocks, whose fruit was sweet, full of red juice, and the ripe ones were like corinths. We found also birch and willow growing like shrubs low to the ground. These people have great store of furs as we judge. They made shows unto us the 30th of this present, which was the second time of our being with them, after they perceived we would have skins and furs, that they would go into the country and come again the next day with such things as they had : but this night the wind coming fair, the captain and the master would by no means detract the purpose of our discovery. And so the last of this month about four of the clock in the morning in God's name we set sail, and were all that day becalmed upon the coast.

The first of August we had a fair wind, and so proceeded towards the Northwest for our discovery.

The sixth of August we discovered land in 66 degrees 40 minutes of latitude, altogether void from the pester of ice : we anchored in a very fair road under a brave mount, the cliffs whereof were as orient as gold. This mount was named Mount Raleigh. The road where our ships lay at anchor was called Totnes road. The sound which did compass the mount was named Exeter sound. The foreland towards the North was called Diers cape. The foreland towards the South was named Cape Walsingham. So soon as we were come to an anchor in Totnes road under Mount Raleigh, we espied four white bears at the foot of the mount : we supposing them to be goats or wolves, manned our boats and went towards them : but when we came near the shore, we found them to be white bears of a monstrous bigness : we being desirous of fresh victual and the sport, began to assault them, and I being on land, one of them came down the hill right against me : my piece was charged with hailshot and a bullet : I discharged my piece and shot him in the neck ; he roared a little, and took the water straight, making small account of his hurt. Then we followed him with our boat, and killed him with boar-spears, and two more that night. We found nothing in their maws; but we judged by their dung that they fed upon grass, because it appeared in all respects like the dung of a horse, wherein we might very plainly see the very straws.

The 7th we went on shore to another bear which lay all night upon the top of an Island under Mount Raleigh, and when we came up to him he lay fast asleep. I levelled at his head, and the stone of my piece gave no fire: with that he looked up, and laid down his head again: then I shot being charged with two bullets, and struck him in the head: he being but amazed fell backwards: whereupon we ran all upon him with boar-spears, and thrust him in the body: yet for all that he gripped away our boar-spears, and went towards the water; and as he was going down, he came back again. Then our Master shot his boar-spear, and stroke him in the head, and made him to take the water, and swim into a cove fast by, where we killed him, and brought him aboard. The breadth of his forefoot from one side to the other was fourteen inches over. They were very fat, so as we were constrained to cast the fat away. We saw a raven upon Mount Raleigh. We found withies also growing like low shrubs and flowers like Primroses in the said place. The coast is very mountainous, altogether without wood, grass, or earth, and is only huge mountains of stone; but the bravest stone that ever we saw. The air was very moderate in this country.

The 8th we departed from Mount Raleigh, coasting along the shore, which lieth Southsouthwest, and Eastnortheast.

The 9th our men fell in dislike of their allowance, because it was too small as they thought: whereupon we made a new proportion; every mess being five to a mess should have four pound of bread a day, twelve wine quarts of beer, six Newland fishes; and the flesh days a gill of peas more: so we restrained them from their butter and cheese.

The 11th we came to the most Southerly cape of this land, which we named The Cape of God's Mercy, as being the place of our first entrance for the discovery. The weather being very foggy we coasted this North land; at length when it broke up, we perceived that we were shot into a very fair entrance or passage, being in some places twenty leagues broad, and in some thirty, altogether void of any pester of ice, the weather very tolerable, and the water of the very colour, nature and quality of the main ocean, which gave us the greater hope of our passage. Having sailed Northwest sixty leagues in this entrance we discovered certain Islands standing in the midst thereof, having open passage on both sides. Whereupon our ships divided themselves, the one sailing on the North side, the other on the South side of the said Isles, where we stayed five days, having the wind at Southeast, very foggy and foul weather.

The 14th we went on shore and found signs of people, for we found stones laid up together like a wall, and saw the skull of a man or a woman.

The 15th we heard dogs howl on the shore, which we thought had been wolves, and therefore we went on shore to kill them. When we came on land the dogs came presently to our boat very gently, yet we thought they came to prey upon us, and therefore we shot at them, and killed two: and about the neck of one of them we found a leather collar, whereupon we thought them to be tame dogs. There were twenty dogs like mastiffs with pricked ears and long bush tails: we found a bone in the pizels of their dogs. Then we went farther, and found two sleds made like ours in England: the one was made of fir, spruce and oaken boards sawn like inch boards: the other was made all of whale bone, and there hung on the tops of the sleds three heads of beasts which they had killed. We saw here larks, ravens, and partridges.

The 17th we went on shore, and in a little thing made like an oven with stones I found many small trifles, as a small canoe made of wood, a piece of wood made like an image, a bird made of bone, beads having small holes in one end of them to hang about their necks, and other small things. The coast was very barren without wood or grass : the rocks were very fair like marble, full of veins of divers colours. We found a seal which was killed not long before, being flean, and hid under stones.

Our Captain and Master searched still for probabilities of the passage, and first found, that this place was all Islands, with great sounds passing between them.

Secondly, the water remained of one colour with the main ocean without altering.

Thirdly, we saw to the West of those Isles three or four whales in a skull, which they judged to come from a Westerly sea, because to the Eastward we saw not any whale.

Also as we were rowing into a very great sound lying Southwest, from whence these whales came, upon the sudden there came a violent counter-check of a tide from the Southwest against the flood which we came with, not knowing from whence it was maintained.

Fifthly, in sailing twenty leagues within the mouth of this entramce we had sounding in 90 fathoms, fair grey osie sand, and the further we ran into the Westwards the deeper was the water ; so that hard aboard the shore among these Isles we could not have ground in 330 fathoms.

Lastly, it did ebb and flow six or seven fathoms up and down, the flood coming from divers parts, so as we could not perceive the chief maintenance thereof.

The 18th and 19th our Captain and Master determined what was best to do, both for the safeguard of their credits, and satisfying of the adventurers, and resolved, if the weather broke up, to make further search.

The 20th the wind came directly against us : so they altered their purpose, and reasoned both for proceeding and returning.

The 21st the wind being Northwest, we departed from these Islands ; and as we coasted the South shore we saw many fair sounds, whereby we were persuaded that it was no firm land but Islands.

The 23rd of this month the wind came Southeast, with very stormy and foul weather ; so we were constrained to seek harbour upon the South coast of this entrance, where we fell into a very fair sound, and anchored in 25 fathoms green osie sand. Here we went on shore, where we had manifest signs of people where they had made their fire, and laid stones like a wall. In this place we saw four very fair falcons ; and M. Bruton took from one of them his prey, which we judged by the wings and legs to be a snite, for the head was eaten off.

The 24th in the afternoon, the wind coming somewhat fair, we departed from this road, purposing by God's grace to return for England.

The 26th we departed from sight of the North land of this entrance, directing our course homewards until the tenth of the next month.

The 10th of September we fell with The land of desolation, thinking to go on shore, but we could get never a good harbour. That night we put to sea again thinking to search it the next day : but this night arose a very great storm, and separated our ships, so that we lost the sight of the Moonshine.

The 13th about noon (having tried all the night before with a goose wing) we set sail, and within two hours after we had sight of the Moonshine again : this day we departed from this land.

The 27th of this month we fell with sight of England. This night we had a marvellous storm and lost the Moonshine.

The 30th of September we came into Dartmouth, where we found the Moonshine being come in not two hours before.

HUDSON

The account of Hudson's last voyage exists in the form of a confession (though he calls it a discourse) by Abacuk Prickett one of the deserters who returned after abandoning the master to his death. An abstract of Hudson's own journal was brought back, but it is very short and incomplete. The route of the voyage can be traced through Hudson's Straits to Hudson Bay, and the site of the marooning located near Cape Digg's Island.

Prickett's discourse has grave defects as a geographical record, but is of enormous interest as a story. How much of truth there is in it, outside the large essential facts, cannot now be judged. It is primarily an apology, and was so greeted and distrusted by contemporaries such as Purchas and Luke Fox.

The version here used is taken from the Hakluyt Society's Henry Hudson, *edited by G. M. Asher*, 1870.

HUDSON

We began our voyage for the north-west passage, the seventeenth of April, 1610. Thwart of Shepey, our master sent Master Colbert back to the owners with his letter. The next day we weighed from hence and stood for Harwich, and came thither the eighth and twentieth of April. From Harwich we set sail the first of May, along the coast to the north, till we came to the isles of Orkney, from thence to the isles of Faro, and from thence to Iceland: on which we fell in a fog, hearing the rut of the sea ashore, but saw not the land whereupon our master came to an anchor. Here we were embayed in the south-east part of the land. We weighed and stood along the coast, on the west side towards the north : but one day being calm, we fell a fishing, and caught good store of fish, as cod, and ling and butt, with some other sorts that we knew not. The next day we had a good gale of wind at south-west, and raised the isles of Westmonie, where the King of Denmark hath a fortress, by which we passed to raise the Snow Hill foot, a mountain so called on the north-west part of the land. But in our course we saw that famous hill, Mount Hecla, which cast out much fire, a sign of foul weather to come in short time. We leave Iceland astern of us, and met a main of ice, which did hang on the north part of Iceland, and stretched down to the west, which when our master saw, he stood back for Iceland to find an harbour, which we did on the north-west part, called Derefer, where we killed good store of fowl. From hence we put to sea again, but neither wind nor weather serving, our master stood back for this harbour again, but could not reach it, but fell with another to the south of that, called by our Englishmen Lousie Bay : where on the shore we found a hot bath, and here all our Englishmen bathed themselves : the water was so hot that it would scald a fowl.

From hence, the first of June, we put to sea for Greenland, but to the west we saw land as we thought, for which we bear the best part of a day, but it proved but a foggy bank. So we gave it over and made for Froneland, which we raised the fourth of June. Upon the coast thereof hung good store of ice, so that our master could not attain to the shore by any means. The land in this part is very mountainous, and full of round hills, like to sugar-loaves, covered with snow. We turned the land on the south side, as near as the ice would suffer us. Our course for the most part was between the west and north-west, till we raised the Desolations, which is a great island in the west part of Greenland. On this coast we saw store of whales, and at one time three of them came close by us, so as we could hardly shun them : then two passing very near, and the third going under our ship, we received no harm by them, praised be God.

From the Desolations our master made his way north-west, the wind being against him, who else would have gone more to the north : but in this course we saw the first great island or mountain of ice, whereof after we saw store. About the latter end of June, we raised land to the north of us, which our master took to be that island which Master Davis setteth down in his chart. On the west side of his strait, our master would have gone to the north of it, but the wind would not suffer him : so we fell to the south of it, into a great rippling or overfall of current, the which setteth to the west. Into the current we went, and made our way to the north of the west, till we met with ice which hung on this island. Wherefore our master casting about, cleared himself of this ice, and stood to the south, and then to the west, through store of floating ice, and upon the ice store of seals. We gained a clear sea, and continued our course till we meet ice ; first, with great islands, and then with store of the smaller sort. Between them we made our course north-west, till we met with ice again. But, in this our going between the ice, we saw one of the great islands of ice overturn, which was a good warning to us, not to come near them nor within their reach. Into the ice we put ahead, as between two lands. The next day we had a storm, and the wind brought the ice so fast upon us, that in the end we were driven to put her into the chiefest of the ice, and there to let her lie. Some of our men this day fell sick, I will not say it was for fear, although I saw small sign of other grief.

The storm ceasing, we stood out of the ice, where we saw any clear sea to go to : which was sometime more and sometime less. Our course was as the ice did lie, sometime to the north, then to the north-west, and then to the west and to the south-west : but still enclosed with ice. Which when our master saw, he made his course to the south, thinking to clear himself of the ice that way : but the more he strove the worse he was, and the more enclosed, till we could go no further. Here our master was in despair, and (as he told me after) he thought he should never have got out of this ice, but there have perished. Therefore he brought forth his card, and showed all the company, that he was entered above a hundred leagues further than ever any English was : and left it to their choice, whether they would proceed any further ; yea, or nay. Whereupon some were of one mind and some of another, some wishing themselves at home and some not caring where, so they were out of the ice : but there were some who then spake words, which were remembered a great while after.

There was one who told the master, that if he had an hundred pounds, he would give four-score and ten to be at home : but the carpenter made answer, that if he had a hundred, he would not give ten upon such condition, but would think it to be as good money as ever he had any, and to bring it as well home, by the leave of God. After many words to no purpose, to work we must on all hands, to get ourselves out and to clear our ship. After much labour and time spent, we gained room to turn our ship in, and so by little and little, to get clear in the sea a league or so off, our course being north and north-west.

In the end we raised land to the south-west, high land and covered with snow. Our master named this land, Desire Provokes. Lying here, we heard the noise of a great overfall of a tide, that came out of the land : for now we might see well that we had been embayed before, and time had made us know, being so well acquainted with the ice, that when night, or fog or foul weather took us, we would seek out the broadest island of ice and there come to anchor, and run, and sport, and fill water that stood on the ice in ponds, both sweet and good. But after we had brought this land to bear south of us, we had the tide and the current to open the ice, as being carried first one way and then another : but in bays they lay as in a pond without moving. In this bay where we were thus troubled with ice, we saw many of those mountains of ice aground, in six or seven score fathom water. In this our course we saw a bear upon a piece of ice by itself, to the which our men gave chase with their boat : but before they came nigh her, the tide had carried the ice and the bear on it, and joined it with the other ice : so they lost their labour, and came aboard again.

We continued our course to the north-west, and raised land to the north of our course, toward which we made, and coming nigh it, there hung on the easternmost point many islands of floating ice, and a bear on one of them, which from one to another came towards us, till she was ready to come aboard. But when she saw us look at her, she cast her head between her hind legs, and then dived under the ice : and so from one piece to another, till she was out of our reach. We stood along by the land on the south side ahead of us ; we met with ice that hung on a point of land that lay to the south, more then this that we came up by : which when our master saw, he stood in for the shore. At the west end of this island (for so it is) we found an harbour, and came in (at a full sea) over a rock, which had two fathoms and a half on it, and was so much bare at a low water. But by the great mercy of God, we came to an anchor clear of it : and close by it our master named them the Isles of God's Mercy. This is an harbour for need, but there must be care had how they came in. Here our master sent me, and others with me, to discover to the north and north-west : and in going from one place to another, we sprung a covey of partridges which were young : at the which Thomas Woodhouse shot, but killed only the old one.

This island is a most barren place, having nothing on it but plashes of water and riven rocks, as it were subject to earthquakes. To the north there is a great bay or sea (for I know not what it will prove), where I saw a great island of ice aground, between the two lands which with the spring-tide was set afloat, and carried into this bay or sea to the north-westward, but came not back again, nor within sight. Here we took in some drift wood that we found ashore.

From hence we stood to the south-west, to double the land to the west of us, through much floating ice : in the end we found a clear sea, and continued therein, till we raised land to the north-west. Then our master made his course more to the south than before, but it was not long ere we met with ice which lay ahead of us. Our master would have doubled this ice to the north, but could not ; and in the end put into it down to the south-west through much ice, and then to the south, where we embayed again. Our master strove to get the shore, but could not, for the great store of ice that was on the coast. From out of this bay we stood to the north, and were soon out of the ice : then down to the south-west, and so to the west, where we were enclosed (to our sight) with land and ice. For we had land from the south to the north-west on one side, and from the east to the west on the other ; but the land that was to the north of us and lay by east and west, was but an island. On we went till we could go no further for ice : so we made our ship fast to the ice which the tide brought upon us, but when the ebb came, the ice did open, and made way ; so as in seven or eight hours we were clear from the ice, till we came to weather ; but only some of the great islands, that were carried along with us to the north-west.

Having a clear sea, our master stood to the west along by the south shore, and raised three capes or head-lands lying one above another. The middlemost is an island, and maketh a bay or harbour, which (I take) will prove a good one. Our master named them Prince Henry's Cape or Foreland. When we had laid this we raised another, which was the extreme point of the land looking towards the north : upon it are two hills, but one (above the rest) like an haycock, which our master named King James's Cape. To the north of this lie certain islands, which our master named Queen Anne's Cape or Foreland. We followed the north shore still. Beyond the King's Cape there is a sound or bay, that hath some islands in it : and this is not to be forgotten, if need be. Beyond this lieth some broken land, close to the main, but what it is I know not, because we passed by it in the night.

We stood to the north to double this land, and after to the west again, till we fell with land that stretched from the main, like a shewer from the south to the north, and from the north to the west, and then down to the south again. Being short of this land a storm took us, the wind at west : we stood to the north and raised land, which when our master saw he stood to the south again, for he was loath at any time that we should see the north shore. The storm continuing, and coming to the south shore again, our master found himself shot to the west a great way, which made him muse, considering his leeward way. To the south-west of this land, on the main, there is an high hill, which our master named Mount Charles. To the north and beyond this lieth an island, that to the east had a fair head, and beyond it to the west other broken land, which maketh a bay within, and a good road may be found there for ships. Our master named the first Cape Salisbury.

When we had left this to the north-east, we fell into a rippling or overfall of a current, which at the first we took to be a shoal : but the lead being cast, we had no ground. On we passed, still in sight of the south shore, till we raised land lying from the main some two leagues. Our master took this to be a part of the main of the north land ; but it is an island, the north side stretching out to the west more than the south. This island had a fair head to the east, and very high land, which our master named Deepes Cape : and the land on the south side, now falling away to the south, makes another cape or headland, which our master named Worsenhams Cape. When we were nigh the North or Island Cape, our master sent the boat ashore, with myself (who had the charge) and the carpenter, and divers others, to discover to the west and north-west, and to the south-west ; but we had further to it then we thought, for the land is very high, and we were overtaken with a storm of rain, thunder and lightning. But to it we came on the north-east side, and up we got from one rock to another, till we came to the highest of that part. Here we found some plain ground, and saw some deer ; at first, four or five, and after, a dozen or sixteen in a herd, but could not come nigh them with a musket shot.

Thus, going from one place to another, we saw to the west of us a high hill above all the rest, it being nigh us ; but it proved further off when we made account ; for, when we came to it, the land was steep on the east and north-east parts that we could not get unto it. To the south-west we saw that we might, and towards that part we went along by the side of a great pond of water, which lieth under the east side of this hill : and there runneth out of it a stream of water as much as would drive an overshot mill ; which falleth down from an high cliff into the sea on the south side. In this place great store of fowl breed, and there is the best grass that I had seen since we came from England. Here we found sorrel, and that which we call scurvy-grass in great abundance. Passing along we saw some round hill of stone, like to grass cocks, which at the first I took to be the work of some Christian. We passed by them, till we came to the south side of the hill ;

we went into them and there found more ; and being nigh them I turned off the uppermost stone, and found them hollow within and full of fowls hanged by their necks. Then Greene and I went to fetch the boat to the south-side, while Robert Bylot and he got down a valley to the sea side, where we took them in.

Our master (in this time) came in between the two lands, and shot off some pieces to call us aboard ; for it was a fog. We came aboard and told him what we had seen, and persuaded him to stay a day or two in this place, telling him what refreshing might there be had : but by no means would he stay, who was not pleased with the motion. So we left the fowl, and lost our way down to the south-west, before they went in sight of the land which now bears to the east from us, being the same mainland that we had all this while followed. Now we had lost the sight of it, because it falleth away to the east after some five and twenty or thirty leagues. Now we came to the shallow water, wherewith we were not acquainted since we came from Iceland ; now we came into broken ground and rocks, through which we passed down to the south. In this our course we had a storm, and the water did shoal apace. Our master came to an anchor in fifteen fathoms water.

We weighed and stood to the south-east, because the land in this place did lie so. When we came to the point of the west land (for we now had land on both sides of us), we came to an anchor. Our master sent the boat ashore to see what that land was, and whether there were any way through. They soon returned, and showed that beyond the point of land to the south there was a large sea. This land on the west side was a very narrow point. We weighed from hence and stood in for this sea between the two lands, which (in this place) is not two leagues broad down to the south, for a great way in sight of the east shore. In the end we lost sight thereof, and saw it not till we came to the bottom of the bay, into six or seven fathoms water. Hence we stood up to the north by the west shore, till we came to an island in 53, where we took in water and ballast.

From hence we passed towards the north : but some two or three days after (reasoning concerning our coming into this bay and going out) our master took occasion to revive old matters, and to displace Robert Juet from being his mate, and the boatswain from his place, for the words spoken in the first great bay of ice. Then he made Robert Bylot his mate, and William Wilson our boatswain. Up to the north we stood till we raised land, then down to the south, and up to the north, then down again to the south, and on Michaelmas Day came in and went out of certain lands, which our master sets down by the name of Michaelmas Bay, because we came in and went out on that day. From hence we stood to the north, and came into shoal water ; and the weather being thick and foul, we came to an anchor in seven or eight fathom water, and there lay eight days : in all which time we could not get one hour to weigh our anchor. But the eighth day, the wind beginning to cease, our master would have the anchor up, against the mind of all who knew what belonged thereunto. Well, to it we went, and when we had brought it to a peak, a sea took her, and cast us all off from the capstan and hurt divers of us. Here we lost our anchor, and if the carpenter had not been [quick?], we had lost our cable too ; but he (fearing such a matter) was ready with his axe, and so cut it.

From hence we stood to the south and to the south-west, through a clear sea of divers sounding, and came to a sea of two colours, one black and the other white, sixteen or seventeen fathom water, between which we went four or five leagues. But the night coming we took in our top-sails, and stood afore the wind with our main-sail and fore-sail, and came into five or six fathoms, and saw no land, for it was dark. Then we stood to the east and had deep water again, then to the south and south-west, and so came to our westermost bay of all, and came to an anchor nearest to the north shore. Out went our boat to the land that was next us ; when they came near it our boat could not float to the shore it was so shallow : yet ashore they got. Here our men saw the footing of a man and a duck in the snowy rocks, and wood good store, whereof they took some and returned aboard. Being at anchor in this place, we saw a ledge of rocks to the south of us, some league of length ; it lay north and south, covered at a full sea ; for a strong tide setteth in here. At midnight we weighed, and stood to go out as we came in ; and had not gone long, but the carpenter came and told the master, that if he kept that course he would be upon the rocks : the master conceived that he was past them, when presently we ran on them, and there stuck fast twelve hours ; but (by the mercy of God) we got off unhurt, though not unscarred.

We stood up to the east and raised three hills, lying north and south : we went to the furthermost, and left it to the north of us, and so into a bay, where we came to an anchor. Here our master sent out our boat, with myself and the carpenter to seek a place to winter in ; and it was time, for the nights were long and cold, and the earth covered with snow. Having spent three months in a labyrinth without end, being now the last of October, we went down to the east, to the bottom of the bay ; but returned without speeding of that we went for. The next day we went to the south and the south-west, and found a place, whereunto we brought our ship, and haled her aground : and this was the first of November. By the tenth thereof we were frozen in : but now we were in, it behoved us to have care of what we had ; for that we were sure of, but what we had not was uncertain.

We were victualled for six months in good proportion, and of that which was good : if our master would have had more, he might have had it at home and in other places. Here we were now, and therefore it behoved us so to spend, that we might have (when time came) to bring us to the capes where the fowl bred, for that was all the hope we had to bring us home. Wherefore our master took order, first for the spending of that we had, and then to increase it, by propounding a reward to them that killed either beast, fish, or fowl, as in his journal you have seen. About the middle of this month of November, died John Williams, our gunner: God pardon the master's uncharitable dealing with this man. Now for that I am come to speak of him, out of whose ashes (as it were) that unhappy deed grew which brought a scandal upon all that are returned home, and upon the action itself, the multitude (like the dog) running after the stone, but not at the caster: therefore, not to wrong the living nor slander the dead, I will (by the leave of God) deliver the truth as near as I can.

You shall understand that our master kept (in his house at London) a young man, named Henry Greene, born in Kent, of worshipful parents, but by his lewd life and conversation he had lost the good will of all his friends, and had spent all that he had. This man our master would have to sea with him, because he could write well: our master gave him meat, and drink, and lodging, and by means of one Master Venson, with much ado got four pounds of his mother to buy him clothes, wherewith Master Venson would not trust him: but saw it laid out himself. This Henry Greene was not set down in the owner's book, nor any wages made for him. He came first aboard at Gravesend, and at Harwich should have gone into the field, with one Wilkinson. At Iceland the surgeon and he fell out in Dutch, and he beat him ashore in English, which set all the company in a rage; so that we had much ado to get the surgeon aboard. I told the master of it, but he bade me let it alone, for (said he) the surgeon had a tongue that would wrong the best friend he had. But Robert Juet (the master's mate) would needs burn his finger in the embers, and told the carpenter a long tale (when he was drunk) that our master had brought in Greene to crack his credit that should displease him: which words came to the masters ears, who when he understood it, would have gone back to Iceland, when he was forty leagues from thence, to have sent home his mate Robert Juet in a fisherman. But, being otherwise persuaded, all was well. So Henry Greene stood upright, and very inward with the master, and was a serviceable man every way for manhood : but for religion he would say, he was clean paper whereon he might write what he would. Now, when our gunner was dead, and (as the order is in such cases) if the company stand in need of anything that belonged to the man deceased, then is it brought to the main mast, and there sold to them that will give most for the same. This gunner had a grey cloth gown, which Greene prayed the master to friend him so much as to let him have it, paying for it as another would give : the master sayeth he should, and thereupon he answered some, that sought to have it, that Greene should have it, and none else, and so it rested.

Now out of season and time the master calleth the carpenter to go in hand with an house on shore, which at the beginning our master would not hear, when it might have been done. The carpenter told him, that the snow and frost were such, as he neither could nor would go in hand with such work. Which when our master heard, he ferreted him out of his cabin to strike him, calling him by many foul names, and threatening to hang him. The carpenter told him that he knew what belonged to his place better than himself, and that he was no house carpenter. So this passed, and the house was (after) made with much labour, but to no end. The next day after the master and the carpenter fell out, the carpenter took his piece and Henry Greene with him, for it was an order that none should go out alone, but one with a piece, and another with a pike. This did move the master so much the more against Henry Greene, that Robert Bylot his mate must have the gown, and had it delivered unto him ; which when Henry Greene saw, he challenged the master's promise : but the master did so rail on Greene, with so many words of disgrace, telling him, that all his friends would not trust him with twenty shillings, and therefore why should he. As for wages he had none, nor none should have, if he did not please him well. Yet the master had promised him to make his wages as good as any man's in the ship; and to have him one of the prince's guard when we came home. But you shall see how the devil out of this so wrought with Greene, that he did the master what mischief he could in seeking to discredit him, and to thrust him and many other honest men out of the ship in the end. To speak of all our trouble in this time of winter (which was so cold, as it lamed the most of our company, and myself do yet feel it) would be too tedious.

But I must not forget to show how mercifully God dealt with us in this time; for the space of three months we had such store of fowl of one kind (which were partridges as white as milk) that we killed above an hundred dozen, besides others of sundry sorts: for all was fish that came to the net. The spring coming this fowl left us, yet they were with us all the extreme cold. Then in their places came divers sort of other fowl, as swan, geese, duck, and teal, but hard to come by. Our master hoped they would have bred in those broken grounds, but they do not; but came from the south, and flew to the north, further then we were this voyage; yet if they be taken short with the wind at north, or north-west, or north-east, then they fall and stay till the wind serve them, and then fly to the north. Now in time these fowls are gone, and few or none to be seen. Then we went into the woods, hills, and valleys, for all things that had any show of substance in them, how vile soever: the moss of the ground, than the which I take the powder of a post to be much better, and the frog (in his engendering time as loathsome as a toad) was not spared. But amongst the divers sorts of buds, it pleased God that Thomas Woodhouse brought home a bud of a tree full of a turpentine substance. Of this our surgeon made a decoction to drink, and applied the buds hot to them that were troubled with ache in any part of their bodies; and for my part I confess, I received great and present ease of my pain.

About this time, when the ice began to break out of the bays, there came a savage to our ship, as it were to see and to be seen, being the first that we had seen in all this time: whom our master treated well, and made much of him, promising unto himself great matters by his means, and therefore would have all the knives and hatchets (which any man had) to his private use, but received none but from John King the carpenter, and myself. To this savage our master gave a knife, a looking-glass, and buttons, who received them thankfully, and made signs that after he had slept he would come again, which he did. When he came he brought with him a sled, which he drew after him, and upon it two deers' skins and two beaver skins. He had a scrip under his arm, out of which he drew those things which the master had given him. He took the knife and laid it upon one of the beaver skins, and his glasses and buttons upon the other, and so gave them to the master, who received them; and the savage took those things which the master had given him, and put them up into his scrip again. Then the master showed him an hatchet, for which he would have given the master one of his deer skins, but our master would have them both, and so he had, although not willingly. After many signs of people to the north and to the south, and that after so many sleeps he would come again, he went his way, but never came more.

Now the ice being out of the sounds, so that our boat might go from one place unto another, a company of men were appointed by the master to go a fishing with our net; their names were as followeth: William Wilson, Henry Greene, Michael Perce, John Thomas, Andrew Moter, Bennet Mathewes, and Arnold Lodlo. These men, the first day they went, caught five hundred fish, as big as good herrings, and some trouts: which put us all in some hope to have our wants supplied, and our commons amended: but these were the most that ever they got in one day, for many days they got not a quarter so many. In this time of their fishing, Henry Greene and William Wilson, with some others, plotted to take the net and the shallop, which the carpenter had now set up, and so to shift for themselves. But the shallop being ready, our master would go in it himself to the south and south-west, to see if he could meet with the people ; for to that end was it set up, and (that way) we might see the woods set on fire by them. So the master took the seine and the shallop, and so much victual as would serve for eight or nine days, and to the south he went. They that remained aboard were to take in water, wood, and ballast, and to have all things in a readiness against he came back. But he set no time of his return, for he was persuaded, if he could meet with the people, he should have flesh of them, and that good store : but he returned worse than he went forth. For he could by no means meet with the people, although they were near them, yet they would set the woods on fire in his sight.

Being returned, he fitted all things for his return, and first, delivered all the bread out of the bread room (which came to a pound apiece for every man's share) and delivered also a bill of return, willing them to have that to show, if it pleased God that they came home : and he wept when he gave it unto them. But to help us in this poor estate with some relief, the boat and seine went to work on Friday morning, and stayed till Sunday noon : at which time they came aboard, and brought fourscore small fish, a poor relief for so many hungry bellies. Then we weighed and stood out of our wintering place, and came to an anchor without, in the mouth of the bay : from whence we weighed and came to an anchor without in the sea, where our bread being gone, that store of cheese we had was to stop a gap, whereof there were five, whereat the company grudged, because they made account of nine. But those that were left were equally divided by the master, although he had counsel to the contrary : for there were some who having it, would make haste to be rid thereof, because they could not govern it. I knew when Henry Greene gave half his bread, which he had for fourteen days, to one to keep, and prayed him not to let him have any until the next Monday : but before Wednesday at night he never left till he had it again, having eaten up his first week's bread before. So Wilson the boatswain hath eaten (in one day) his fortnight's bread, and hath been two or three days sick for his labour. The cause that moved the master to deliver all the cheese, was because they were not all of one goodness, and therefore they should see that they had no wrong done them : but every man should have alike the best and the worst together, which was three pounds and a half for seven days.

The wind serving, we weighed and stood to the north-west, and on Monday at night (the eighteenth day of June) we fell into the ice, and the next day, the wind being at west, we lay there till Sunday in sight of land. Now being here, the master told Nicholas Simmes that there would be a breaking up of chests and a search for bread, and willed him, if he had any, to bring it to him, which he did, and delivered to the master thirty cakes in a bag. This deed of the master (if it be true) hath made me marvel what should be the reason that he did not stop the breach in the beginning, but let it grow to that height, as that it overthrew himself and many other honest men : but "there are many devices in the heares of man, but the counsel of the Lord shall stand."

Being thus in the ice on Saturday, the one and twentieth of June, at night, Wilson the boatswain, and Henry Greene, came to me lying (in my cabin) lame, and told me that they and the rest of their associates would shift the company, and turn the master and all the sick men into the shallop, and let them shift for themselves. For there was not fourteen days' victual left for all the company, at that poor allowance they were at, and that there they lay, the master not caring to go one way or other : and that they had not eaten anything these three days, and therefore were resolute, either to mend or end, and what they had begun they would go through with it, or die. When I heard this, I told them I marvelled to hear so much from them, considering that they were married men, and had wives and children, and that for their sakes they should not commit so foul a thing in the sight of God and man as that would be; for why should they banish themselves from their native country? Henry Greene bade me hold my peace, for he knew the worst, which was, to be hanged when he came home, and therefore of the two he would rather be hanged at home than starved abroad: and for the good will they bare me, they would have me stay in the ship. I gave them thanks, and told them that I came into her, not to forsake her, yet not to hurt myself and others by any such deed. Henry Greene told me then, that I must take my fortune in the shallop. If there be no remedy (said I) the will of God be done.

Away went Henry Greene in a rage, swearing to cut his throat that went about to disturb them, and left Wilson by me, with whom I had some talk, but to no good: for he was so persuaded, that there was no remedy now but to go on while it was hot, lest their party should fail them, and the mischief they had intended to others should light on themselves. Henry Greene came again, and demanded of him what I said. Wilson answered: He is in his old song, still patient. Then I spake to Henry Greene to stay three days, in which time I would so deal with the master that all should be well. So I dealt with him to forbear but two days, nay twelve hours; there is no way then (say they) but out of hand. Then I told them, that if they would stay till Monday, I would join with them to share all the victuals in the ship, and would justify it when I came home; but this would not serve their turns. Wherefore I told them, it was some worse matter they had in hand than they made show of, and that it was blood and revenge he sought, or else he would not at such a time of night undertake such a deed. Henry Greene (with that) taketh my Bible which lay before me, and sware that he would do no man harm, and what he did was for the good of the voyage, and for nothing else; and that all the rest should do the like. The like did Wilson swear.

Henry Greene went his way, and presently came Juet who, because he was an ancient man, I hoped to have found some reason in him ; but he was worse than Henry Greene, for he sware plainly that he would justify this deed when he came home. After him came John Thomas and Michael Perce as birds of one feather ; but because they are not living, I will let them go, as then I did. Then came Moter and Bennet, of whom I demanded, if they were well advised what they had taken in hand. They answered, they were, and therefore came to take their oath.

Now, because I am much condemned for this oath, as one of them that plotted with them, and that by an oath I should bind them together to perform what they had begun, I thought good here to set down to the view of all, how well their oath and deeds agreed : and thus it was : " You shall swear truth to God, your prince and country you shall do nothing, but to the glory of God and the good of the action in hand, and harm to no man." This was the oath, without adding or diminishing. I looked for more of these companions (although these were too many) but there came no more. It was dark, and they in a readiness to put this deed of darkness in execution. I called to Henry Greene and Wilson, and prayed them not to go in hand with it in the dark, but to stay till the morning. Now, every man (I hope) would go to his rest, but wickedness sleepeth not : for Henry Greene keepeth the master company all night (and gave me bread, which his cabin-mate gave him) and others are as watchful as he. Then I asked Henry Greene, whom he would put out with the master ? he said, the carpenter John King, and the sick men. I said they should not do well to part with the carpenter, what need soever they should have. Why the carpenter was in no more regard amongst them was, first, for that he and John King were condemned for wrong done in the victual. But the chiefest cause was for that the master loved him and made him his mate, upon his return out of our wintering place, thereby displacing Robert Bylot, whereat they did grudge, because he could neither write nor read. And therefore (said they) the master and his ignorant mate would carry the ship whither the master pleased : the master forbidding any man to keep account or reckoning, having taken from all men whatsoever served for that purpose. Well, I obtained of Henry Greene and Wilson that the carpenter should stay, by whose means I hoped (after they had satisfied themselves) that the master and the poor man might be taken into the ship again. Or, I hoped, that some one or other would give some notice, either to the carpenter John King or the master ; for so it might have come to pass by some of them that were the most forward.

Now, it shall not be amiss to show how we were lodged, and to begin in the cook-room ; there lay Bennet and the cooper lame ; without the cook-room, on the steerboard side, lay Thomas Wydhouse sick ; next to him lay Sydrack Funer lame ; then the surgeon, and John Hudson with him ; next to them lay Wilson the boatswain, and then Arnold Lodlo next to him : in the gun-room lay Robert Juet and John Thomas ; on the larboard side lay Michael Bute and Adria Moore, who had never been well since we lost our anchor ; next to them lay Michael Perce and Andrew Moter. Next to them, without the gun-room, lay John King, and with him Robert Bylot : next to them myself, and next to me Francis Clements. In the midship, between the capstan and the pumps, lay Henry Greene and Nicholas Simmes. This night John King was late up, and they thought he had been with the master, but he was with the carpenter, who lay on the poop, and coming down from him was met by his cabin-mate, as it were by chance, and so they came to their cabin together. It was not long ere it was day : then came Bennet for water for the kettle, he rose and went into the hold : when he was in they shut the hatch on him (but who kept it down I know not), up upon the deck went Bennet.

In the meantime Henry Greene and another went to the carpenter, and held him with a talk till the master came out of his cabin (which he soon did) ; then came John Thomas and Bennet before him, while Wilson bound his arms behind him. He asked them what they meant? they told him he should know when he was in the shallop. Now Juet, while this was a doing, came to John King into the hold, who was provided for him, for he had got a sword of his own, and kept him at bay, and might have killed him, but others came to help him: and so he came up to the master. The master called to the carpenter and told him that he was bound, but I heard no answer he made. Now Arnold Lodlo and Michael Bute railed at them, and told them their knavery would show itself. Then was the shallop haled up to the ship side, and the poor, sick, and lame men were called upon to get them out of their cabins into the shallop. The master called to me, who came out of my cabin as well as I could, to the hatchway to speak with him: where, on my knees I besought them, for the love of God, to remember themselves, and to do as they would be done unto. They bade me keep myself well, and get me into my cabin; not suffering the master to speak with me. But when I came into my cabin again, he called to me at the horn which gave light into my cabin, and told me that Juet would overthrow us all; nay (said I) it is that villain Henry Greene, and I spoke it not softly.

Now was the carpenter at liberty, who asked them if they would be hanged when they came home: and as for himself, he said, he would not stay in the ship unless they would force him: they bade him go then, for they would not stay him. I will (said he) so I may have my chest with me, and all that is in it: they said he should, and presently they put it into the shallop. Then he came down to me to take his leave of me, who persuaded him to stay, which if he did, he might so work that all should be well: he said, he did not think but they would be glad to take them in again. For he was so persuaded by the master, that there was not one in all the ship that could tell how to carry her home; but (saith he) if we must part (which we will not willingly do, for they would follow the ship) he prayed me, if we came to the Capes before them, that I would leave some token that we had been there, near to the place where the fowls bred, and he would do the like for us : and so (with tears) we parted. Now were the sick men driven out of their cabins into the shallop ; but John Thomas was Francis Clements' friend, and Bennet was the Coopers, so as there were words between them and Henry Greene, one saying that they should go, and the other swearing that they should not go, but such as were in the shallop should return. When Henry Greene heard that, he was compelled to give place, and to put out Arnold Lodlo and Michael Bute, which with much ado they did.

In the meantime, there were some of them that plied their work as if the ship had been entered by force and they had free leave to pillage, breaking up chests and rifling all places. One of them came by me, who asked me, what they should do. I answered, he should make an end of what he had begun ; for I saw him do nothing but shark up and down. Now were all the poor men in the shallop, whose names are as follows : Henry Hudson, John Hudson, Arnold Lodlo, Sidrack Faner, Phillip Staffe, Thomas Woodhouse or Wydhouse, Adam Moore, Henry King, Michael Bute. The carpenter got of them a piece, and powder, and shot, and some pikes, an iron pot, with some meal, and other things. They stood out of the ice, the shallop being fast to the stern of the ship, and so (when they were nigh out, for I cannot say they were clean out) they cut her head fast from the stern of our ship, then out with their topsails, and towards the east they stood in a clear sea. In the end they took in their topsails, righted their helm, and lay under their foresail till they had ransacked and searched all places in the ship. In the hold they found one of the vessels of meal whole, and the other half spent, for we had but two ; we found also two firkins of butter, some twenty-seven pieces of pork, half a bushel of peas ; but in the master's cabin we found two hundred of biscuit cakes, a peck of meal, of beer to the quantity of a butt, one with another. Now it was said that the shallop was come within sight, they let fall the mainsail, and out with their topsails, and fly as from an enemy.

Then I prayed them yet to remember themselves ; but William Wilson (more than the rest) would hear of no such matter. Coming nigh the east shore they cast about, and stood to the west and came to an island, and anchored in sixteen or seventeen fathom water. So they sent the boat and the net ashore to see if they could have a draught ; but could not for rocks and great stones. Michael Perse killed two fowl, and here they found good store of that weed which we called cockle-grass in our wintering-place, whereof they gathered store, and came aboard again. Here we lay that night and the best part of the next day, in all which time we saw not the shallop, or ever after. Now Henry Greene came to me and told me, that it was the company's will that I should come up into the master's cabin and take charge thereof. I told him it was more fit for Robert Juet : he said he should not come in it, nor meddle with the master's card or journals. So up I came, and Henry Greene gave me the key of the master's chest, and told me then, that he had laid the master's best things together, which he would use himself when time did serve : the bread was also delivered to me by tale.

The wind serving, we stood to the north-east, and this was Robert Bylot's course, contrary to Robert Juet, who would have gone to the north-west. We had the eastern shore still in sight, and (in the night) had a stout gale of wind, and stood afore it till we met with ice, into the which we ran from thin to thick, till we could go no further for ice, which lay so thick ahead of us (and the wind brought it after us astern) that we could not stir backward nor forward ; but so lay embayed fourteen days in worse ice than ever we met to deal withal, for we had been where there was greater store, but it was not so broad upon the water as this ; for this floating ice contained miles and half miles in compass, where we had a deep sea, and a tide of flood and ebb, which set north-west and south-east. Here Robert Juet would have gone to the north-west, but Robert Bylot was confident to go through to the north-east, which he did. At last, being clear of this ice, he continued his course in sight of the eastern shore till he raised four islands, which lay north and south ; but we passed them six or seven leagues, the wind took us so short. Then we stood back to them again, and came to an anchor between two of the most northernmost. We sent the boat ashore, to see if there were anything there to be had, but found nothing but cockle-grass, whereof they gathered store, and so returned aboard. Before we came to this place, I might well see that I was kept in the ship against Henry Greene's mind, because I did not favour their proceedings better than I did. Then he began (very subtly) to draw me to take upon me to search for those things which himself had stolen : and accused me of a matter no less than treason amongst us, that I had deceived the company of thirty cakes of bread. Now they began to talk amongst themselves, that England was no safe place for them, and Henry Greene swore the ship should not come into any place (but keep the sea still) till he had the king's majesty's hand and seal to show for his safety. They had many devices in their heads, but Henry Greene in the end was their captain, and so called of them.

From these islands we stood to the north-east and the eastern land still in sight : we raised those islands, that our master called Rumnies Islands. Between these islands and the shallow ground, to the east of them, our master went down into the first great bay. We kept the east shore still in our sight, and coming thwart of the low land, we ran on a rock that lay under water, and struck but once ; for if she had, we might have been made inhabitants of that place ; but God sent us soon off without any harm that we saw. We continued our course and raised land ahead of us, which stretched out to the north : which when they saw, they said plainly, that Robert Bylot by his northerly course had left the capes to the south, and that they were best to seek down to the south in time for relief before all was gone ; for we had small store left. But Robert Bylot would follow the land to the north, saying that he hoped in God to find somewhat to relieve us that way as soon as to the south. I told them that this land was the main of Worsenhams Cape, and that the shallow rocky ground was the same that the master went down by when he went into the great bay. Robert Juet and all said it was not possible, unless the master had brought the ship overland, and willed them to look into the master's card and their course how well they did agree. We stood to the east and left the mainland to the north, by many small islands into a narrow gut between two lands, and there came to an anchor. The boat went ashore on the north side, where we found the great horn, but nothing else. The next day we went to the south side, but found nothing there save cockle grass, of which we gathered. This grass was a great relief unto us, for without it we should hardly have got to the capes for want of victual. The wind serving we stood out, but before we could get clean out the wind came to the west, so that we were constrained to anchor on the north side.

The next day, we weighed and doubled the point of the North Land, which is high land, and so continued to the capes, lying north and south, some five-and-twenty or thirty leagues. To the north we stood to see store of those fowls that breed in the Capes, and to kill some without shot, and to fetch them with our boat. We raised the Capes with joy and bare for them, and came to the islands that lie in the mouth of the strait ; but bearing in between the Rocky Isles, we ran on a rock that lay under water, and there stuck fast eight or nine hours. It was ebbing water when we thus came on, so the flood set us afloat, God guiding both wind and sea, that it was calm and fair weather : the ebb came from the east, and the flood from the west. When we were afloat we stood more near to the east shore, and there anchored.

The next day, being the seven and twentieth of July, we sent the boat to fetch some fowl, and the ship should way and stand as near as they could, for the wind was against us. They had a great way to row, and by that means they could not reach to the place where the fowl bred ; but found good store of gulls, yet hard to come by, on the rocks and cliffs ; but with their pieces they killed some thirty, and towards night returned. Now we had brought our ship more near to the mouth of the straits, and there came to an anchor in eighteen or twenty fathom water, upon a rifle or shelf of ground ; which after they had weighed their anchor, and stood more near to the place where the fowl bred, they could not find it again, nor no place like it : but were fain to turn to and fro in the mouth of the strait, and to be in danger of rocks, because they could not find ground to let fall an anchor in, the water was so deep.

The eight and twentieth day, the boat went to Digges his Cape for fowl, and made directly for the place where the fowl bred, and being near, they saw seven boats come about the eastern point towards them. When the savages saw our boat, they drew themselves together, and drew their lesser boats into their bigger : and when they had done, they came rowing to our boat, and made signs to the west, but they made ready for all assays. The savages came to them, and by signs grew familiar one with another, so as our men took one of theirs into our boat, and they took one of ours into their boat. Then they carried our man to a cove where their tents stood towards the west of the place, where the fowl bred : so they carried him into their tents, where he remained till our men returned with theirs. Our boat went to the place where the fowl bred, and were desirous to know how the savages killed their fowl : he showed them the manner how, which was thus : they take a long pole with a snare at the end, which they put about the fowl's neck, and so pluck them down. When our men knew that they had a better way of their own, they showed him the use of our pieces, which at one shot would kill seven or eight. To be short, our boat returned to their cove for our man and to deliver theirs. When they came they made great joy, with dancing, and leaping, and stroking of their breasts: they offered divers things to our men, but they only took some morses' teeth, which they gave them for a knife and two glass buttons: and so receiving our man they came aboard, much rejoicing at this chance, as if they had met with the most simple and kind people of the world.

And Henry Greene (more than the rest) was so confident, that (by no means) we should take care to stand on our guard: God blinding him so, that where he made reckoning to receive great matters from these people, he received more then he looked for, and that suddenly, by being made a good example for all men: that make no conscience of doing evil, and that we take heed of the savage people, how simple so ever they seem to be.

The next day, the nine and twentieth of July, they made haste to be ashore, and because the ship rid too far off, they weighed and stood as near to the place where the fowl bred as they could; and because I was lame I was to go in the boat, to carry such things as I had in the cabin, of everything somewhat; and so, with more haste then good speed (and not without swearing) away we went, Henry Greene, William Wilson, John Thomas, Michael Perse, Andrew Moter, and myself. When we came near the shore, the people were on the hills dancing and leaping: to the cove we came, where they had drawn up their boats: we brought our boat to the east side of the cove, close to the rocks. Ashore they went, and made fast the boat to a great stone on the shore; the people came, and every one had somewhat in his hand to barter; but Henry Greene swore they should have nothing till he had venison, for they had so promised him by signs.

Now when we came, they made signs to their dogs (whereof there were many like mongrels, as big as hounds), and pointed to their mountain and to the sun, clapping their hands. Then Henry Greene, John Thomas, and William Wilson stood hard by the boat-head, Michael Perse and Andrew Moter were got up upon the rock a gathering of sorrel ; not one of them had any weapon about him, not so much as a stick, save Henry Greene only, who had a piece of a pike in his hand : nor saw I anything that they had wherewith to hurt us. Henry Greene and William Wilson had looking-glasses, and Jew's trumps, and bells, which they were showing the people. The savages standing round about them, one of them came into the boat's head to me to show me a bottle : I made signs to him to get him ashore, but he made as though he had not understood me, whereupon I stood up and pointed him ashore. In the meantime another stole behind me to the stern of the boat, and when I saw him ashore that was in the head of the boat I sat down again, but suddenly I saw the leg and foot of a man by me. Wherefore I cast up my head, and saw the savage with his knife in his hand, who stroke at my breast over my head : I cast up my right arm to save my breast, he wounded my arm, and struck me into the body under my right pap. He struck a second blow, which I met with my left hand, and then he struck me into the right thigh, and had like to have cut off my little finger of the left hand. Now I had got hold of the string of the knife, and had wound it about my left hand, he striving with both his hands to make an end of that he had begun : I found him but weak in the grip (God enabling me), and getting hold of the sleeve of his left arm, so bare him from me. His left side lay bare to me, which when I saw, I put his sleeve off his left arm into my left hand, holding the string of the knife fast in the same hand ; and having got my right hand at liberty, I sought for somewhat wherewith to strike him (not remembering my dagger at my side), but looking down I saw it, and therewith struck him into the body and the throat.

Whiles I was thus assaulted in the boat, our men were set upon on the shore. John Thomas and William Wilson had their bowels cut, and Michael Perse and Henry Greene, being mortally wounded, came tumbling into the boat together. When Andrew Moter saw this medley, he came running down the rocks, and leaped into the sea, and so swam to the boat hanging on the stern thereof, till Michael Perse took him in, who manfully made good the head of the boat against the savages, that pressed sore upon us. Now Michael Perse had got a hatchet, wherewith I saw him strike one of them, that he lay sprawling in the sea. Henry Greene crieth *Coragio*, and layeth about him with his truncheon. I cried to them to clear the boat, and Andrew Moter cried to be taken in. The savages betook them to their bows and arrows, which they sent amongst us, wherewith Henry Greene was slain outright, and Michael Perse received many wounds, and so did the rest. Michael Perse cleareth the boat, and puts it from the shore, and helpeth Andrew Moter in ; but in turning of the boat I received a cruel wound in my back with an arrow. Michael Perse and Andrew Moter rowed the boat away, which, when the savages saw, they ran to their boats, and I feared they would have launched them to have followed us, but they did not, and our ship was in the middle of the channel and could not see us.

Now, when they had rowed a good way from the shore, Michael Perse fainted, and could row no more. Then was Andrew Moter driven to stand in the boat-head, and waft to the ship, which at the first saw us not, and when they did they could not tell what to make of us, but in the end they stood for us, and so took us up. Henry Greene was thrown out of the boat into the sea, and the rest were had aboard, the savage being yet alive, yet without sense. But they died all there that day, William Wilson swearing and cursing in most fearful manner. Michael Perse lived two days after, and then died. Thus you have heard the tragical end of Henry Greene and his mates, whom they called captain, these four being the only lusty men in all the ship.

The poor number that was left were to ply our ship to and fro in the mouth of the strait, for there was no place to anchor in near hand. Besides, they were to go in the boat to kill fowl to bring us home, which they did, although with danger to us all. For if the wind blew there was an high sea, and the eddies of the tides would carry the ship so near the rocks as it feared our master, for so I will now call him. After they had killed some two hundred fowl, with great labour, on the south cape, we stood to the east, but when we were six or seven leagues from the capes, the wind came up at east. Then we stood back to the capes again, and killed an hundred fowl more. After this the wind came to the west, so we were driven to go away, and then our master stood (for the most) along by the north shore, till he fell into broken ground about the Queen's Foreland, and there anchored. From thence we went to God's Mercies, and from thence to Rose Islands, which lay in the mouth of our strait, not seeing the land till we were ready to run our bowsprit against the rocks in a fog. But it cleared a little, and then we might see ourselves enclosed with rocky islands, and could find no ground to anchor in. There our master lay a try all night, and the next day, the fog continuing, they sought for ground to anchor in, and found some in an hundred and odd fathoms of water. The next day we weighed and stood to the east, but before we came here we had put ourselves to hard allowance, as half a fowl a day with the pottage, for yet we had some meal left and nothing else. Then they began to make trial of all whatsoever. We had flayed our fowl, for they will not pull, and Robert Juet was the first that made use of the skins by burning of the feathers ; so they became a great dish of meat, and as for the garbage, it was not thrown away.

After we were clear of these islands, which lie out with two points, one to the south-east and the other to the north, making a bay to the sight as if there were no way through, we continued our course east-south-east and south and by east, to raise the Desolations, from thence to shape our course for Ireland. Thus we continued divers days ; but the wind coming against us made us to alter our course, and by the means of Robert Juet, who persuaded the company that they should find great relief in Newfoundland if our countrymen were there, and if they were gone before we came yet should we find great store of bread and fish left ashore by them ; but how true, I give God thanks we did not try. Yet we stood to the south-west and to the west almost to fifty-seven degrees, when (by the will of God) the wind came up at south-west. Then the master asked me if he should take the benefit of this wind, and shape his course for Ireland. I said it was best to go where we knew corn grew, and not to seek it where it was cast away and not to be found. Towards Ireland now we stood, with prosperous winds for many days together. Then was all our meal spent, and our fowl resty and dry ; but (being no remedy) we were content with the salt broth for dinner and the half fowl for supper. Now went our candles to wrack, and Bennet, our cook, made a mess of meat of the bones of the fowl, frying them with candle grease till they were crisp, and, with vinegar put to them, made a good dish of meat. Our vinegar was shared, and to every man a pound of candles delivered for a week, as a great dainty. Now Robert Juet (by his reckoning) saith we were within sixty or seventy leagues of Ireland, when we had two hundred thither. And sure our course was so much the longer through our evil steerage, for our men became so weak that they could not stand at the helm, but were fain to sit.

Then Robert Juet died for mere want, and all our men were in despair, and said we were past Ireland, and our last fowl were in the steep tub. So our men cared not which end went forward, insomuch as our master was driven to look to their labour as well as his own ; for some of them would sit and see the fore sail or main sail fly up to the tops, the sheets being either flown or broken, and would not help it themselves nor call to others for help, which much grieved the master. Now in this extremity it pleased God to give us sight of land, not far from the place our master said he would fall withal, which was the bay of Galloway, and we fell to the west of the Derses, and so stood along by the coast to the south-west. In the end there was a joyful cry, a sail, a sail, towards which they stood. Then they saw more, but to the nearest we stood, and called to him ; his bark was of Fowy, and was at anchor a fishing. He came to us, and brought us into Bere Haven. Here we stayed a few days, and dealt with the Irish to supply our wants, but found no relief, for in this place there was neither bread, drink, nor money to be had amongst them. Wherefore they advised us to deal with our countrymen who were there a fishing, which we did, but found them so cold in kindness that they would do nothing without present money, whereof we had none in the ship. In the end we procured one John Waymouth, master of the barque that brought us into this harbour, to furnish us with money, which he did, and received our best cable and anchor in pawn for the same. With this money our master, with the help of John Waymouth, bought bread, beer, and beef.

Now, as we were beholden to Waymouth for his money, so were we to one Captain Taylor for making of our contracts with Waymouth, by whose means he took a bill for our cable and anchor and for the men's wages, who would not go with us unless Waymouth would pass his word for the same : for they made show that they were not willing to go with us for any wages. Whereupon Captain Taylor swore he would press them, and then, if they would not go, he would hang them.

In conclusion, we agreed for three pound ten shillings a man to bring our ship to Plymouth or Dartmouth, and to give the pilot five pound ; but if the wind did not serve, but that they were driven to put into Bristol, they were to have four pound ten shillings a man, and the pilot six pound. Omitting therefore further circumstances, from Bere Haven we came to Plymouth, and so to an anchor before the castle ; and from Plymouth, with fair wind and weather without stop or stay, we came to the Downs, from thence to Gravesend, where most of our men went ashore, and from thence came on this side Erith, and there stopped : where our master Robert Bylot came aboard, and so had me up to London with him, and so we came to Sir Thomas Smith's together.

DRAKE

There are several accounts of Drake's celebrated circumnavigation, but the earlier and most reliable is that of Francis Pretty, who took part in the voyage. It is one of the easiest of the sixteenth-century voyages to grasp. Every port made and coast followed is recognisably named and described, until the sojourn on the coast of California, which took place in a bay north of San Francisco, though not the same bay now named after Drake. Pretty also had a lively sense of history, for he was aware of the drama of Doughty's execution on the same spot where Magellan had left one of his mutineers on a gibbet sixty years earlier. The route through the Indian Ocean and round the Cape is equally easy to follow.

Pretty's account was included in Hakluyt, and is here reprinted complete and unchanged.

DRAKE

The 15 day of November, in the year of our Lord 1577, M. Francis Drake, with a fleet of five ships and barques, and to the number of 164 men, gentlemen and sailors, departed from Plymouth, giving out his pretended voyage for Alexandria: but the wind falling contrary, he was forced the next morning to put into Falmouthhaven in Cornwall, where such and so terrible a tempest took us, as few men have seen the like, and was indeed so vehement, that all our ships were like to have gone to wrack: but it pleased God to preserve us from that extremity, and to afflict us only for that present with these two particulars: The mast of our Admiral which was the Pellican, was cut overboard for the safeguard of the ship, and the Marigold was driven ashore, and somewhat bruised: for the repairing of which damages we returned again to Plymouth, and having recovered those harms, and brought the ships again to good state, we set forth the second time from Plymouth, and set sail the 13 day of December following.

The 25 day of the same month we fell with the Cape Cantin, upon the coast of Barbary, and coasting along, the 27 day we found an Island called Mogador, lying one mile distant from the main, between which Island and the main, we found a very good and safe harbour for our ships to ride in, as also very good entrance, and void of any danger.

On this Island our General erected a pinnace, whereof he brought out of England with him four already framed. While these things were in doing, there came to the water's side some of the inhabitants of the country, showing forth their flags of truce, which being seen of our General, he sent his ship's boat to the shore, to know what they would: they being willing to come aboard, our men left there one man of our company for a pledge, and brought two of theirs aboard our ship, which by signs showed our General, that the next day they would bring some provision, as sheep, capons and hens, and such like : whereupon our General bestowed amongst them some linen cloth and shoes, and a javelin, which they very joyfully received, and departed for that time.

The next morning they failed not to come again to the water's side, and our General again setting out our boat, one of our men leaping over rashly ashore, and offering friendly to embrace them, they set violent hands on him, offering a dagger to his throat if he had made any resistance, and so laying him on a horse, carried him away : so that a man cannot be too circumspect and wary of himself among such miscreants.

Our pinnace being finished, we departed from this place the 30 and last day of December, and coasting along the shore, we did descry, not contrary to our expectation, certain Canters which were Spanish fishermen, to whom we gave chase and took three of them, and proceeding further we met with 3 Caravels and took them also.

The 17 day of January we arrived at Cape Blanco, where we found a ship riding at anchor, within the Cape, and but two simple Mariners in her, which ship we took and carried her further into the harbour, where we remained 4 days, and in that space our General mustered, and trained his men on land in war-like manner, to make them fit for all occasions.

In this place we took of the fishermen such necessaries as we wanted, and they could yield us, and leaving here one of our little barques called the Benedict, we took with us one of their which they called Canters, being of the burden of 40 tons or thereabouts.

All these things being finished, we departed this harbour the 22 of January, carrying along with us one of the Portugal Caravels which was bound to the Islands of Cape Verde for salt, whereof good store is made in one of those Islands.

The master or Pilot of that Caraval did advertise our

General that upon one of those Islands called Mayo, there was great store of dried Cabritos, which a few inhabitants there dwelling did yearly make ready for such of the king's Ships as did there touch, being bound for his country of Brazil or elsewhere. We fell with this Island the 27 of January, but the inhabitants would in no case traffic with us, being thereof forbidden by the king's Edict : yet the next day our General sent to view the Island, and the likelihoods that might be there of provision of victuals, about three score and two men under the conduct and government of Master Winter and Master Doughtie, and marching towards the chief place of inhabitation in this Island (as by the Portugual we were informed) having travelled to the mountains the space of three miles, and arriving there somewhat before the day break, we arrested ourselves to see day before us, which appearing, we found the inhabitants to be fled : but the place, by reason that it was manured, we found to be more fruitful than the other part, especially the valleys among the hills.

Here we gave ourselves a little refreshing, as by very ripe and sweet grapes, which the fruitfulness of the earth at that season of the year yielded us : and that season being with us the depth of winter, it may seem strange that those fruits were then there growing : but the reason thereof is this, because they being between the Tropic and the Equinoctial, the sun passeth twice in the year through their Zenith over their heads, by means whereof they have two Summers, and being so near the heat of the line, they never lose the heat of the Sun so much, but the fruits have their increase and continuance in the midst of winter. The Island is wonderfully stored with goats and wild hens, and it hath salt also without labour, save only that the people gather it into heaps, which continually in great quantity is increased upon the sands by the flowing of the sea, and the receiving heat of the Sun kerning the same, so that of the increase thereof they keep a continual traffic with their neighbours.

Amongst other things we found here a kind of fruit called Cocos, which because it is not commonly known with us in England, I thought good to make some description of it.

The tree beareth no leaves nor branches, but at the very top the fruit groweth in clusters, hard at the top of the stem of the tree, as big every several fruit as a man's head : but having taken off the uttermost bark, which you shall find to be very full of strings or sinews, as I may term them, you shall come to a hard shell which may hold of quantity in liquor a pint commonly, or some a quart, and some less : within that shell of the thickness of half an inch good, you shall have a kind of hard substance and very white, no less good and sweeter than almonds : within that again a certain clear liquor, which being drunk, you shall not only find it very delicate and sweet, but most comfortable and cordial.

After we had satisfied ourselves with some of these fruits, we marched further into the Island, and saw great store of Cabritos alive, which were so chased by the inhabitants, that we could do no good towards our provision, but they had laid out as it were to stop our mouths withal, certain old dried Cabritos, which being but ill, and small and few, we made no account of.

Being returned to our ships, our General departed hence the 31 of this month, and sailed by the Island of S. Iago, but far enough from the danger of the inhabitants, who shot and discharged at us three pieces, but they all fell short of us, and did us no harm. The Island is fair and large, and as it seems, rich and fruitful, and inhabited by the Portugals, but the mountains and high places of the Island are said to be possessed by the Moors, who having been slaves to the Portugals, to ease themselves, made escape to the desert places of the Island, where they abide with great strength.

Being before this Island, we espied two ships under sail, to the one of which we gave chase, and in the end boarded her with a ship-boat without resistance, which we found to be a good prize, and she yielded unto us good store of wine : which prize our General committed to the custody of Master Doughtie, and retaining the Pilot, sent the rest away with his Pinnace, giving them a Butt of wine and some victuals, and their wearing clothes, and so they departed.

The same night we came with the Island called by the Portugals, Ilha del Fogo, that is, the burning Island : in the Northside whereof is a consuming fire, the matter is said to be of Sulphur, but notwithstanding it is likely to be a commodious Island, because the Portugals have built, and do inhabit there.

Upon the South side thereof lieth a most pleasant and sweet Island, the trees whereof are always green and fair to look upon, in respect whereof they call it Ilha Brava, that is, the brave Island. From the banks thereof into the sea do run in many places reasonable streams of fresh water easy to be come by, but there was no convenient road for our ships : for such was the depth, that no ground could be had for anchoring, and it is reported, that ground was never found in that place, so that the tops of Fogo burn not so high in the air, but the roots of Brava are quenched as low in the sea.

Being departed from these Islands, we drew towards the line, where we were becalmed the space of three weeks, but yet subject to divers great storms, terrible lightnings and much thunder : but with this misery we had the commodity of great store of fish, as Dolphins, Bonitos, and flying fishes, whereof some fell into our ships, wherehence they could not rise again for want of moisture, for when their wings are dry, they cannot fly.

From the first day of our departure from the Islands of Cape Verde, we sailed 54 days without sight of land, and the first land that we fell with was the coast of Brazil, which we saw the fifth of April in the height of 33 degrees towards the pole Antarctic, and being discovered at sea by the inhabitants of the country, they made upon the coast great fires for a sacrifice (as we learned) to the devils, about which they use conjurations, making heaps of sand and other ceremonies, that when any ship shall go about to stay upon their coast, not only sands may be gathered together in shoals in every place, but also that storms and tempests may arise, to the casting away of ships and men, whereof (as it is reported) there have been divers experiments.

The seventh day in a mighty great storm both of lightning, rain and thunder, we lost the Canter which we called the Christopher : but the eleventh day after, by our General's great care in dispersing his ships, we found her again, and the place where we met, our General called the Cape of Joy, where every ship took in some water. Here we found a good temperature and sweet air, a very fair and pleasant country with an exceeding fruitful soil, where were great store of large and mighty Deer, but we came not to the sight of any people : but travelling further into the country, we perceived the footing of people in the clay-ground, showing that they were men of great stature. Being returned to our ships, we weighed anchor, and ran somewhat further, and harboured ourselves between a rock and the main, where by means of the rock that broke the force of the sea, we rode very safe, and upon this rock we killed for our provision certain sea-wolves, commonly called with us Seals.

From hence we went our course to 36 degrees, and entered the great river of Plata, and ran into 54 and 55 fathoms and a half of fresh water, where we filled our water by the ship's side : but our General finding here no good harbour, as he thought he should, bore out again to sea the 27 of April, and in bearing out we lost sight of our Flyboat wherein master Doughtie was, but we sailing along, found a fair and reasonable good bay wherein were many, and the same profitable islands, one whereof had so many seals, as would at the least have laden all our Ships, and the rest of the Islands are as it were laden with fowls which is wonderful to see, and they of divers sorts. It is a place very plentiful of victuals, and hath in it no want of fresh water.

Our General after certain days of his abode in this place, being on shore in an Island, the people of the country showed themselves unto him, leaping and dancing, and entered into traffic with him, but they would not receive anything at any man's hands, but the same must be cast upon the ground. They are of clean, comely, and strong bodies, swift on foot, and seem to be very active.

The eighteenth day of May our General thought it needful to have a care of such Ships as were absent, and therefore endeavouring to seek the Flyboat wherein master Doughtie was, we espied her again the next day: and whereas certain of our ships were sent to discover the coast and to search an harbour, the Marygold and the Canter being employed in that business, came unto us and gave us understanding of a safe harbour that they had found, wherewith all our ships bore, and entered it, where we watered and made new provision of victuals, as by Seals, whereof we slew to the number of 200 or 300 in the space of an hour.

Here our General in the Admiral rode close aboard the Flyboat, and took out of her all the provision of victuals and what else was in her, and hauling her to the land, set fire to her, and so burnt her to save the iron work: which being a doing, there came down of the country certain of the people naked, saving only about their waist the skin of some beast with the fur or hair on, and something also wreathed on their heads: their faces were painted with divers colours, and some of them had on their heads the similitude of horns, every man his bow which was an ell in length, and a couple of arrows. They were very agile people and quick to deliver, and seemed not to be ignorant in the feats of wars, as by their order of ranging a few men, might appear. These people would not of a long time receive anything at our hands; yet at length our General being ashore, and they dancing after their accustomed manner about him, and he once turning his back towards them, one leapt suddenly to him, and took his cap with his gold band off his head, and ran a little distance from him and shared it with his fellow, the cap to the one, and the band to the other.

Having dispatched all our business in this place, we departed and set sail, and immediately upon our setting forth we lost our Canter which was absent three or four days : but when our General had her again, he took out the necessaries, and so gave her over near to the Cape of Good hope.

The next day after being the twentieth of June, we harboured ourselves again in a very good harbour, called by Magellan Port S. Julian, where we found a gibbet standing upon the main, which we supposed to be the place where Magellan did execution upon some of his disobedient and rebellious company.

The two and twentieth day our General went ashore to the main, and in his company, John Thomas, and Robert Winterhie, Oliver the Master gunner, John Brewer, Thomas Hood, and Thomas Drake, and entering on land, they presently met with two or three of the country people, and Robert Winterhie having in his hands a bow and arrows, went about to make a shoot of pleasure, and in his draught his bowstring broke, which the rude Savages taking as a token of war, began to bend the force of their bows against our company, and drove them to their shifts very narrowly.

In this Port our General began to enquire diligently of the actions of M. Thomas Doughtie, and found them not to be such as he looked for, but tending rather to contention or mutiny, or some other disorder, whereby (without redress) the success of the voyage might greatly have been hazarded : whereupon the company was called together and made acquainted with the particulars of the cause, which were found partly by master Doughtie's own confession, and partly by the evidence of the fact, to be true : which when our General saw, although his private affection to M. Doughtie (as he then in the presence of us all sacredly protested) was great, yet the care he had of the state of the voyage, of the expectation of her Majesty, and of the honour of his country did more touch him, (as indeed it ought) than the private respect of one man : so that the cause being thoroughly heard, and all things done in good order as near as might be to the course of our laws in England, it was concluded that M. Doughtie should receive punishment according to the quality of the offence : and he seeing no remedy but patience for himself, desired before his death to receive the Communion, which he did at the hands of M. Fletcher our Minister, and our General himself accompanied him in that holy action : which being done, and the place of execution made ready, he having embraced our General and taken his leave of all the company, with prayer for the Queen's majesty and our realm, in quiet sort laid his head to the block, where he ended his life. This being done, our General made divers speeches to the whole company, persuading us to unity, obedience, love, and regard of our voyage ; and for the better confirmation thereof, willed every man the next Sunday following to prepare himself to receive the Communion, as Christian brethren and friends ought to do, which was done in very reverent sort, and so with good contentment every man went about his business.

The 17 day of August we departed the port of S. Julian, and the 20 day we fell with the strait or freat of Magellan going into the South sea, at the Cape or headland whereof we found the body of a dead man, whose flesh was clean consumed.

The 21 day we entered the strait, which we found to have many turnings, and as it were shuttings up, as if there were no passage at all, by means whereof we had the wind often against us, so that some of the fleet recovering a Cape or point of land, others should be forced to turn back again, and to come to an anchor where they could.

In this strait there be many fair harbours, with store of fresh water, but yet they lacked their best commodity : for the water is there of such depth, that no man shall find ground to anchor in, except it be in some narrow river or corner, or between some rocks, so that if any extreme blasts or contrary winds do come (whereunto the place is much subject) it carrieth with it no small danger.

The land on both sides is very huge and mountainous, the lower mountains whereof, although they be monstrous and wonderful to look upon for their height, yet there are others which in height exceed them in a strange manner, reaching themselves above their fellows so high, that between them did appear three regions of clouds.

These mountains are covered with snow : at both the Southerly and Easterly parts of the strait there are Islands, among which the sea hath his indraught into the straits, even as it hath in the main entrance of the freat.

This strait is extreme cold, with frost and snow continually ; the trees seem to stoop with the burden of the weather, and yet are green continually, and many good and sweet herbs do very plentifully grow and increase under them.

The breadth of the strait is in some place a league, in some other places 2 leagues, and 3 leagues, and in some other 4 leagues, but the narrowest place hath a league over.

The 24th of August we arrived at an Island in the straits, where we found great store of fowl which could not fly, of the bigness of geese, whereof we killed in less than one day 3,000 and victualled ourselves thoroughly therewith.

The 6 day of September we entered the South sea at the Cape or head shore.

The seventh day we were driven by a great storm from the entering into the South sea two hundred leagues and odd in longitude, and one degree to the southward of the

Strait: in which height and so many leagues to the westward, the fifteenth day of September fell out the Eclipse of the Moon at the hour of six of the clock at night: but neither did the Ecliptical conflict of the Moon impair our state, nor her clearing again amend us a whit, but the accustomed Eclipse of the Sea continued in his force, we being darkened more than the Moon sevenfold.

From the Bay (which we called The Bay of severing of friends) we were driven back to the southward of the straits in 57 degrees and a terce: in which height we came to an anchor among the Islands, having there fresh and very good water, with herbs of singular virtue. Not far from hence we entered another Bay, where we found people both men and women in their canoes, naked, and ranging from one Island to another to seek their meat, who entered traffic with us for such things as they had.

We returning hence Northward again, found the 3 of October three Islands, in one of which was such plenty of birds as is scant credible to report.

The 8 day of October we lost sight of one of our consorts wherein M. Winter was, who as then we supposed was put by a storm into the straits again, which at our return home we found to be true, and he not perished, as some of our company feared.

Thus being come into the height of the straits again, we ran, supposing the coast of Chili to lie as the general Maps have described it, namely Northwest, which we found to lie and trend to the Northeast and Eastwards, whereby it appeareth that this part of Chili hath not been truly hitherto discovered, or at the least not truly reported for the space of 12 degrees at the least, being set down either of purpose to deceive, or of ignorant conjecture.

We continuing our course, fell the 29 of November with an Island called la Mocha, where we cast anchor, and our General hoisting out our boat, went with ten of our company to shore, where we found people, whom the cruel and extreme dealings of the Spaniards have forced for their own safety and liberty to flee from the main, and to fortify themselves in this Island. We being on land, the people came down to us to the water side with show of great courtesy, bringing to us potatoes, roots, and two very fat sheep, which our General received and gave them other things for them, and had promise to have water there : but the next day repairing again to the shore, and sending two men on land with barrels to fill water, the people taking them for Spaniards (to whom they use to show no favour if they take them) laid violent hands on them, and as we think, slew them.

Our General seeing this, stayed here no longer, but weighed anchor, and set sail towards the coast of Chili, and drawing towards it, we met near to the shore an Indian in a Canoe, who thinking us to have been Spaniards, came to us and told us, that at a place called S. Iago, there was a great Spanish ship laden from the kingdom of Peru : for which good news our General gave him divers trifles, whereof he was glad, and went along with us and brought us to the place, which is called the port of Valparizo.

When we came thither, we found indeed the ship riding at anchor, having in her eight Spaniards and three negroes, who thinking us to have been Spaniards and their friends, welcomed us with a drum, and made ready a Bottija of wine of Chili to drink to us : but as soon as we were entered, one of our company called Thomas Moone began to lay about him, and struck one of the Spaniards, and said unto him, Abaxo Perro, that is in English, Go down dog. One of these Spaniards seeing persons of that quality in those seas, all to crossed, and blessed himself : but to be short, we stowed them under hatches all save one Spaniard, who suddenly and desperately leapt over board into the sea, and swam ashore to the town of S. Iago, to give them warning of our arrival.

They of the town being not above 9 households, presently fled away and abandoned the town. Our general manned his boat, and the Spanish ship's boat, and went to the Town, and being come to it, we rifled it, and came to a small chapel which we entered, and found therein a silver chalice, two cruets, and one altar-cloth, the spoil whereof our General gave to M. Fletcher his minister.

We found also in this town a warehouse stored with wine of Chili, and many boards of Cedar-wood, all which wine we brought away with us, and certain of the boards to burn for fire-wood : and so being come aboard, we departed the Haven, having first set all the Spaniards on land, saving one John Griego a Greek born, whom our General carried with him for his Pilot to bring him into the haven of Lima.

When we were at sea, our General rifled the ship, and found in her good store of the wine of Chili, and 25,000 pezoes of very pure and fine gold of Baldivia, amounting in value to 37,000 ducats of Spanish money, and above. So going on our course, we arrived next at a place called Coquimbo, where our General sent 14 of his men on land to fetch water : but they were espied by the Spaniards, who came with 300 horsemen and 200 footmen, and slew one of our men with a piece, the rest came aboard in safety, and the Spaniards departed : we went on shore again, and buried our man, and the Spaniards came down again with a flag of truce, but we set sail and would not trust them.

From hence we went to a certain port called Tarapaza, where being landed, we found by the Sea side a Spaniard lying asleep, who had lying by him 13 bars of silver, which weighed 4,000 ducats Spanish ; we took the silver, and left the man.

Not far from hence going on land for fresh water, we met with a Spaniard and an Indian boy driving 8 Llamas or sheep of Peru which are as big as asses ; every of which sheep had on his back 2 bags of leather, each bag containing 50 lb. weight of fine silver: so that bringing both the sheep and their burden to the ships, we found in all the bags 800 weight of silver.

Here hence we sailed to a place called Arica, and being entered the port, we found there three small barques which we rifled, and found in one of them 57 wedges of silver, each of them weighing about 20 pound weight, and every of these wedges were of the fashion and bigness of a brickbat. In all these 3 barques we found not one person : for they mistrusting no strangers, were all gone on land to the Town, which consisteth of about twenty houses, which we would have ransacked if our company had been better and more in number. But our General contented with the spoil of the ships, left the Town and put off again to sea and set sail for Lima, and by the way met with a small barque, which he boarded, and found in her a good store of linen cloth, whereof taking some quantity, he let her go.

To Lima we came the 13 day of February, and being entered the haven, we found there about twelve sail of ships lying fast moored at an anchor, having all their sails carried on shore ; for the masters and merchants were here most secure, having never been assaulted by enemies, and at this time feared the approach of none such as we were. Our general rifled these ships, and found in one of them a chest full of royals of plate, and good store of silks and linen cloth, and took the chest into his own ship, and good store of the silks and linen. In which ship he had news of another ship called the Cacafuego which was gone towards Paita, and that the same ship was laden with treasure : whereupon we stayed no longer here, but cutting all the cables of the ships in the haven, we let them drive whither they would, either to sea or to the shore, and with all speed we followed the Cacafuego toward Paita, thinking there to have found her : but before we arrived there, she was gone from thence towards Panama, whom our General still pursued, and by the way met with a barque laden with ropes and tackle for ships, which he boarded and searched, and found in her 80 lb. weight of gold, and a crucifix of gold with goodly great Emeralds set in it which he took, and some of the cordage also for his own ship.

From hence we departed, still following the Cacafuego, and our General promised our company, that whosoever could first descry her, should have his chain of gold for his good news. It fortuned that John Drake going up into the top, descried her about three of the clock, and about six of the clock we came to her and boarded her, and shot at her three pieces of ordnance, and struck down her mizzen, and being entered, we found in her great riches, as jewels and precious stones, thirteen chests full of royals of plate, four score pound weight of gold, and six and twenty ton of silver. The place where we took this prize, was called Cape de San Francisco, about 150 leagues from Panama.

The Pilot's name of this ship was Francisco, and amongst other plate that our General found in this ship, he found two very fair gilt bowls of silver, which were the Pilot's : to whom our General said : Señor Pilot, you have here two silver cups, but I must needs have one of them : which the Pilot because he could not otherwise choose, yielded unto, and gave the other to the steward of our General's ships.

When this Pilot departed from us, his boy said thus unto our General : Captain, our ship shall be called no more the Cacafuego but the Cacaplata, and your ship shall be called the Cacafuego : which pretty speech of the Pilot's boy ministered matter of laughter to us, both then and long after.

When our General had done what he would with this Cacafuego, he cast her off, and we went on our course still towards the West, and not long after met with a ship laden with linen cloth and fine China-dishes of white earth, and great store of China-silks, of all which things we took as we listed.

The owner himself of this ship was in her, who was a Spanish gentleman, from whom our General took a Falcon of gold, with a great Emerald in the breast thereof, and the Pilot of the ship he took also with him, and so cast the ship off.

This Pilot brought us to the haven of Guatulco, the town whereof, as he told us, had but 17 Spaniards in it. As soon as we were entered this haven, we landed, and went presently to the town, and to the Townhouse, where we found a Judge sitting in judgement, being associate with three other officers, upon three Negroes, that had conspired the burning of the Town: both which Judges and prisoners we took, and brought them a shipboard, and caused the chief Judge to write his letter to the Town, to command all the Townsmen to avoid, that we might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, we ransacked the Town, and in one house we found a pot of the quantity of a bushel, full of reals of plate, which we brought to our ship.

And here one Thomas Moone one of our company, took a Spanish Gentleman as he was flying out of the town, and searching him, he found a chain of gold about him, and other jewels, which he took, and so let him go.

At this place our General among other Spaniards, set ashore his Portugual Pilot, which he took at the Islands of Cape Verde, out of a ship of S. Mary port of Portugal · and having set them ashore, we departed hence, and sailed to the Island of Canno, where our General landed, and brought to shore his own ship, and discharged her, mended, and graved her, and furnished our ship with water and wood sufficiently.

And while we were here, we espied a ship, and set sail after her, and took her. and found in her two Pilots, and a Spanish Governor. going for the Islands of the Philippinas: we searched the ship, and took some of her merchandises, and so let her go. Our General at this place and time, thinking himself both in respect of his private injuries received from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our country and Prince in general, sufficiently satisfied, and revenged: and supposing that her Majesty at his return would rest contented with this service, purposed to continue no longer upon the Spanish coasts, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his Country.

He thought it not good to return by the Straits, for two special causes: the one, lest the Spaniards should there wait, and attend for him in great number and strength, whose hands, he being left but one ship, could not possibly escape. The other cause was the dangerous situation of the mouth of the straits in the South sea, where continual storms reigning and blustering, as he found by experience, besides the shoals and sands upon the coast, he thought it not a good course to adventure that way: he resolved therefore to avoid these hazards, to go forward to the Islands of the Malucos, and therehence to sail the course of the Portugals by the Cape of Buena Esperanza.

Upon this resolution, he began to think of his best way to the Malucos, and finding himself where he now was becalmed, he saw that of necessity he must be forced to take a Spanish course, namely to sail somewhat northerly to get a wind. We therefore set sail, and sailed 600 leagues at the least for a good wind, and thus much we sailed from the 16 of April, till the 3 of June.

The 5 day of June, being in 43 degrees towards the pole Arctic, we found the air so cold, that our men being grievously pinched with the same, complained of the extremity thereof, and the further we went, the more the cold increased upon us. Whereupon we thought it best for that time to seek the land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but low plain land, till we came within 38 degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send us into a fair and good bay, with a good wind to enter the same.

In this bay we anchored, and the people of the Country having their houses close by the waters' side, showed themselves unto us, and sent a present to our General.

When they came unto us, they greatly wondered at the things that we brought, but our General (according to his natural and accustomed humanity) courteously entreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessary things to cover their nakedness, whereupon they supposed us to be gods, and would not be persuaded to the contrary : the presents which they sent to our General, were feathers, and calles of net-work.

Their houses are dug round about with earth, and have from the uttermost brims of the circle, clifts of wood set upon them, joining close together at the top like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closeness are very warm.

Their beds is the ground with rushes strewn on it, and lying about the house, have the fire in the midst. The men go naked, the women take bulrushes, and comb them after the manner of hemp, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang down about their hips, having also about their shoulders a skin of deer, with the hair upon it. These women are very obedient and serviceable to their husbands.

After they were departed from us, they came and visited us the second time, and brought with them feathers and bags of tobacco for presents : And when they came to the top of the hill (at the bottom whereof we had pitched our tents) they stayed themselves : where one appointed for speaker wearied himself with making a long oration, which done, they left their bows upon the hill, and came down with their presents.

In the meantime the women remaining on the hill, tormented themselves lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheeks, whereby we perceived that they were about a sacrifice. In the meantime our General with his company went to prayer, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentive, and seemed greatly to be affected with it : but when they were come unto us, they restored again unto us those things which before we bestowed upon them.

The news of our being there being spread through the Country, the people that inhabited round about came down, and amongst them the King himself, a man of a goodly stature, and comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men : before whose coming were sent two Ambassadors to our General, to signify that their King was coming, in doing of which message, their speech was continued about half an hour. This ended, they by signs requested our General to send something by their hand to their king, as a token that his coming might be in peace : wherein our General having satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their King, who marched to us with a princely majesty, the people crying continually after their manner, and as they drew near unto us, so did they strive to behave themselves in their actions with comeliness.

In the fore-front was a man of a goodly personage, who bore the sceptre or mace before the King, whereupon hanged two crowns, a less and a bigger, with three chains of a marvellous length : the crowns were made of knit work wrought artificially with feathers of divers colours : the chains were made of a bony substance, and few be the persons among them that are admitted to wear them : and of that number also the persons are stinted, as some ten, some twelve etc. Next unto him which bore the sceptre, was the King himself, with his Guard about his person, clad with Coney skins, and other skins : after them followed the naked common sort of people, every one having his face painted, some with white, some with black, and other colours, and having in their hands one thing or another for a present, not so much as their children, but they also brought their presents.

In the meantime our General gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approaching a very war-like show. They being trooped together in their order, and a general salutation being made, there was presently a general silence. Then he that bore the sceptre before the King, being informed by another, whom they assigned to that office, with a manly and lofty voice proclaimed that which the other spoke to him in secret, continuing half an hour : which ended, and a general Amen as it were given, the king with the whole number of men and women (the children excepted) came down without any weapon, who descending to the foot of the hill, set themselves in order.

In coming towards our bulwarks and tents, the sceptre-bearer began a song, observing his measures in a dance, and that with a stately countenance, whom the King with his Guard, and every degree of persons following, did in like manner sing and dance, saving only the women, which danced and kept silence. The General permitted them to enter within our bulwark, where they continued their song and dance a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselves, they made signs to our General to sit down, to whom the King, and divers other made several orations, or rather supplications, that he would take their province and kingdom into his hand, and become their King, making signs that they would resign unto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subjects. In which, to persuade us the better, the King and the rest, with one consent, and with great reverence, joyfully singing a song, did set the crown upon his head, enriched his neck with all their chains, and offered unto him many other things, honouring him by the name of Hioh, adding thereunto as it seemed, a sign of triumph : which thing our General thought not meet to reject, because he knew not what honour and profit it might be to our country. Wherefore in the name, and to the use of her Majesty he took the sceptre, crown, and dignity of the said Country into his hands, wishing that the riches and treasure thereof might so conveniently be transported to the enriching of her kingdom at home, as it aboundeth in the same.

The common sort of people leaving the King and his Guard with our General, scattered themselves together with their sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent view of every person : and such as pleased their fancy, (which were the youngest) they enclosing them about offered their sacrifices unto them with lamentable weeping, scratching, and tearing the flesh from their faces with their nails, whereof issued abundance of blood. But we used signs to them of disliking this, and stayed their hands from force, and directed them upwards to the living God, whom only they ought to worship. They showed unto us their wounds, and craved help of them at our hands, whereupon we gave them lotions, plasters, and ointments, agreeing to the state of their griefs, beseeching God to cure their diseases. Every third day they brought their sacrifices unto us, until they understood our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them : yet they could not be long absent from us, but daily frequented our company to the hour of our departure, which departure seemed so grievous unto them, that their joy was turned into sorrow. They entreated us, that being absent we would remember them, and by stealth provided a sacrifice, which we misliked.

Our necessary business being ended, our General with his company travelled up into the Country to their villages, where we found herds of deer by 1,000 in a company, being most large, and fat of body.

We found the whole Country to be a warren of a strange kind of Conies, their bodies in bigness as be the Barbary Conies, their heads as the heads of ours, the feet of a Want, and the tail of a Rat being of great length : under her chin is on either side a bag, into the which she gathereth her meat, when she hath filled her belly abroad. The people eat their bodies, and make great account of their skins, for their King's coat was made of them.

Our General called this Country Nova Albion, and that for two causes : the one in respect of the white banks and cliffs, which lie towards the sea : and the other, because it might have some affinity with our Country in name, which sometime was so called.

There is no part of earth here to be taken up, wherein there is not some probable show of gold or silver.

At our departure hence our General set up a monument of our being there, as also of her Majesty's right and title to the same, namely a plate, nailed upon a fair great post, whereupon was engraven her Majesty's name, the day and year of our arrival there, with the free giving up of the province and people into her Majesty's hands, together with her highness's picture of arms, in a peace of six pence of current English money under the plate, whereunder was also written the name of our General.

It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had never been in this part of the Country, neither did ever discover the land by many degrees, to the southwards of this place.

After we had set sail from hence, we continued without sight of land till the 13 day of October following, which day in the morning we fell with certain Islands 8 degrees to the northward of the line, from which Islands came a great number of Canoes, having in some of them 4 in some 6 and in some also 14 men, bringing with them cocos, and other fruits. Their Canoes were hollow within, and cut with great art and cunning, being very smooth within and without, and bearing a glass as if it were a horn daintily burnished, having a prow, and a stern of one sort, yielding inward circlewise, being of a great height, and full of certain white shells for a bravery, and on each side of them lie out two pieces of timber about a yard and a half long, more or less, according to the smallness, or bigness of the boat.

This people have the nether part of their ears cut into a round circle, hanging down very low upon their cheeks, whereon they hang things of a reasonable weight. The nails of their hands are an inch long, their teeth are as black as pitch, and they renew them often, by eating of an herb with a kind of powder, which they always carry about them in a cane for the same purpose.

Leaving this Island the night after we fell with it, the

18 of October, we lighted upon divers others, some whereof made a great show of inhabitants.

We continued our course by the Islands of Tagulada, Zelon, and Zewarra, being friends to the Portugals, the first whereof hath growing in it great store of Cinnamon.

The 14 of November we fell with the Islands of Maluco, which day at night (having directed our course to run with Tydore) in coasting along the Island of Mutyr, belonging to the King of Ternate, his Deputy or Vice-king seeing us at sea, came with his Canoe to us without all fear, and came aboard, and after some conference with our General, willed him in any wise to run in with Ternate, and not with Tydore, assuring him that the King would be glad of his coming, and would be ready to do what he would require, for which purpose he himself would that night be with the King, and tell him the news, with whom if he once dealt, he should find that as he was a King, so his word should stand : adding further, that if he went to Tydore before he came to Ternate, the King would have nothing to do with us, because he held the Portugals as his enemy : whereupon our General resolved to run with Ternate, where the next morning early we came to anchor, at which time our General sent a messenger to the king with a velvet cloak for a present, and token of his coming to be in peace, and that he required nothing but traffic and exchange of merchandise, whereof he had good store, in such things as he wanted.

In the mean time the Vice-king had been with the king according to his promise, signifying unto him what good things he might receive from us by traffic : whereby the King was moved with great liking towards us, and sent to our General with special message, that he should have what things he needed, and would require with peace and friendship, and moreover that he would yield himself, and the right of his Island to be at the pleasure and commandment of so famous a Prince as we served. In token whereof he sent to our General a signet, and within short time after came in his own person, with boats, and Canoes to our ship, to bring her into a better and safer road than she was in at present.

In the meantime, our General's messenger being come to the Court, was met by certain noble personages with great solemnity, and brought to the King, at whose hands he was most friendly and graciously entertained.

The King purposing to come to our ship, sent before 4 great and large Canoes, in every one whereof were certain of his greatest states that were about him, attired in white lawn of cloth of Calicut, having over their heads from the one end of the Canoe to the other, a covering of thin perfumed mats, borne up with a frame made of reeds for the same use, under which everyone did sit in his order according to his dignity, to keep him from the heat of the Sun, divers of whom being of good age and gravity, did make an ancient and fatherly show. There were also divers young and comely men attired in white, as were the others : the rest were soldiers, which stood in comely order round about on both sides, without whom sat the rowers in certain galleries, which being three on a side all along the canoes, did lie off from the side thereof three or four yards, one being orderly built lower than another, in every of which galleries were the number of 4 score rowers.

These Canoes were furnished with warlike munition, every man for the most part having his sword and target, with his dagger, beside other weapons, as lances, calivers, darts, bows and arrows : also every Canoe had a small cast base mounted at the least one full yard upon a stock set upright.

Thus coming near our ship, in order they rowed about us, one after another, and passing by, did their homage with great solemnity, the great personages beginning with great gravity and fatherly countenances, signifying that the king had sent them to conduct our ship into a better road.

Soon after the King himself repaired, accompanied with 6 grave and ancient persons, who did their obeisance with marvellous humility. The king was a man of tall stature, and seemed to be much delighted with the sound of our music, to whom as also to his nobility, our General gave presents, wherewith they were passing well contented.

At length the King craved leave of our General to depart, promising the next day to come aboard, and in the meantime to send us such victuals, as were necessary for our provision : so that the same night we received of them meal, which they call Sagu, made of the tops of certain trees, tasting in the mouth like sour curds, but melteth like sugar, whereof they make certain cakes, which may be kept the space of ten years, and yet then good to be eaten. We had of them store of rice, hens, unperfect and liquid sugar, sugar canes, and a fruit which they call Figo, with store of cloves.

The King having promised to come aboard, broke his promise, but sent his brother to make his excuse, and to entreat our General to come on shore, offering himself pawn aboard for his safe return. Whereunto our General consented not, upon mislike conceived of the breach of his promise, the whole company also utterly refusing it. But to satisfy him, our General sent certain of his Gentlemen to the Court, to accompany the King's brother, reserving the Vice-king for their safe return. They were received of another brother of the king's, and other states, and were conducted with great honour to the Castle. The place that they were brought unto, was a large and fair house, where were at the least 1,000 persons assembled.

The King being yet absent, there sat in their places 60 grave personages, all which were said to be of the king's Council. There were besides 4 grave persons, apparelled all in red, down to the ground and attired on their heads like the Turks, and these were said to be Romans, and Ligiers there to keep continual traffic with the people of Ternate. There were also 2 Turks Ligiers in this place, and one Italian. The king at last came in guarded with 12 lances covered over with a rich canopy, with embossed gold. Our men accompanied with one of their Captains called Moro, rising to meet him, he graciously did welcome, and entertain them. He was attired after the manner of the country, but more sumptuously than the rest. From his waist down to the ground, was all cloth of gold, and the same very rich : his legs were bare, but on his feet were a pair of shoes, made of Cordovan skin. In the attire of his head were finely wreathed hooped rings of gold, and about his neck he had a chain of perfect gold, the links whereof were great, and one fold double. On his fingers he had six very fair jewels, and sitting in his chair of estate, at his right hand stood a page with a fan in his hand, breathing and gathering the air to the King. The fan was in length two foot, and in breadth one foot, set with 8 sapphires, richly embroidered, and knit to a staff 3 foot in length, by the which the Page did hold, and move it. Our Gentlemen having delivered their message, and received order accordingly, were licensed to depart, being safely conducted back again by one of the king's Council.

This Island is the chiefest of all the Islands of Maluco, and the King hereof is King of 70 Islands besides. The king with his people are Moors in religion, observing certain new Moons, with fastings : during which fasts, they neither eat nor drink in the day, but in the night.

After that our Gentlemen were returned, and that we had here by the favour of the king received all necessary things that the place could yield us : our General considering the great distance, and how far he was yet off from his country, thought it not best here to linger the time any longer, but weighing his anchors, set out of the Island, and sailed to a certain little Island to the Southwards of Celebes, where we graved our ship, and continued there in that and other businesses 26 days. This Island is thoroughly grown with wood of a large and high growth, very straight and without boughs, save only in the head or top, whose leaves are not much differing from our broom in England. Amongst these trees night by night, through the whole land, did show themselves an infinite swarm of fiery worms flying in the air, whose bodies being no bigger than our common English flies, make such a show and light, as if every twig or tree had been a burning candle. In this place breedeth also wonderful store of Bats, as big as large hens : of Crayfishes also here wanted no plenty, and they of exceeding bigness, one whereof was sufficient for 4 hungry stomachs at a dinner, being also very good, and restoring meat, whereof we had experience : and they dig themselves holes in the earth like conies.

When we had ended our business here, we weighed, and set sail to run for the Malucos : but having at that time a bad wind, and being amongst the Islands, with much difficulty we recovered to the Northward of the Island of Celebes, where by reason of contrary winds not able to continue our course to run Westwards, we were enforced to alter the same to the Southward again, finding that course also to be very hard and dangerous for us, by reason of infinite shoals which lie off, and among the Islands : whereof we had too much trial to the hazard and danger of our ship and lives. For of all other days upon the 9 of January, in the year 1579, we ran suddenly upon a rock, where we stuck fast from 8 of the clock at night till 4 of the clock in the afternoon the next day, being indeed out of all hope to escape the danger : but our General as he had always hitherto showed himself courageous, and of a good confidence in the mercy and protection of God : so now he continued in the same, and lest he should seem to perish wilfully, both he, and we did our best endeavour to save ourselves, which it pleased God so to bless, that in the end we cleared ourselves most happily of the danger.

We lighted our ship upon the rocks of 3 ton of cloves, 8 pieces of ordnance, and certain meal and beans : and then the wind (as it were in a moment by the special grace of God) changing from the starboard to the larboard of the ship, we hoisted our sails, and the happy gale drove our ship off the rock into the sea again, to the no little comfort of all our hearts, for which we gave God such praise and thanks, as so great a benefit required.

The 8 of February following, we fell with the fruitful Island of Barateve, having in the meantime suffered many dangers by winds and shoals. The people of this Island are comely in body and stature, and of a civil behaviour, just in dealing, and courteous to strangers, whereof we had the experience sundry ways, they being most glad of our presence, and very ready to relieve our wants in those things which their Country did yield. The men go naked, saving their heads and privities, every man having something or other hanging at their ears. Their women are covered from the middle down to the foot, wearing a great number of bracelets upon their arms, for some had 8 upon each arm, being made some of bone, some of horn, and some of brass, the lightest whereof by our estimation weighed two ounces apiece.

With this people linen-cloth is good merchandise, and of good request, whereof they make rolls for their heads, and girdles to wear about them.

Their Island is both rich and fruitful : rich in gold, silver, copper, and sulphur, wherein they seem skilful and expert, not only to try the same, but in working it also artificially into any form and fashion that pleaseth them.

Their fruits be divers and plentiful, as nutmegs, ginger, long pepper, lemons, cucumbers, cocos, figu, sagu, with divers other sorts : and among all the rest, we had one fruit, in bigness, form, and husk, like a Bay berry, hard of substance, and pleasant of taste, which being sodden, becometh soft, and is a most good and wholesome victual, whereof we took reasonable store, as we did also of the other fruits and spices : so that to confess a truth, since the time that we first set out of our own Country of England, we happened upon no place (Ternate only excepted) wherein we found more comforts and better means of refreshing.

At our departure from Barateve, we set our course for Java major, where arriving, we found great courtesy, and honourable entertainment. This island is governed by 5 Kings, whom they call Rajah : as Rajah Donaw, and Rajah Mang Bange, and Rajah Cabuccapollo, which live as having one spirit, and one mind.

Of these five we had four a shipboard at once, and two or three often. They are wonderfully delighted in coloured clothes, as red and green : their upper parts of their bodies are naked, save their heads, whereupon they wear a Turkish roll, as do the Maluccians : from the middle downward they wear a pintado of silk, trailing upon the ground, in colour as they best like.

The Maluccians hate that their women should be seen of strangers : but these offer them of high courtesy, yea the kings themselves.

The people are of goodly stature, and warlike, well provided of swords and targets, with daggers, all being of their own work, and most artificially done, both in tempering their metal, as also in the form, whereof we bought reasonable store.

They have an house in every village for their common assembly : every day they meet twice, men, women, and children, bringing with them such victuals as they think good, some fruits, some rice boiled, some hens roasted, some sagu, having a table made 3 foot from the ground, whereon they set their meat, that every person sitting at the table may eat, one rejoicing in the company of another.

They boil their rice in an earthen pot, made in form of a sugar loaf, being full of holes, as our pots which we water our gardens withal, and it is open at the great end wherein they put their rice dry, without any moisture. In the meantime they have ready another great earthen pot, set fast in a furnace, boiling full of water, whereinto they put their pot with rice, by such measure, that they swelling become soft at the first, and by their swelling stopping the holes of the pot, admit no more water to enter, but the more they are boiled, the harder and more firm substance they become, so that in the end they are a firm and good bread, of the which with oil, butter, sugar, and other spices, they make divers sorts of meats very pleasant of taste, and nourishing to nature.

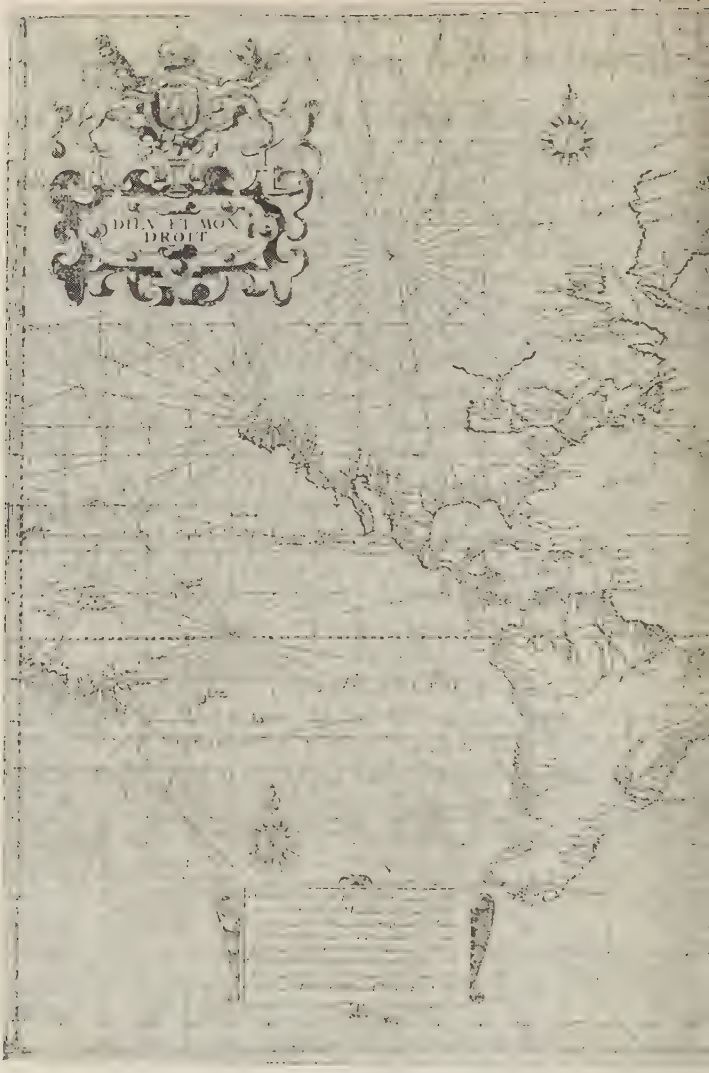
The French pox is here very common to all, and they help themselves, sitting naked from ten to two in the sun, whereby the venomous humour is drawn out. Not long before our departure, they told us, that not far off there were such great ships as ours, wishing us to beware: upon this our Captain would stay no longer.

From Java Major we sailed for the cape of Good Hope, which was the first land we fell withal: neither did we touch with it, or any other land, until we came to Sierra Leona, upon the coast of Guinea: notwithstanding we ran hard aboard the Cape, finding the report of the Portugals to be most false, who affirm, that it is the most dangerous Cape in the world, never without intolerable storms and present danger to travellers, which come near the same.

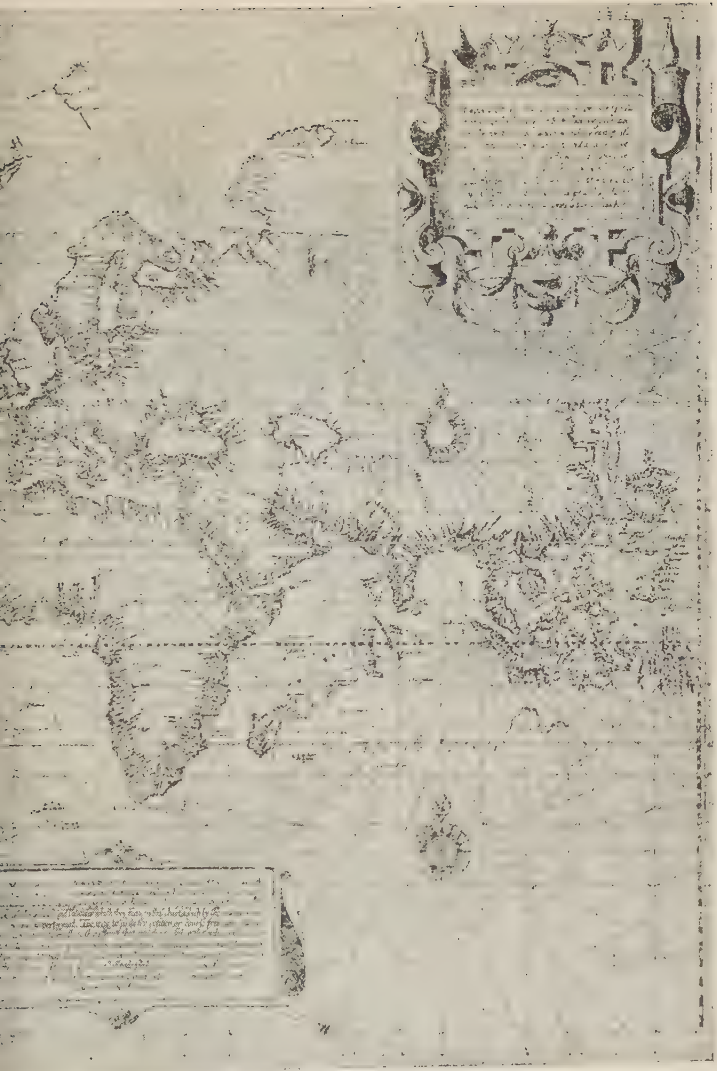
This Cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest Cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth, and we passed by it the 18 of June.

From thence we continued our course to Sierra Leona, on the coast of Guinea, where we arrived the 22 of July, and found necessary provisions, great store of Elephants, Oysters upon trees of one kind, spawning and increasing infinitely, the Oyster suffering no bud to grow. We departed thence the 24 day.

We arrived in England the third of November 1580 being the third year of our departure.


DIEU ET MON DROIT

The Wright-Molyneux World Map,
To illustrate outline of wor



oo edition of Hakluyt's " Voyages "
at end of Sixteenth Century

RALEIGH

Raleigh's voyage up the Orinoco begins here after he had had his various interviews with Berreo, the Governor of Trinidad, and succeeded in obtaining the Spaniard's discouraging reports of conditions up the Orinoco. Raleigh did not trust the man's pessimism, since he suspected that he wished to dissuade an Englishman from exploring a country which Spain had not yet properly exploited. The rest of Raleigh's account is given only in so far as it describes the actual details of the expedition : there are many theories expatiated upon and historical reflections on the part of the author which simply impede the narrative. By far the best part of this great travel story, known as the Discovery of Guiana, *is that which deals with Raleigh's own adventures, and this part is given nearly in full.*

The Discovery *was included in Hakluyt's* 1600 *edition, but is here reprinted from the Oxford edition of Raleigh's works*, 1829, *because of the more modern spelling.*

RALEIGH

BERREO was stricken into a great melancholy and sadness and used all the arguments he could to dissuade me, and also assured the gentlemen of my company that it would be labour lost, and that they should suffer many miseries if they proceeded : and first he delivered, that I could not enter any of the rivers with any bark or pinnace, nor hardly with any ship's boat, it was so low, sandy, and full of flats, and that his companies were daily grounded in their canoes, which drew but twelve inches water : he further said, that none of the country would come to speak with us, but would all fly ; and if we followed them to their dwellings they would burn their own towns ; and, besides, that the way was long, the winter at hand, and that the rivers beginning once to swell, it was impossible to stem the current, and that we could not in those small boats by any means carry victual for half the time ; and that (which indeed most discouraged my company) the kings and lords of all the borders, and of Guiana, had decreed, that none of them should trade with any Christians for gold, because the same would be their own overthrow, and that for the love of gold the Christians meant to conquer and dispossess them of all together.

Many and the most of these I found to be true ; but yet I resolving to make trial of all, whatsoever happened, directed captain George Gifford, my vice-admiral, to take the Lion's Whelp, and captain Galfield his bark, to turn to the eastward, against the breeze what they could possible, to recover the mouth of a river called Capuri, whose entrance I had before sent captain Whiddon and Jo. Douglas the master, to discover ; who found some nine foot water or better upon the flood, and five at low water ; to whom I had given instructions that they should anchor at the edge of the shoal, and upon the best of the flood to thrust over ; which shoal John Douglas buoyed, and beckoned for them before : but they laboured in vain, for neither could they turn it up altogether so far to the east, neither did the flood continue so long, but the water fell ere they could have passed the sands, as we after found by second experience : so as now we must either give over our enterprise, or leaving our ships at adventure four hundred miles behind us, to run up in our ships' boats, one barge, and two wherries ; but being doubtful how to carry victuals for so long a time in such baubles, or any strength of men, especially for that Berreo assured us that his son must be by that time come down with many soldiers, I sent away one King, master of the Lion's Whelp, with his ship's boat, to try another branch of a river in the bottom of the bay of Guanipa, which was called Amana, to prove if there were water to be found for either of the small ships to enter : but when he came to the mouth of Amana he found it as the rest, but stayed not to discover it thoroughly, because he was assured by an Indian, his guide, that the cannibals of Guanipa would assail them with many canoes, and that they shot poisoned arrows, so as if he hasted not back, they should all be lost.

In the meantime, fearing the worst, I caused all the carpenters we had to cut down a gallego boat, which we meant to cast off, and to fit her with banks to row on, and in all things to prepare her the best they could, so as she might be brought to draw but five foot, for so much we had on the bar of Capuri at low water : and doubting of King's return, I sent Jo. Douglas again in my long barge, as well to relieve him, as also to make a perfect search in the bottom of that bay : for it hath been held for infallible, that whatsoever ship or boat shall fall therein can never disembogue again, by reason of the violent current which setteth into the said bay, as also for that the breeze and easterly wind bloweth directly into the same ; of which opinion I have heard John Hampton of Plymouth, one of the greatest experience of England, and divers others besides, that have traded to Trinedado.

I sent with John Douglas an old cassique of Trinedado for a pilot, who told us that we could not return again by the bay or gulf, but that he knew a by-branch which ran within the land to the eastward, and that he thought by it we might fall into Capuri, and so return in four days: John Douglas searched those rivers, and found four goodly entrances, whereof the least was as big as the Thames at Woolwich; but in the bay thitherward it was shoal, and but six foot water; so as we were now without hope of any ship or bark to pass over, and therefore resolved to go on with the boats, and the bottom of the gallego, in which we thrust sixty men; in the Lion's Whelp's boat and wherry we carried twenty; Captain Calfield in his wherry carried ten more; and in my barge other ten; which made up a hundred. We had no other means but to carry victuals for a month in the same, and also to lodge therein as we could, and to boil and dress our meat. Captain Gifford had with him master Edw. Porter, captain Eynos, and eight more in his wherry, with all their victual, weapons, and provisions: captain Calfield had with him my cousin Butshead Gorges, and eight more. In the galley, of gentlemen and officers, myself had captain Thyn, my cousin John Greenvile, my nephew John Gilbert, captain Whiddon, captain Keymis, Edw. Hancocke, captain Clarke, lieutenant Hewes, Tho. Upton, captain Facy, Jerome Ferrar, Antho. Wells, Wil. Connock, and about fifty more. We could not learn of Berreo any other way to enter but in branches, so far to the windward, as it was impossible for us to recover; for we had as much sea to cross over in our wherries as between Dover and Calais, and in a great billow, the wind and current being both very strong, so as we were driven to go in those small boats directly before the wind into the bottom of the bay of Guanipa and from thence to enter the mouth of some one of those rivers which Jo. Douglas had last discovered; and had with us for pilot an Indian of Barema, a river to the south of Oroonoko, between that and Amazones, whose canoes we had formerly taken as he was going from the said Barema, laden with Cassavi bread to sell at Marguerita: this

Arwacan promised to bring me into the great river of Oroonoko; but indeed of that which we entered he was utterly ignorant, for he had not seen it in twelve years before, at which time he was very young, and of no judgment; and if God had not sent us another help, we might have wandered a whole year in that labyrinth of rivers, ere we had found any way either out or in, especially after we were past the ebbing and flowing, which was in four days: for I know all the earth doth not yield the like confluence of streams and branches, the one crossing the other so many times, and also fair and large, and so like one to another, as no man can tell which to take: and if we went by the sun or compass, hoping thereby to go directly one way or other, yet that way we were also carried in a circle amongst multitudes of islands, and every island so bordered with high trees, as no man could see any further than the breadth of the river, or length of the breach. But thus it chanced, that entering into a river (which, because it had no name, we called the river of the Red Cross, ourselves being the first Christians that ever came therein) the 22nd of May, as we were rowing up the same, we espied a small canoe with three Indians, which (by the swiftness of my barge, rowing with eight oars) I overtook, ere they could cross the river. The rest of the people on the banks, shadowed under the thick wood, gazed on with a doubtful conceit what might befall those three which we had taken; but when they perceived that we offered them no violence, neither entered their canoe with any of ours, nor took out of the canoe any of theirs, they then began to shew themselves on the bank's side, and offered to traffick with us for such things as they had; and as we drew near they all stayed, and we came with our barge to the mouth of a little creek which came from their town into the great river.

As we abode there a while, our Indian pilot, called Ferdinando, would needs go ashore to their village, to fetch some fruits, and to drink of their artificial wines, and also to see the place, and to know the lord of it against another time, and took with him a brother of his, which he had with him in the journey. When they came to the village of these people, the lord of the island offered to lay hands on them, purposing to have slain them both; yielding for reason, that this Indian of ours had brought a strange nation into their territory, to spoil and destroy them; but the pilot being quick, and of a disposed body, slipped their fingers, and ran into the woods; and his brother, being the better footman of the two, recovered the creek's mouth, where we stayed in our barge, crying out that his brother was slain. With that we set hands on one of them that was next us, a very old man, and brought him into the barge, assuring him that if we had not our pilot again we would presently cut off his head. This old man, being resolved that he should pay the loss of the other, cried out to those in the woods to save Ferdinando our pilot; but they followed him notwithstanding, and hunted after him upon the foot with their deer dogs, and with so main a cry, that all the woods echoed with the shout they made; but at last this poor chased Indian recovered the river side, and got upon a tree, and as we were coasting, leaped down, and swam to the barge half dead with fear; but our good hap was, that we kept the other old Indian, which we handfasted, to redeem our pilot withal; for being natural of those rivers, we assured ourselves he knew the way better than any stranger could; and indeed but for this chance I think we had never found the way either to Guiana or back to our ships; for Ferdinando, after a few days, knew nothing at all, nor which way to turn, yea and many times the old man himself was in great doubt which river to take. Those people which dwell in these broken islands and drowned lands are generally called Tivitivas: there are of them two sorts, the one called Ciawani, and the other Waraweete.

The great river of Oroonoko, or Baraquan, hath nine branches, which fall out on the north side of his own main mouth; on the south side it hath seven other fallings into the sea; so it disembogueth by sixteen arms in all, between islands and broken ground ; but the islands are very great, many of them as big as the Isle of Wight and bigger, and many less. From the first branch on the north to the last of the south it is at least 100 leagues, so as the river's mouth is no less than 300 miles wide at his entrance into the sea, which I take to be far bigger than that of Amazones : all those that inhabit in the mouth of this river upon the several north branches are these Tivitivas, of which there are two chief lords, which have continual wars one with the other. The islands which lie on the right hand are called Pallamos, and the land on the left Hororotomaka ; and the river, by which John Douglas returned within the land from Amana to Capuri, they call Macuri.

These Tivitivas are a very goodly people, and very valiant, and have the most manly speech and most deliberate that ever I heard of what nation soever. In the summer they have houses on the ground, as in other places ; in the winter they dwell upon the trees ; where they build very artificial towns and villages, as it is written in the Spanish story of the West Indies, that those people do in the lowlands near the gulf of Uraba : for between May and September the river of Oroonoko riseth thirty foot upright, and then are those islands overflown twenty foot high above the level of the ground, saving some few raised grounds in the middle of them ; and for this cause they are enforced to live in this manner. They never eat of anything that is set or sown ; and as at home they use neither planting nor other manurance, so when they come abroad they refuse to feed of ought but of that which nature without labour bringeth forth. They use the tops of palmitos for bread, and kill deer, fish, and porks for the rest of their sustenance ; they have also many sorts of fruits that grow in the woods, and great variety of birds and fowl.

And if to speak of them were not tedious and vulgar, surely we saw in those passages of very rare colours and forms, not elsewhere to be found, forasmuch as I have either seen or read. Of these people, those that dwell upon the branches of Oroonoko, called Capuri and Macureo, are for the most part carpenters of canoes ; for they make the most and fairest houses, and sell them into Guiana for gold, and into Trinedado for tobacco, in the excessive taking whereof they exceed all nations ; and notwithstanding the moistness of the air in which they live, the hardness of their diet, and the great labours they suffer, to hunt, fish, and fowl for their living, in all my life, either in the Indies or in Europe, did I never behold a more goodly or better favoured people, or a more manly. They were wont to make war upon all nations, and especially on the cannibals, so as none durst without a good strength trade by those rivers ; but of late they are at peace with their neighbours, all holding the Spaniards for a common enemy. When their commanders die, they use great lamentation ; and when they think the flesh of their bodies is putrified and fallen from the bones, then they take up the carcass again, and hang it in the casiqui's house that died, and deck his skull with feathers of all colours, and hang all his gold plates about the bones of his arms, thighs, and legs. Those nations which are called Arwacas, which dwell on the south of Oroonoko, (of which place and nation our Indian pilot was,) are dispersed in many other places, and do use to beat the bones of their lords into powder, and their wives and friend drinks it all in their several sorts of drinks.

After we departed from the port of these Ciawani we passed up the river with the flood, and anchored the ebb ; and in this sort we went onward. The third day that we entered the river our galley came on ground, and stuck so fast, as we thought that even there our discovery had ended, and that we must have left sixty of our men to have inhabited, like rooks upon trees, with those nations : but the next morning, after we had cast out all her ballast, with tugging and hauling to and fro, we got her afloat, and went on : at four days' end we fell into as goodly a river as ever I beheld, which was called the great Amana, which ran more directly without windings and turnings than the other : but soon after, the flood of the sea left us, and we enforced either by main strength to row against a violent current, or to return as wise as we went out. We had then no shift but to persuade the companies that it was but two or three days' work, and therefore desired them to take pains, every gentleman and others taking their turns to row, and to spell one the other at the hour's end. Every day we passed by goodly branches of rivers, some falling from the west, others from the east, into Amana ; but those I leave to the description in the chart of discovery, where every one shall be named with his rising and descent. When three days more were overgone, our companies began to despair, the weather being extreme hot, the river bordered with very high trees that kept away the air, and the current against us every day stronger than other : but we evermore commanded our pilots to promise an end the next day, and used it so long as we were driven to assure them from four reaches of the river to three, and so to two, and so to the next reach ; but so long we laboured as many days were spent, and so driven to draw ourselves to harder allowance, our bread even at the last, and no drink at all ; and our men and ourselves so wearied and scorched, and doubtful withal whether we should ever perform it or no, the heat increasing as we drew towards the line ; for we were now in five degrees.

The further we went on, (our victual decreasing, and the air breeding great faintness,) we grew weaker and weaker, when we had most need of strength and ability ; for hourly the river ran more violently than other against us, and the barge, wherries, and ship's boat of captain Gifford and captain Calfield had spent all their provisions, so as we were brought into despair and discomfort, had we not persuaded all the company that it was but only one day's work more to attain the land, where we should be relieved of all we wanted ; and if we returned, that we were sure to starve by the way, and that the world would also laugh us to scorn. On the banks of these rivers were divers sorts of fruits good to eat, flowers and trees of that variety as were sufficient to make ten volumes of herbals. We relieved ourselves many times with the fruits of the country, and sometimes with fowl and fish : we saw birds of all colours, some carnation, some crimson, orange tawny, purple, green, watched, and of all other sorts, both simple and mixed ; as it was unto us a great good passing of the time to behold them, besides the relief we found by killing some store of them with our fowling pieces, without which, having little or no bread, and less drink, but only the thick and troubled water of the river, we had been in a very hard case.

Our old pilot of the Ciawani (whom, as I said before, we took to redeem Ferdinando) told us, that if we would enter a branch of a river on the right hand with our barge and wherries, and leave the galley at anchor the while in the great river, he would bring us to a town of the Arwacas, where we should find store of bread, hens, fish, and of the country wine, and persuaded us, that departing from the galley at noon, we might return ere night. I was very glad to hear this speech, and presently took my barge, with eight musketeers, captain Gifford's wherry, with himself and four musketeers, and captain Calfield with his wherry and as many, and so we entered the mouth of this river ; and because we were persuaded that it was so near, we took no victual with us at all. When we had rowed three hours, we marvelled we saw no sign of any dwelling, and asked the pilot where the town was ; he told us a little further. After three hours more, the sun being almost set, we began to suspect that he led us that way to betray us, for he confessed that those Spaniards which fled from Trinedado, and also those that remained with Carapana in Emeria, were joined together in some village upon that river. But when it grew towards night, and we demanding where the place was, he told us but four reaches more : when we had rowed four and four we saw no sign, and our poor watermen, even heart-broken and tired, were ready to give up the ghost : for we had now come from the galley near forty miles.

At the last we determined to hang the pilot, and, if we had well known the way back again by night, he had surely gone ; but our own necessities pleaded sufficiently for his safety : for it was as dark as pitch, and the river began so to narrow itself, and the trees to hang over from side to side, as we were driven with arming swords to cut a passage through those branches that covered the water. We were very desirous to find this town, hoping of a feast, because we made but a short breakfast aboard the galley in the morning, and it was now eight o'clock at night, and our stomachs began to gnaw apace ; but whether it was best to return or go on we began to doubt, suspecting treason in the pilot more and more ; but the poor old Indian ever assured us that it was but a little further, and but this one turning and that turning ; and at last, about one o'clock after midnight, we saw a light, and rowing towards it we heard the dogs of the village. When we landed, we found few people ; for the lord of that place was gone with divers canoes above four hundred miles off, upon a journey towards the head of Oroonoko, to trade for gold, and to buy women of the cannibals, who afterward unfortunately passed by us, as we rode at an anchor in the port of Morequito, in the dark of night, and yet came so near us, as his canoes grated against our barges. He left one of his company at the port of Morequito, by whom we understood that he had brought thirty young women, divers plates of gold, and had great store of fine pieces of cotton cloth, and cotton beds. In his house we had good store of bread, fish, hens, and Indian drink, and so rested that night ; and in the morning, after we had traded with such of his people as came down, we returned towards our galley, and brought with us some quantity of bread, fish, and hens.

On both sides of this river we passed the most beautiful country that ever mine eyes beheld ; and whereas all that we had seen before was nothing but woods, prickles, bushes, and thorns, here we beheld plains of twenty miles in length, the grass short and green, and in divers parts groves of trees by themselves, as if they had been by all the art and labour in the world so made of purpose : and still as we rowed, the deer came down feeding by the water's side, as if they had been used to a keeper's call. Upon this river there were great store of fowl, and of many sorts : we saw in it divers sorts of strange fishes, and of marvellous bigness ; but for lagartos it exceeded ; for there were thousands of those ugly serpents, and the people call it for the abundance of them the river of Lagartos, in their language. I had a negro, a very proper young fellow, that, leaping out of the galley to swim in the mouth of this river, was in all our sights taken and devoured with one of those legartos. In the meanwhile our companies in the galley thought we had been all lost, (for we promised to return before night,) and sent the Lion's Whelp's ship's boat with captain Whiddon to follow us up the river ; but the next day, after we had rowed up and down some fourscore miles, we returned, and went on our way up the great river, and, when we were even at the last cast for want of victuals, captain Gifford being before the galley and the rest of the boats, seeking out some place to land upon the banks to make fire, espied four canoes coming down the river, and with no small joy caused his men to try the uttermost of their strengths, and after a while two of the four gave over, and ran themselves ashore, every man betaking himself to the fastness of the woods ; the two other lesser got away while he landed to lay hold on these, and so turned into some by-creek, we knew not whither : those canoes that were taken were loaden with bread, and were bound for Marguerita in the West Indies, which those Indians, called Arwacas, purposed to carry thither for exchange : but in the lesser there were three Spaniards, who having heard of the defeat of their governor in Trinedado, and that we purposed to enter Guiana, came away in those canoes : one of them was a cavallero, as the captain of the Arwacas after told us, another a soldier, and the third a refiner.

In the meantime nothing on the earth could have been more welcome to us, next unto gold, than the great store of very excellent bread which we found in these canoes ; for now our men cried, Let us go on, we care not how far. After that captain Gifford had brought the two canoes to the galley, I took my barge, and went to the bank's side with a dozen shot, where the canoes first ran themselves ashore, and landed there, sending out captain Gifford and captain Thyn on one hand, and captain Calfield on the other, to follow those that were fled into the woods ; and as I was creeping through the bushes I saw an Indian basket hidden, which was the refiner's basket ; for I found in it his quicksilver, saltpetre, and divers things for the trial of metals, and also the dust of such ore as he had refined ; but in those canoes which escaped there was a good quantity of ore and gold. I then landed more men, and offered five hundred pounds to what soldier soever could take one of those three Spaniards that we thought were landed : but our labours were in vain in that behalf ; for they put themselves into one of the small canoes, and so, while the greater canoes were in taking, they escaped : but seeking after the Spaniards we found the Arwacas hidden in the woods, which were pilots for the Spaniards, and rowed their canoes : of which I kept the chiefest for a pilot, and carried him with me to Guiana, by whom I understood where and in what countries the Spaniards had laboured for gold, though I made not the same known to all : for when the springs began to break, and the rivers to raise themselves so suddenly, as by no means we could abide the digging of any mine ; especially for that the richest are defended with rocks of hard stone, which we call the *white spar*, and that it required both time, men, and instruments fit for such a work ; I thought it best not to hover thereabouts, lest, if the same had been perceived by the company, there would have been by this time many barks and ships set out, and perchance other nations would also have gotten of ours for pilots, so as both ourselves might have been prevented, and all our care taken for good usage of the people been utterly lost by those that only respect present profit ; and such violence or insolence offered, as the nations which are borderers would have changed their desire of our love and defence into hatred and violence. And for any longer stay to have brought a more quantity, (which I hear hath been often objected,) whosoever had seen or proved the fury of that river after it began to rise, and had been a month and odd days, as we were, from hearing ought from our ships, leaving them meanly manned above four hundred miles off, would perchance have turned somewhat sooner than we did, if all the mountains had been gold, or rich stones : and, to say the truth, all the branches and small rivers which fell into Oroonoko were raised with such speed, as, if we waded them over the shoes in the morning outward, we were covered to the shoulders homeward the very same day ; and to stay to dig out gold with our nails had been *opus laboris*, but not *ingenii* : such a quantity as would have served our turns we could not have had, but a discovery of the mines to our infinite disadvantage we had made, and that could have been the best profit of further search or stay ; for those mines are not easily broken, nor opened in haste ; and I could have returned a good quantity of gold ready cast, if I had not shot at another mark than present profit.

This Arwacan pilot, with the rest, feared that we would have eaten them, or otherwise have put them to some cruel death ; for the Spaniards, to the end that none of the people in the passage towards Guiana, or in Guiana itself, might come to speech with us, persuaded all the nations that we were men-eaters, and cannibals : but when the poor men and women had seen us, and that we gave them meat, and to every one something or other, which was rare and strange to them, they began to conceive the deceit and purpose of the Spaniards, who indeed (as they confessed) took from them both their wives and daughters daily, and used them for the satisfying of their own lusts, especially such as they took in this manner by strength.

But I protest before the majesty of the living God, that I neither know nor believe that any of our company one or other, by violence or otherwise, ever knew any of their women ; and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very young and excellently favoured, which came among us without deceit stark naked.

Nothing got us more love among them than this usage ; for I suffered not any man to take from any of the nations so much as a *pina*, or a potatoe root, without giving them contentment, nor any man so much as to offer to touch any of their wives or daughters : which course, so contrary to the Spaniards, (who tyrannise over them in all things,) drew them to admire her majesty, whose commandment I told them it was, and also wonderfully to honour our nation. But I confess it was a very impatient work to keep the meaner sort from spoil and stealing, when we came to their houses, which because in all I could not prevent, I caused my Indian interpreter at every place when we departed, to know of the loss or wrong done ; and if ought were stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restored, and the party punished in their sight, or else it was paid for to their uttermost demand. They also much wondered at us, after they heard that we had slain the Spaniards at Trinedado ; for they were before resolved, that no nation of Christians durst abide their presence ; and they wondered more when I had made them know of the great overthrow that her majesty's army and fleet had given them of late years in their own countries.

After we had taken in this supply of bread, with divers baskets of roots, which were excellent meat, I gave one of the canoes to the Arwacas, which belonged to the Spaniards that were escaped, and when I had dismissed all but the captain, (who by the Spaniards was christened Martin,) I sent back in the same canoe the old Ciawan, and Ferdinando my first pilot, and gave them both such things as they desired, with sufficient victual to carry them back ; and by them wrote a letter to the ships, which they promised to deliver, and performed it, and then I went on with my new hired pilot Martin the Arwacan : but the next or second day after, we came aground again with our galley, and were like to cast her away with all our victual and provision, and so lay on the sand one whole night, and were far more in despair at this time to free her than before, because we had no tide of flood to help us, and therefore feared that all our hopes would have ended in mishaps ; but we fastened an anchor upon the land, and with main strength drew her off ; and so the fifteenth day we discovered afar off the mountains of Guiana, to our great joy, and towards the evening had a slant of a northerly wind that blew very strong, which brought us in sight of the great river of Oroonoko, out of which the river descended wherein we were : we descried afar off three other canoes as far as we could discern them, after whom we hastened with our barge and wherries ; but two of them passed out of sight, and the third entered up the great river, on the right hand to the westward, and there stayed out of sight, thinking that we meant to take the way eastward towards the province of Carapana, for that way the Spaniards keep, not daring to go upwards to Guiana, the people in those parts being all their enemies ; and those in the canoes thought us to have been those Spaniards that were fled from Trinedado, and had escaped killing : and when we came so far down as the opening of that branch into which they slipped, being near them with our barge and wherries, we made after them, and ere they could land came within call, and by our interpreter told them what we were ; wherewith they came back willingly aboard us : and of such fish and tortoises' eggs as they had gathered they gave us, and promised in the morning to bring the lord of that part with them, and to do us all other services they could.

That night we came to an anchor at the parting of three goodly rivers, (the one was the river of Amana, by which we came from the north, and ran athwart towards the south, the other two were of Oroonoko, which crossed from the west, and ran to sea towards the east,) and landed upon a fair sand, where we found thousands of tortoises' eggs, which are very wholesome meat, and greatly restoring; so as our men were now well filled, and highly contented both with the fare and nearness of the land of Guiana, which appeared in sight. In the morning there came down, according to promise, the lord of that border, called Toparimaca, with some thirty or forty followers, and brought us divers sorts of fruits, and of his wine, bread, fish, and flesh, whom we also feasted as we could, at least he drank good Spanish wine, (whereof we had a small quantity in bottles,) which above all things they love. I conferred with this Toparimaca of the next way to Guiana, who conducted our galley and boats to his own port, and carried us from thence some mile and a half to his town, where some of our captains caroused of his wine till they were reasonable pleasant; for it is very strong with pepper, and the juice of divers herbs, and fruits digested and purged: they keep it in great earthen pots of ten or twelve gallons, very clean and sweet, and are themselves at their meetings and feasts the greatest carousers and drunkards of the world. When we came to his town we found two cassiques, whereof one of them was a stranger, that had been up the river in trade, and his boats, people, and wife encamped at the port where we anchored, and the other was of that country, a follower of Toparimaca: they lay each of them in a cotton hamaca, which we call Brazil beds, and two women attending them with six cups, and a little ladle, to fill them out of an earthen pitcher of wine; and so they drank each of them three of those cups at a time, one to the other; and in this sort they drink drunk at their feasts and meetings.

That cassique that was a stranger had his wife staying at the port where we anchored; and in all my life I have seldom seen a better favoured woman: she was of good stature, with black eyes, fat of body, of an excellent countenance, her hair almost as long as herself, tied up again in pretty knots; and it seemed she stood not in that awe of her husband as the rest; for she spake and discoursed, and drank among the gentlemen and captains, and was very pleasant, knowing her own comeliness, and taking great pride therein. I have seen a lady in England so like her, as but for the difference of colour I would have sworn might have been the same.

The seat of this town of Toparimaca was very pleasant, standing on a little hill, in an excellent prospect, with goodly gardens, a mile compass round about it, and two very fair and large ponds of excellent fish adjoining. This town is called Arowocai; the people are of the nation called Nepoios, and are followers of Carapana. In that place I saw very aged people, that we might perceive all their sinews and veins without any flesh, and but even as a case covered only with skin. The lord of this place gave me an old man for pilot, who was of great experience and travel, and knew the river most perfectly both by day and night; and it shall be requisite for any man that passeth it to have such a pilot; for it is four, five, and six miles over in many places, and twenty miles in other places, with wonderful eddies and strong currents, many great islands and divers shoals, and many dangerous rocks; and besides, upon any increase of wind, so great a billow, as we were sometimes in great peril of drowning in the galley, for the small boats durst not come from the shore but when it was very fair.

The next day we hasted thence, and having an easterly wind to help us, we spared our arms from rowing; for after we entered Oroonoko, the river lieth for the most part east and west, even from the sea unto Quito in Peru. This river is navigable with ships little less than one thousand miles, and from the place where we entered it may be sailed up in small pinnaces to many of the best parts of Nuevo Reygno de Granada, and of Popayan; and from no place may the cities of these parts of the Indies be so easily taken and invaded as from hence. All that day we sailed up a branch of that river, having on the left hand a great island, which they call Assapana, which may contain some five and twenty miles in length, and six miles in breadth, the great body of the river running on the other side of this island: beyond that middle branch there is also another island in the river, called Iwana, which is twice as big as the Isle of Wight; and beyond it, and between it and the main of Guiana, runneth a third branch of Oroonoko, called Arraroopana: all three are goodly branches, and all navigable for great ships. I judge the river in this place to be at least thirty miles broad, reckoning the islands which divide the branches in it; for afterwards I sought also both the other branches.

After we reached to the head of this island, called Assapana, a little to the westward on the right hand there opened a river which came from the north, called Europa, and fell into the great river; and beyond it, on the same side, we anchored for that night by another island six miles long and two miles broad, which they call Ocaywita: from hence in the morning we landed two Guianians, which we found in the town of Toparimaca, that came with us, who went to give notice of our coming to the lord of that country, called Putyma, a follower of Topiawari, chief lord of Arromaia, who succeeded Morequito, whom (as you have heard before) Berreo put to death: but his town being far within the land, he came not unto us that day, so as we anchored again that night near the banks of another island, of bigness much like the other, which they call Putapayma, on the main land, overagainst which island was a very high mountain called Œcope: we coveted to anchor rather by these islands in the river than by the main, because of the tortoises' eggs, which our people found on them in great abundance, and also because the ground served better for us to cast our nets for fish, the main banks being for the most part stony and high, and the rocks of a blue metalline colour, like unto the best steel ore, which I assuredly take it to be: of the same blue stone are also divers great mountains which border this river in many places.

The next morning, towards nine of the clock, we weighed anchor, and the breeze increasing, we sailed always west up the river, and after a while, opening the land on the right side, the country appeared to be champaign, and the banks shewed very perfect red : I therefore sent two of the little barges with captain Gifford, and with him captain Thyn, captain Calfield, my cousin Greenvile, my nephew Jo. Gilbert, captain Eynus, master Edw. Porter, and my cousin Butshead Gorges, with some few soldiers, to march over the banks of that red land, and to discover what manner of country it was on the other side ; who at their return found it all a plain level, as far as they went, or could discern from the highest tree they could get upon : and my old pilot, a man of great travel, brother to the cassique Toparimaca, told me, that those were called the plains of the Sayma, and that the same level reached to Cumana and Carracas in the West Indies, which are an hundred and twenty leagues to the north, and that there inhabited four principal nations. The first were the Sayma, the next Assawai, the third and greatest the Wikiri, by whom Pedro Hernandez de Serpa before mentioned was overthrown, as he passed with three hundred horse from Cumana towards Oroonoko, in his enterprise of Guiana; the fourth are called Aroras, and are as black as negroes, but have smooth hair ; and these are very valiant, or rather desperate people, and have the most strong poison on their arrows, and most dangerous of all nations ; of which poison I will speak somewhat, being a digression not unnecessary.

There was nothing whereof I was more curious, than to find out the true remedies of these poisoned arrows ; for, besides the mortality of the wound they make, the party shot endureth the most insufferable torment in the world, and abideth a most ugly and lamentable death, sometimes dying stark mad, sometimes their bowels breaking out of their bellies, and are presently discoloured as black as pitch, and so unsavoury, as no man can endure to cure or to attend them : and it is more strange to know, that in all this time there was never Spaniard, either by gift or torment, that could attain to the true knowledge of the cure, although they have martyred and put to invented torture I know not how many of them. But every one of these Indians know it not, no not one among thousands, but their soothsayers and priests, who do conceal it, and only teach it but from the father to the son.

Those medicines which are vulgar, and serve for the ordinary poison, are made of the juice of a root called *tupera* : the same also quencheth marvellously the heat of burning fevers, and healeth inward wounds, and broken veins that bleed within the body. But I was more beholden to the Guianians than any other, for Antonio de Berreo told me that he could never attain to the knowledge thereof, and yet they taught me the best way of healing as well thereof as of all other poisons. Some of the Spaniards have been cured in ordinary wounds of the common poisoned arrows with the juice of garlic : but this is a general rule for all men that shall hereafter travel the Indies where poisoned arrows are used, that they must abstain from drink ; for if they take any liquor into their body, as they shall be marvellously provoked thereunto by drought, I say, if they drink before the wound be dressed, or soon upon it, there is no way with them but present death.

And so I will return again to our journey, which for this third day we finished, and cast anchor again near the continent, on the left hand between two mountains, the one called Aroami, and the other Aio : I made no stay here but till midnight, for I feared hourly lest any rain should fall, and then it had been impossible to have gone any further up, notwithstanding that there is every day a very strong breeze, and easterly wind. I deferred the search of the country on Guiana side, till my return down the river. The next day we sailed by a great island, in the middle of the river, called Manoripano ; and as we walked a while on the island, while the galley got ahead of us, there came after us from the main a small canoe with seven or eight Guianians, to invite us to anchor at their port ; but I deferred it till my return : it was that cassique to whom those Nepoios went, which came with us from the town of Toparimaca ; and so the fifth day we reached as high up as the province of Arromaia, the country of Morequito, whom Berreo executed, and anchored to the west of an island called Murrecotima, ten miles long and five broad ; and that night the cassique Aramiari (to whose town we made our long and hungry voyage out of the river of Amana) passed by us.

The next day we arrived at the port of Morequito, and anchored there, sending away one of our pilots to seek the king of Arromaia, uncle to Morequito, slain by Berreo as aforesaid. The next day following, before noon, he came to us on foot from his house, which was fourteen English miles, (himself being 110 years old,) and returned on foot the same day, and with him many of the borderers, with many women and children, that came to wonder at our nation, and to bring us down victual, which they did in great plenty, as venison, pork, hens, chickens, fowl, fish, with divers sorts of excellent fruits and roots, and great abundance of pines, the princess of fruits that grow under the sun, especially those of Guiana. They brought us also store of bread, and of their wine, and a sort of paraquitos, no bigger than wrens, and of all other sorts both small and great : one of them gave me a beast, called by the Spaniards *armadilla*, which they call *cassacam*, which seemeth to be all barred over with small plates, somewhat like to a rhinoceros, with a white horn growing in his hinder parts, as big as a great hunting horn, which they use to wind instead of a trumpet. Monardus writeth, that a little of the powder of that horn put into the ear cureth deafness.

After this old king had rested a while in a little tent that I caused to be set up, I began by my interpreter to discourse with him of the death of Morequito his predecessor, and afterward of the Spaniards, and ere I went any further I made him know the cause of my coming thither, whose servant I was, and that the queen's pleasure was I should undertake the voyage for their defence, and to deliver them from the tyranny of the Spaniards, dilating at large (as I had done before to those of Trinedado) her majesty's greatness, her justice, her charity to all oppressed nations, with as many of the rest of her beauties and virtues as either I could express or they conceive ; all which being with great admiration attentively heard and marvellously admired, I began to sound the old man as touching Guiana, and the state thereof, what sort of commonwealth it was, how governed, of what strength and policy, how far it extended, and what nations were friends or enemies adjoining ; and, finally, of the distance and way to enter the same : he told me that himself and his people, with all those down the river towards the sea, as far as Emeria, the province of Carapana, were of Guiana, but that they called themselves Oroonokoponi, because they bordered the great river of Oroonoko, and that all the nations between the river and those mountains in sight called Wacarima, were of the same cast and appellation : and that on the other side of those mountains of Wacarima there was a large plain, (which after I discovered in my return,) called the valley of Amariocapana ; in all that valley the people were also of the ancient Guianians. I asked what nations those were which inhabited on the further side of those mountains beyond the valley of Amariocapana ; he answered with a great sigh, (as a man which had inward feeling of the loss of his country and liberty, especially for that his eldest son was slain in a battle on that side of the mountains, whom he most entirely loved,) that he remembered in his father's lifetime, when he was very old, and himself a young man, that there came down into that large valley of Guiana a nation from so far off as the sun slept, (for such were his own words,) with so great a multitude as they could not be numbered nor resisted ; and that they wore large coats, and hats of crimson colour, which colour he expressed by shewing a piece of red wood wherewith my tent was supported, and that they were called Oreiones, and Epuremei, those that had slain and rooted out so many of the ancient people as there were leaves in the wood upon all the trees, and had now made themselves lords of all, even to that mountain foot called Curaa, saving only of two nations, the one called Iwarawaqueri, and the other Cassipagotos ; and that in the last battle fought between the Epuremei and the Iwarawaqueri, his eldest son was chosen to carry to the aid of the Iwarawaqueri a great troop of the Oroonokoponi, and was there slain, with all his people and friends ; and that he had now remaining but one son : and further told me, that those Epuremei had built a great town called Macureguarai, at the said mountain foot, at the beginning of the great plains of Guiana, which have no end : and that their houses have many rooms, one over the other, and that therein the great king of the Oreiones and Epuremei kept three thousand men to defend the borders against them, and withal daily to invade and slay them : but that of late years, since the Christians offered to invade his territories and those frontiers, they were all at peace, and traded one with another, saving only the Iwarawaqueri, and those other nations upon the head of the river of Caroli, called Cassipagotos, which we afterwards discovered, each one holding the Spaniard for a common enemy.

After he had answered thus far, he desired leave to depart, saying that he had far to go ; that he was old and weak, and was every day called for by death, which was also his own phrase : I desired him to rest with us that night, but I could not entreat him ; but he told me that at my return from the country above he would again come to us, and, in the mean time, provide for us the best he could of all that his country yielded : the same night he returned to Orocotona, his own town ; so as he went that day twenty-eight miles, the weather being very hot, the country being situate between four and five degrees of the equinoctial. This Topiawari is held for the proudest and wisest of all the Oroonokoponi ; and so he behaved himself towards me in all his answers at my return, as I marvelled to find a man of that gravity and judgment, and of so good discourse, that had no help of learning nor breed.

The next morning we also left the port, and sailed westward up the river, to view the famous river called Caroli, as well because it was marvellous of itself, as also for that I understood it led to the strongest nations of all the frontiers that were enemies to the Epuremei, which are subjects to Inga, emperor of Guiana and Manoa ; and that night we anchored at another island called Caiama, of some five or six miles in length, and the next day arrived at the mouth of Caroli. When we were short of it as low or further down as the port of Morequito, we heard the great roar and fall of the river, but when we came to enter with our barge and wherries, thinking to have gone up some forty miles to the nations of the Cassipagotos, we were not able with a barge of eight oars to row one stone's cast in an hour ; and yet the river is as broad as the Thames at Woolwich, and we tried both sides, and the middle, and every part of the river, so as we encamped upon the banks adjoining, and sent off our Oroonokopone (which came with us from Morequito) to give knowledge to the nations upon the river of our being there, and that we desired to see the lords of Canuria which dwelt within the province upon that river, making them know that we were enemies to the Spaniards ; (for it was on this river's side that Morequito slew the friar, and those nine Spaniards which came from Manoa, the city of Inga, and took from them 40,000 pesoes of gold ;) so as the next day there came down a lord, or cassique, called Wanuretona, with many people with him, and brought all store of provisions to entertain us, as the rest had done. And as I had before made my coming known to Topiawari, so did I acquaint this cassique therewith, and how I was sent by her majesty for the purpose aforesaid, and gathered also what I could of him touching the estate of Guiana : and I found that those also of Caroli were not only enemies to the Spaniards, but most of all to the Epuremei, which abound in gold ;

and by this Wanuretona I had knowledge that on the head of this river were three mighty nations, which were seated on a great lake, from whence this river descended, and were called Cassipagotos, Eparagotos, and Arawagotos ; and that all those, either against the Spaniards or the Epuremei, would join with us ; and that, if we entered the land over the mountains of Curaa, we should satisfy ourselves with gold and all other good things : he told us further of a nation called Iwarawaqueri before spoken of, that held daily war with the Epuremei that inhabited Macureguarai, the first civil town of Guiana, of the subjects of Inga the emperor.

Upon this river one captain George, that I took with Berreo, told me there was a great silver mine, and that it was near the banks of the said river. But by this time as well Oroonoko, Caroli, as all the rest of the rivers, were risen four or five feet in height, so as it was not possible, by the strength of any men, or with any boat whatsoever, to row into the river against the stream. I therefore sent captain Thyn, captain Greenville, my nephew John Gylbert, my cousin Butshead Gorges, captain Clarke, and some thirty shot more, to coast the river by land, and to go to a town some twenty miles over the valley called Amnatapoi ; and if they found guides there, to go further towards the mountain foot to another great town, called Capurepana, belonging to a cassique called Haaracoa, (that was a nephew to old Topiawari, king of Arromaia, our chiefest friend,) because this town and province of Capurepana adjoined to Macureguarai, which was the frontier town of the empire : and the meanwhile myself, with captain Gifford, captain Calfield, Edw. Hancock, and some half a dozen shot, marched over land to view the strange overfalls of the river of Caroli, which roared so far off, and also to see the plains adjoining, and the rest of the province of Canuri : I sent also captain Whiddon, W. Connoke, and some eight shot with them, to see if they could find any mineral stone along the river's side. When we ran to the tops of the first hills of the plains adjoining to the river, we beheld that wonderful breach of waters which ran down Caroli : and might from that mountain see the river how it ran in three parts above twenty miles off ; and there appeared some ten or twelve overfalls in sight, every one as high over the other as a church tower, which fell with that fury, that the rebound of waters made it seem as if it had been all covered over with a great shower of rain : and in some places we took it at the first for a smoke that had risen over some great town. For mine own part, I was well persuaded from thence to have returned, being a very ill footman ; but the rest were all so desirous to go near the said strange thunder of waters, as they drew me on by little and little, till we came into the next valley, where we might better discern the same. I never saw a more beautiful country, nor more lively prospects, hills so raised here and there over the valleys, the river winding into divers branches, the plains adjoining without bush or stubble, all fair green grass, the ground of hard sand, easy to march on either for horse or foot, the deer crossing in every path, the birds towards the evening singing on every tree with a thousand several tunes, cranes and herons of white, crimson, and carnation, perching on the river's side, the air fresh, with a gentle easterly wind ; and every stone that we stopped to take up promised either gold or silver by his complexion. Your lordship shall see of many sorts, and I hope some of them cannot be bettered under the sun ; and yet we had no means but with our daggers and fingers to tear them out here and there, the rocks being most hard of that mineral spar aforesaid, and is like a flint, and is altogether as hard or harder, and besides the veins lie a fathom or two deep in the rocks. But we wanted all things requisite, save only our desires, and good-will to have performed more, if it had pleased God. To be short ; when both our companies returned, each of them brought also several sorts of stones that appeared very fair, but were such as they found loose on the ground, and were for the most part but coloured, and had not any gold fixed in them ; yet such as had no judgment or experience kept all that glistered, and would not be persuaded but it was rich, because of the lustre, and brought of those and of marquesite withal from Trinedado, and have delivered of those stones to be tried in many places, and have thereby bred an opinion that all the rest is of the same : yet some of these stones I shewed afterward to a Spaniard of the Caraccas, who told me that it was El Madre deloro, and that the mine was further in the ground. But it shall be found a weak policy in me, either to betray myself or my country with imaginations ; neither am I so far in love with that lodging, watching care, peril, diseases, ill savours, bad fare, and many other mischiefs that accompany these voyages, as to woo myself again into any of them, were I not assured that the sun covereth not so much riches in any part of the earth. Captain Whiddon, and our chirurgeon Nich. Millechap, brought me a kind of stones like sapphires ; what they may prove I know not ; I showed them to some of the Oroonokoponi, and they promised to bring me to a mountain that had of them very large pieces growing diamond-wise : whether it be crystal of the mountain, Bristol diamond, or sapphire, I do not yet know ; but I hope the best ; sure I am, that the place is as likely as those from whence all the rich stones are brought, and in the same height, or very near. On the left hand of this river Caroli are seated those nations which are called Iwarawakeri, before remembered, which are enemies to the Epuremei ; and on the head of it, adjoining to the great lake Cassipa, are situate those other nations which also resist Inga and the Epuremei, called Cassepagotos, Eparegotos, and Arrawagotos. I further understood that this lake of Cassipa is so large, as it is above one day's journey for one of their canoes to cross, which may be some forty miles ; and that therein fall divers rivers ; and that great store of grains of gold are found in the summer time, when the lake falleth by the banks in those branches. There is also another goodly river beyond Caroli, which is called Arvi, which also runneth through the lake Cassipa, and falleth into Oroonoko further west, making all that land between Caroli and Arvi an island, which is likewise a most beautiful country. Next unto Arvi there are two rivers, Atocia and Caora, and on that branch which is called Caora are a nation of people, whose heads appear not above their shoulders; which, though it may be thought a mere fable, yet for mine own part I am resolved it is true, because every child in the provinces of Arromaia and Canuri affirm the same: they are called Ewaipanoma: they are reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouths in the middle of their breasts, and that a long train of hair groweth backward between their shoulders. The son of Topiawari, which I brought with me into England, told me, that they are the most mighty men of all the land, and use bows, arrows, and clubs, thrice as big as any of Guiana or of the Oroonokoponi, and that one of the Iwarawakeri took a prisoner of them the year before our arrival there, and brought him into the borders of Arromaia, his father's country: and further, when I seemed to doubt of it, he told me that it was no wonder among them; but that they were as great a nation, and as common, as any other in all the provinces, and had of late years slain many hundreds of his father's people, and of other nations their neighbours. But it was not my chance to hear of them till I was come away; and if I had but spoken one word of it while I was there, I might have brought one of them with me, to put the matter out of doubt. Such a nation was written of by Maundeville, whose reports were held for fables many years; and yet since the East Indies were discovered, we find his relations true of such things as heretofore were held incredible: whether it be true or no, the matter is not great, neither can there be any profit in the imagination; for mine own part I saw them not, but I am resolved, that so many people did not all combine, or forethink, to make the report.

VERRAZZANO

Verrazzano's voyage was begun on the 17*th January,* 1524. *He made for the coast of Florida (then a large expanse of country reaching much farther north than the modern State of Florida), and then turned away from the Spanish colonies to the south and made for the coast of what is now New England. His report had a great deal to do with the later attempts of the persecuted Huguenots to establish a refuge for their co-religionists in Florida in the* 1560*'s—one of the earliest attempts to colonise what is now the United States.*

The present narrative is the whole of a letter written by Verrazzano to King Francis I from Dieppe on the 8th July, 1524. *It is translated in Hakluyt, and is here given intact save for the modernised spelling.*

Verrazzano was, as his name implies, an Italian, born in Florence. By a not altogether unnatural coincidence, the first voyages for Spain, England, and France to the New World were made by Italians, since Columbus was a Genoese and Cabot a Venetian.

VERRAZZANO

To the Most Christian King of France, Francis the First.

The relation of John de Verrazzano, a Florentine, of the land by him discovered in the name of His Majesty. Written in Dieppe the eighth of July, 1542.

I wrote not to Your Majesty, Most Christian King, since the time we suffered the tempest in the north parts of the success of the four ships which Your Majesty sent forth to discover new lands by the ocean, thinking Your Majesty had been already duly informed thereof. Now by these presents I will give Your Majesty to understand how by the violence of the winds we were forced with the two ships, the *Norman* and the *Dolphin* (in such evil case as they were) to land in Britaine. Where after we had repaired them in all points as was needful and armed them very well, we took our course along by the coast of Spain, which Your Majesty shall understand by the profit that we received thereby. Afterwards with the *Dolphin* alone we determined to make discovery of new countries, to prosecute the navigation we had already begun, which I purpose at this present to recount unto Your Majesty to make manifest the whole proceeding of the matter.

The 17th of January the year 1542 by the grace of God we departed from the uninhabited rock by the Isle of Madeira, appertaining to the King of Portugal, with fifty men, with victuals, weapons and other ship munition very well provided and furnished for eight months. And sailing westwards with a fair easterly wind in twenty-five days we ran five hundred leagues, and the 20th of February we were overtaken with as sharp and terrible a tempest as ever any sailors suffered. Whereof with the divine help and merciful assistance of Almighty God and the goodness of our ship, accompanied with the good hap of her fortunate name, we were delivered, and with a prosperous wind followed our course west and by north.

And in other twenty-five days we made above four hundred leagues more, where we discovered a new land, never before seen of any man either ancient or modern; and at the first sight it seemed somewhat low, but being within a quarter of a league of it, we perceived by the great fires that we saw by the sea coast, that it was inhabited: and saw that the land stretched to the southwards. In seeking some convenient harbour wherein to anchor and to have knowledge of the place, we sailed fifty leagues in vain, and seeing the land to run still to the southwards, we resolved to return back again towards the north, where we found ourselves troubled with the like difficulty. At length being in despair to find any port, we cast anchor upon the coast and sent our boat to shore, where we saw great store of people which came to the sea side; and seeing us approach, they fled away, and sometimes would stand still and look back, beholding us with great admiration. But afterwards being animated and assured with signs that we made them, some of them came hard to the sea side, seeming to rejoice very much at the sight of us, and marvelling greatly at our apparel, shape and whiteness, showed us by sundry signs where we might most commodiously come aland with our boat, offering us also of their victuals to eat.

Now I will briefly declare to Your Majesty their life and manners, as far as we could have notice thereof. These people go altogether naked, except only that they cover their privy parts with certain skins of beasts like unto martens, which they fasten unto a narrow girdle made of grass very artificially wrought, hung about with tails of divers other beasts, which round about their bodies hang dangling down to their knees. Some of them wear garlands of birds' feathers. The people are of colour russet, and not much unlike the Saracens: their hair black, thick and not very long, which they tie together in a knot behind and wear it like a little tail. They are well featured in their limbs, of mean stature, and commonly somewhat bigger than we, broad breasted, strong armed, their legs and other parts of their bodies well fashioned, and they are disfigured in nothing, saving that they have somewhat broad visages, and yet not all of them : for we saw many of them well favoured, having black and great eyes, with a cheerful and steady look, not strong of body, yet sharp witted, nimble and exceeding great runners, as far as we could learn by experience, and in those two last qualities they are like to the people of the east parts of the world, and especially to them of the uttermost parts of China. We could not learn of this people their manner of living, nor their particular customs, by reason of the short abode we made on the shore, our company being but small, and our ship riding far off in the sea.

And not far from these we found another people, whose living we think to be like unto theirs (as hereafter I will declare unto Your Majesty) showing at this present the situation and nature of the foresaid land. The shore is all covered with small sand, and so ascendeth upwards for the space of fifteen feet, rising in form of little hills about fifty paces broad. And sailing forwards, we found certain small rivers and arms of the sea, that fall down by certain creeks, washing the shore on both sides as the coast lieth. And beyond this we saw the open country rising in heights above the sandy shore with many fair fields and plains, full of mighty great woods, some very thick and some very thin, replenished with divers sorts of trees, as pleasant and delectable to behold as is possible to imagine. And Your Majesty may not think that these are like the woods of Hercynia or the wild deserts of Tartary, and the northern coasts full of fruitless trees. But they are full of palm trees, bay trees and high cypress trees and many sorts of trees unknown in Europe, which yield most sweet savours far from the shore, the property whereof we could not learn for the cause aforesaid, and not for any difficulty to pass through the woods, seeing they are not so thick but that a man may pass through them.

Neither do we think that they (partaking of the east world round about them) are altogether void of drugs or spicery and other riches of gold, seeing the colour of the land doth so much argue it. And the land is full of many beasts, as stags, deer and hares, and likewise of lakes and pools of fresh water, with great plenty of fowls, convenient for all kind of pleasant game.

This land is in latitude 34 degrees, with good and wholesome air, temperate, between hot and cold; no vehement winds do blow in those regions, and those that do commonly reign in those coasts are the north-west and west winds in the summer season (in the beginning whereof we were there), the sky clear and fair with very little rain. And if at any time the air be cloudy and misty with the southern wind, immediately it is dissolved and waxeth clear and fair again. The sea is calm, not boisterous, the waves gentle, and although the shore is somewhat infested with shoals and without harbour, yet is it not dangerous to the sailors, being free from rocks and deep, so that within four or five feet of the shore there is twenty feet depth of water without ebb or flood, the depth still increasing in such uniform proportion, is very good riding at sea : for any ship being shaken in a tempest can never perish there by breaking of her cables, which we have proved by experience. For in the beginning of March (as it is usual in all regions) being in the sea oppressed with northern winds, and riding there, we found our anchor broken before the earth failed or moved at all.

We departed from this place, still running along the coast, which we found to trend toward the east, and we saw everywhere very great fires, by reason of the multitude of the inhabitants. While we rode on that coast, partly because it had no harbour, and for that we wanted water, we sent our boat ashore with twenty-five men : where by reason of great and continual waves that beat against the shore, being an open coast, without succour, none of our men could possibly go ashore without losing our boat. We saw there many people which came unto the shore making divers signs of friendship, and showing that they were content we should come aland, and by trial we found them to be very courteous and gentle, as Your Majesty shall understand by the success.

To the intent we might send them of our things, which the Indians commonly desire and esteem, as sheets of paper, glasses, bells and suchlike trifles we sent a young man, one of our mariners, ashore, who swimming towards them and being within three or four yards of the shore, not trusting them, cast the things upon the shore. But seeking afterwards to return, he was with such violence of the waves beaten upon the shore, that he was so bruised that he lay there almost dead : which the Indians perceiving, ran to catch him, and drawing him out, they carried him a little way off from the sea. The young man perceiving they carried him, being at the first dismayed, began then greatly to fear, and cried out piteously : likewise did the Indians which did accompany him, going about to cheer him and to give him courage, and then setting him on the ground at the foot of a little hill against the sun, they began to behold him with great admiration, marvelling at the whiteness of his flesh. And putting off his clothes, they made him warm at a great fire, not without our great fear which remained in the boat that they would have roasted him at that fire and have eaten him. The young man having recovered his strength and having stayed a while with them, showed them by signs that he was desirous to return to the ship : and they with great love clapping him fast about with many embracings, accompanying him unto the sea, and to put him in more assurance, leaving him alone, went unto a high ground and stood there, beholding him until he was entered into the boat. This young man observed, as we did also, that these are of colour inclining to black as the other were, with their flesh very shining, of mean stature, handsome visage, and delicate limbs, and of very little strength, but of prompt wit : further we observed not.

Departing from hence, following the shore which trended somewhat towards the north, in fifty leagues' space we came to another land which showed much more fair and full of woods, being very great, where we rode at anchor. And that we might have some knowledge thereof, we sent twenty men aland, which entered into the country about two leagues, and they found that the people were fled to the woods for fear. They saw only one old woman with a young maid of eighteen or twenty years old, which seeing our company, hid themselves in the grass for fear : the old woman carried two infants on her shoulders, and behind her neck a child of eight years old. The young woman was laden likewise with as many. But when our men came unto them the women cried out. The old woman made signs that the men were fled unto the woods. As soon as they saw us to quiet them and to win their favour, our men gave them such victuals as they had with them to eat, which the old woman received thankfully. But the young woman disdained them all and threw them disdainfully on the ground. They took a child from the old woman to bring into France, and going about to take the young woman which was very beautiful and of tall stature, they could not possibly, for the great outcries that she made, bring her to the sea : and especially having great woods to pass through, and being far from the ship, we purposed to leave her behind, bearing the child only.

We found those folks to be more white than those that we found before, being clad with certain leaves that hang on boughs of trees, which they sew together with threads of wild hemp. Their heads were trussed up after the same manner as the former were. Their ordinary food is of pulse, whereof they have great store, differing in colour and taste from ours, of good and pleasant taste. Moreover they live by fishing and fowling, which they take with gins and bows made of hard wood, the arrows of cane, being headed with the bones of fish and other beasts. The beasts in these parts are much wilder than in our Europe, by reason they are continually chased and hunted.

We saw many of their boats made of one tree twenty feet long and four feet broad, which are not made with iron or stone or any other kind of metal (because that in all this country for the space of two hundred leagues which we ran we never saw one stone of any sort). They help themselves with fire, burning so much of the tree as is sufficient for the hollowness of the boat ; the like they do in making the stern and the forepart, until it be fit to sail upon the sea. The land is in situation, goodness and fairness like the other. It hath woods like the other, thin and full of divers sorts of trees, but not so sweet, because the country is more northerly and cold.

We saw in this country many vines growing naturally, which growing up, took hold of the trees as they do in Lombardy, which if by husbandmen they were dressed in good order, without all doubt they would yield excellent wines. For having oftentimes seen the fruit thereof dried, which was sweet and pleasant and not differing from ours, we think that they do esteem the same, because that in every place where they grow they take away the under branches growing round about, that the fruit thereof may ripen the better.

We found also roses, violets, lilies and many sorts of herbs and sweet and odoriferous flowers different from ours. We knew not their dwellings, because they were far up in the land, and we judge by many signs that we saw that they are of wood and of trees framed together.

We do believe also by many conjectures and signs that many of them sleeping in the fields, have no other covert than the open sky. Further knowledge have not we of them. We think that all the rest whose countries we passed live all after one manner. Having made our abode three days in this country, and riding on the coast for want of harbours, we concluded to depart from thence, trending along the shore between the north and the east, sailing only in the day-time, and riding at anchor by night. In the space of a hundred leagues sailing we found a very pleasant place situated amongst certain little steep hills :

from amidst the which hills there ran down into the sea an exceeding great stream of water, which within the mouth was very deep, and from the sea to the mouth of the same with the tide, which we found to rise eight feet, any great ship laden may pass up.

But because we rode at anchor in a place well fenced from the wind we would not venture ourselves without knowledge of the place. And we passed up with our boat only into the said river and saw the country very well peopled. The people are almost like unto the others, and are clad with the feathers of fowls of divers colours. They came towards us very cheerfully, making great shouts of admiration, showing us where we might come to land most safely with our boat. We entered up the said river into the land about half a league, where it made a most pleasant lake about three leagues in compass: on the which they rowed from the one side to the other to the number of thirty of their small boats, wherein were many people which passed from one shore to the other to come and see us. And behold upon the sudden (as it is wont to fall out in sailing) a contrary flaw of wind coming from the sea, we were enforced to return to our ship, leaving this land to our great discontentment, for the great commodity and pleasantness thereof, which we suppose is not without some riches, all the hills showing mineral matters in them. We weighed anchor and sailed toward the east, for so the coast trended, and so always for fifty leagues being in the sight thereof, we discovered an island in form of a triangle, distant from the mainland ten leagues, about the bigness of the Island of the Rhodes. It was full of hills covered with trees, well peopled, for we saw fires all along the coast: we gave it the name of Your Majesty's mother, not staying there by reason of the weather being contrary.

And we came to another land being fifteen leagues distant from the island, where we found a passing good haven, wherein being entered we found about twenty small boats of the people, which with divers cries and wonderings came about our ship, coming no nearer than fifty paces towards us. They stayed and beheld the artificialness of our ship, our shape and apparel. Then they all made a loud shout together, declaring that they rejoiced. When we had something animated them, using their gestures, they came so near us that we cast them certain bells and glasses and many toys, which when they had received they looked on them with laughing, and came without fear aboard our ship. There were amongst these people two kings of so goodly stature and shape as is possible to declare. The eldest was about forty years of age, the second was a young man of twenty years old. Their apparel was on this manner: The elder had upon his naked body a hart's skin wrought artificially with divers branches like damask. His head was bare with the hair tied up behind with divers knots. About his neck he had a large chain, garnished with divers stones of sundry colours. The young man was almost apparelled after the same manner. This is the goodliest people and of the fairest conditions that we have found in this our voyage. They exceed us in bigness. They are the colour of brass. Some of them incline more to whiteness. Others are of yellow colour, of comely visage, with long black hair, which they are very careful to trim and deck up. They are black and quick eyed, and of sweet and pleasant countenance, imitating much the old fashion. I write not to Your Majesty of the other parts of their body, having all such proportion as appertaineth to any handsome man. The women are of the like conformity and beauty, very handsome and well favoured, of pleasant countenance and comely to behold. They are as well mannered and continent as any woman, and of good education. They are all naked save their privy parts, which they cover with a deer's skin branched or embroidered as the men use. There are also of them which wear on their arms very rich skins of "luzernes." They adorn their heads with divers ornaments made of their own hair, which hang down before on both sides their breasts. Others use other kind of dressing themselves like unto the women of Egypt and Syria. These are of the elder sort. And when they are married they wear divers toys, according to the usage of the people of the east, as well men as women.

Among whom we saw many plate of wrought copper, which they esteem more than gold, which for the colour they make no account of, for that among all other it is counted the basest. They make most account of azure and red. The things that they esteem most of all those which we gave them were bells, crystal of azure colour, and other toys to hang at their ears or about their neck. They did not desire cloth of silk or of gold, much less of any other sort, neither cared they for things made of steel and iron, which we often showed them in our armour, which they made no wonder at, and in beholding them they only asked the art of making them. The like they did at our glasses, which when they beheld, they suddenly laughed and gave them us again. They are very liberal, for they give that which they have. We became great friends with these, and one day we entered into the haven with our ship, whereas before we rode a league off at sea by reason of the contrary weather. They came in great companies of their small boats unto the ship with their faces all bepainted with divers colours, showing us that it was a sign of joy, bringing us of their victuals. They made signs unto us where we might safest ride in the haven for the safeguard of our ship, keeping still our company.

And after we were come to an anchor, we bestowed fifteen days in providing ourselves many necessary things, whither every day the people repaired to see our ship, bringing their wives with them, whereof they were very jealous: and they themselves entering aboard the ship and staying there a good space, caused their wives to stay in their boats, and for all the entreaty we could make, offering to give them divers things, we could never obtain that they would suffer them to come aboard our ship. And oftentimes one of the two kings coming with his queen and many gentlemen for their pleasure to see us, they all stayed on the shore two hundred paces from us, sending a small boat to give us intelligence of their coming, saying they would come to see our ship. This they did in token of safety, and as soon as they had answer from us they came immediately, and having stayed a while to behold it, they wondered at hearing the cries and noises of the mariners. The queen and her maids stayed in a very light boat at an island a quarter of a league off, while the king abode a long space in our ship, uttering divers conceits with gestures, viewing with great admiration all the furniture of the ship, demanding the property of everything particularly. He took likewise great pleasure in beholding our apparel and in tasting our meats, and so courteously taking his leave departed. And sometimes our men staying two or three days on a little island near the ship for divers necessaries (as it is the use of seamen) he returned with seven or eight of his gentlemen to see what we did, and asked of us oftentimes if we meant to make any long abode there, offering us of their provision. Then the king drawing his bow and running up and down with his gentlemen made much sport to gratify our men.

We were oftentimes within the land five or six leagues, which we found as pleasant as is possible to declare, very apt for any kind of husbandry of corn, wine and oil, for that there are plains twenty-five or thirty leagues broad, open and without any impediment of trees, of such fruitfulness that any seed being sown therein will bring forth most excellent fruit. We entered afterwards into the woods, which we found so great and thick that any army, were it never so great, might have hid itself therein, the trees whereof are oaks, cypress trees and other sorts unknown in Europe. We found Pomi appii, damson trees and nut trees and many other sorts of fruit differing from ours. There are beasts in great abundance, as harts, deer, luzerns and other kinds which they take with their nets and bows which are their chief weapons. The arrows which they use are made with great cunning, and instead of iron they head them with flint, with jasper stone and hard marble and other sharp stones, which they use instead of iron to cut trees and to make their boats of one whole piece of wood, making it hollow with great and wonderful art, wherein ten or twelve men may sit commodiously. Their oars are short and broad at the end, and they use them in the sea without any danger, and by main force of arms with as great speediness as they list themselves.

We saw their houses made in circular or round form ten or twelve paces in compass, made with half circles of timber separate one from another without any order of building, covered with mats of straw wrought cunningly together, which save them from the wind and rain. And if they had the order of building and perfect skill of workmanship as we have, there were no doubt but that they would also make eftsoons great and stately buildings. For all the sea coasts are full of clear and glistering stone and alabaster, and therefore it is full of good havens and harbours for ships. They move the foresaid houses from one place to another according to the commodity of the place and season wherein they will make their abode, and only taking off the mats, they have other houses builded incontinent. The father and the whole family dwell together in one house in great number. In some of them we saw twenty-five or thirty persons. They feed as the other do aforesaid of pulse which grow in that country with better order of husbandry than in the others. They observe in their sowing the course of the moon and the rising of certain stars and divers other customs spoken of by antiquity. Moreover they live by hunting and fishing. They live long and are seldom sick, and if they chance to fall sick at any time they heal themselves with fire without any physician and they say that they die for very age. They are very pitiful and charitable towards their neighbours ; they make great lamentations in their adversity : and in their misery the kindred reckon up all their felicity. At their departure out of life they use mourning mixed with singing, which continueth for a long space. This is as much as we could learn of them.

This land is situated in the parallel of Rome, in 41 degrees and 2 terces: but somewhat more cold by accidental causes and not of nature (as I will declare unto Your Highness elsewhere) describing at this present the situation of the foresaid country, which lieth east and west; I say that the mouth of the haven lieth open to the south half a league broad, and being entered within it between the east and the north, it stretcheth twelve leagues: where it waxeth broader and broader, and maketh a gulf about twenty leagues in compass, wherein are five small islands very fruitful and pleasant, full of high and broad trees, among the which islands any great navy may ride safe without any fear of tempest or other danger. Afterwards turning towards the south in the entering into the haven on both sides there are most pleasant hills, with many rivers of most clear water falling into the sea.

In the midst of this entrance there is a rock of freestone growing by nature, apt to build any castle or fortress there for the keeping of the haven. The fifth of May, being furnished with all things necessary, we departed from the said coast keeping along in the sight thereof, and we sailed a hundred and fifty leagues finding it always after one manner, but the land somewhat higher with certain mountains, all which bear a show of mineral matter. We sought not to land there in any place, because the weather served our turn for sailing, but we suppose that it was like the former; the coast ran eastward for the space of fifty leagues. And trending afterwards to the north, we found another land, high, full of thick woods, the trees whereof were firs, cypresses and suchlike, as are wont to grow in cold countries. The people differ much from the other, and look how much the former seemed to be courteous and gentle: so much were these full of rudeness and ill manners, and so barbarous that by no signs that ever we could make, we could have any kind of traffic with them. They clothe themselves with bearskins and luzerns' and seals' and other beasts' skins. Their food, as far as we could perceive, repairing often unto their dwellings, we suppose to be by hunting and fishing, and of certain fruits, which are a kind of roots which the earth yieldeth of her own accord. They have no grain, neither saw we any kind or sign of tillage, neither is the land, for the barrenness thereof, apt to bear fruit or seed.

If at any time we desire by exchange to have any of their commodities they used to come to the sea shore upon certain craggy rocks, and we standing in our boats, they let down with a rope what it pleased them to give us, crying continually that we should not approach to the land, demanding immediately the exchange, taking nothing but knives, fish hooks and tools to cut withal, neither did they make any account of our courtesy. And when we had nothing left to exchange with them, when we departed from them the people showed all signs of discourtesy and disdain as were possible for any creature to invent. We were in despite of them two or three leagues within the land, being in number twenty-five armed men of us. And when we went on shore they shot at us with their bows, making great outcries, and afterwards fled into the woods. We found not in this land anything notable or of importance, saving very great woods and certain hills. They may have some mineral matter in them, because we saw many of them have bead-stones of copper hanging at their ears.

We departed from thence keeping our course north-east along the coast, which we found more pleasant champaign and without woods, with very high mountains within the land continuing directly along the coast for the space of fifty leagues. We discovered thirty-two islands lying all near the land, being small and pleasant to the view, high and having many turnings and windings between them, making many fair harbours and channels as they do in the gulf of Venice in Sclavonia and Dalmatia. We had no knowledge or acquaintance with the people. We suppose they are of the same manners and nature as the others are. Sailing north-east for the space of a hundred and fifty leagues we approached to the land that in times past was discovered by the Britons, which is in 50 degrees. Having now spent all our provision and victuals, and having discovered about seven hundred leagues and more of new countries, and being furnished with water and wood, we concluded to return into France.

Touching the religion of this people which we have found, for want of their language we could not understand neither by signs nor gesture that they had any religion or law at all, or that they did acknowledge any first cause or mover, neither that they worship the heaven or stars, the sun or moon or other planets, and much less whether they be idolaters, neither could we learn whether that they used any kind of sacrifices or other adorations ; neither in their villages have they any temples or houses of prayer. We suppose that they have no religion at all, and that they live at their own liberty. And that all this proceedeth of ignorance, for that they are very easy to be persuaded : and all that they see us Christians do in our divine service, they did the same with the like imitation as they saw us to do it.

CHAMPLAIN

Samuel Champlain was the builder of France's empire in Canada. Verrazzano had led the way to the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and ten years later Jacques Cartier, a Breton corsair, ascended the river as far as Montreal in the belief that he was finding the North-West Passage. It was not until 1603, *however, that the French made a determined effort to exploit the new territory. Champlain as governor ascended the St. Lawrence to the Great Lakes, located those inland seas, and made certain progress towards opening a territory in the direction of Hudson's Bay.*

He wrote four books describing his achievements in Canada, of which the narrative here given is the first, Des Sauvages, *which was licensed in November* 1603, *only two months after his first return to France. It is devoted principally to a study of the natives and is one of the best accounts extant of their habits. The translation here used is taken from Purchas's* Pilgrims, *the continuation of Hakluyt published in* 1625.

CHAMPLAIN

Short account describing the voyage from Honfleur, in Normandy, to the Port of Tadoussac, in Canada.

We departed from Honfleur, the fifteenth day of March 1603. This day we put into the Road of New Haven, because the wind was contrary. The Sunday following being the sixteenth of the said month, we set sail to proceed on our Voyage. The seventeenth day following, we had sight of Jersey and Guernsey, which are Isles between the Coast of Normandy and England. The eighteenth of the said month, we descried the Coast of Britain. The nineteenth, at seven of the clock at night, we made account that we were thwart of Ushent. The one and twentieth, at seven of clock in the morning we met with seven ships of Hollanders, which to our judgment came from the Indies. On Easter day, the thirtieth of the said month, we were encountered with a great storm, which seemed rather to be thunder then wind, which lasted the space of seventeen days, but not so great as it was the two first days ; and during the said time we rather lost way than gained.

The sixteenth day of April the storm began to cease, and the sea became more calm than before, to the contentment of all the Company ; in such sort as continuing our said course until the eighteenth of the said month, we met with a very high Mountain of Ice. The morrow after we descried a bank of ice, which continued about eight leagues in length, with an infinite number of other smaller pieces of ice, which hindered our passage. And by the judgment of our Pilot, the said flakes of ice were one hundred, or one hundred & twenty leagues from the Country of Canada, and we were in 45 degrees and two third parts ; & we found passage in 44 degrees. The second of May, at eleven of clock of the day, we came upon The Bank in 44 degrees one third part. The sixth of the said month, we came so near the land that we heard the sea beat against the shore, but we could not descry the same through the thickness of the fog, whereunto these coasts are subject; which was the cause that we put farther certain leagues into the sea, until the next day in the morning, when we descried land, the weather being very clear, which was the Cape of Saint Marie. The twelfth day following we were overtaken with a great flow of wind, which lasted two days. The fifteenth of the said month, we descried the Isles of Saint Peter. The seventeenth following we met with a bank of ice near Cape de Raie, six leagues in length, which caused us to strike sail all the night, to avoid the danger we might incur. The next day we set sail, and descried Cape de Raie, and the Isles of Saint Paul, and Cape de Saint Laurence, which is on the South side. And from the said Cape of Saint Laurence, unto Cape de Raie, is eighteen leagues, which is the breadth of the entrance of the great Gulf of Canada.

The same day, about ten of the clock in the morning, we met with another Island of ice, which was about eight leagues long. The twentieth of the said month, we descried an Isle, which contained some five and twenty or thirty leagues in length, which is called the Isle of Assumption, which is the entrance of the River of Canada. The next day we descried Gachepe, which is a very high land, and began to enter into the said River of Canada, ranging the South coast unto the River of Mantanne, which is from the said Gachepe sixty-five leagues; from the said River of Mantanne we sailed as far as the Pike, which is twenty leagues, which is on the South side also: from the said Pike we sailed over the River unto the port of Tadousac, which is fifteen leagues. All these Countries are very high, and barren, yielding no commodity. The four and twentieth of the said month we cast anchor before Tadousac, and the six and twentieth we entered into the said Port, which is made like to a creek in the entrance of the River of Saguenay, where there is a very strange current and tide, for the swiftness and depth thereof where sometimes strong winds do blow because of the cold which they bring with them ; it is thought that the said River is five and forty leagues unto the first fall, and it comes from the North North-west. The said Port of Tadousac is little, wherein there cannot ride about ten or twelve ships : but there is water enough toward the east, toward the opening of the said River of Saguenay along by a little hill, which is almost cut off from the main by the sea : the rest of the Country are very high Mountains, whereon there is little mould, but rocks and sands full of woods of Pines, Cypresses, Fir-trees, Birch, and some other sorts of trees of small price. There is a little Pool near unto the said Port, enclosed with Mountains covered with woods. At the entrance of the said Port there are two points, the one on the West side running a league into the Sea, which is called Saint Matthew's point ; and the other on the South-east side containing a quarter of a league, which is called the point of all the Divels. The South and South South-east, and South South-west winds do strike into the said haven. But from Saint Matthew's Point, to the said Point of all the Divels, is very near a league : Both these Points are dry at a low water.

Kind reception of the French by the great Sagamo of the savages of Canada ; their feasts and dances ; the war they carry on with the Iroquois ; how and of what their canoes and cabins are made ; with a description of St. Matthew's Point.

The seven and twentieth day we sought the Savages at the Point of Saint Matthew, which is a league from Tadousac, with the two Savages whom Monsieur du Pont brought with him, to make report of that which they had seen in France, and of the good entertainment which the King had given them. As soon as we were landed we went to the Cabin of their great Sagamo, which is called Anadabijou, where we found him with some eighty or a hundred of his companions, which were making Tabagie, that is to say, a Feast. He received us very well, according to the custom of the Country, and made us sit down by him, and all the Savages sat along one by another on both sides of the said Cabin. One of the Savages which we had brought with us began to make his Oration, of the good entertainment which the King had given them, and of the good usage that they had received in France, and that they might assure themselves that his said Majesty wished them well, and desired to people their Country, and to make peace with their enemies (which are the Irocois) or to send them forces to vanquish them. He also reckoned up the fair Castles, Palaces, Houses, and people which they had seen, and our manner of living. He was heard with so great silence, as more cannot be uttered. Now when he had ended his Oration, the said grand Sagamo Anadabijou, having heard him attentively began to take Tobacco, and gave to the said Monsieur du Pont Grave of Saint Malo, and to me, and to certain other Sagamos which were by him : after he had taken store of Tobacco, he began to make his Oration to all, speaking distinctly, resting sometimes a little, and then speaking again, saying, that doubtless they ought to be very glad to have his Majesty for their great friend : they answered all with one voice, ho, ho, ho, which is to say, yea, yea, yea. He proceeding forward in his speech, said That he was very well content that his said Majesty should people their Country, and make war against their enemies, and that there was no Nation in the world to which they wished more good, than to the French. In fine, he gave them all to understand what good and profit they might receive of his said Majesty. When he had ended his speech, we went out of his Cabin, and they began to make their Tabagie or Feast, which they make with the flesh of Orignac, which is like an Ox, of Bears, of Seals, and Beavers, which are the most ordinary victuals which they have, & with great store of wild Fowl. They had eight or ten Kettles full of meat in the midst of the said Cabin, and they were set one from another some six paces, and each one upon a several fire. The men sat on both sides of the house (as I said before) with his dish made of the bark of a tree; and when the meat is sodden, there is one which divideth to every man his part in the same dishes, wherein they feed very filthily, for when their hands be fatty, they rub them on their hair, or else on the hair of their dogs, whereof they have store to hunt with. Before their meat was sodden, one of them rose up, and took a dog, & danced about the said Kettles from the one end of the Cabin to the other: when he came before the great Sagamo, he cast his dog perforce upon the ground, and then all of them with one voice, cried, ho, ho, ho, which being done, he went and sat him down in his place, then immediately another rose up and did the like, and so they continued until the meat was sodden. When they had ended their Feast, they began to dance, taking their heads of their enemies in their hands, which hanged upon the wall behind them; and in sign of joy there is one or two which sing, moderating their voice by the measure of their hands, which they beat upon their knees, then they rest sometimes, and cry, ho, ho, ho; and begin again to dance & blow like a man that is out of breath. They made this triumph for a victory which they had gotten of the Irocois, of whom they had slain some hundred, whose heads they cut off, which they had with them for the ceremony. They were three Nations when they went to war; the Estechemins, Algoumequins, and Mountainers, to the number of a thousand, when they went to war against the Irocois, whom they encountered at the mouth of the River of the said Irocois and slew a hundred of them. The war which they make is altogether by surprises, for otherwise they would be out of heart; & they fear the said Irocois very much, which are in greater number than the said Mountainers, Estechemins and Algoumequins. The twenty eight day of the said month, they encamped themselves in the foresaid haven of Tadousac, where our Ship was; at the break of day their said great Sagamo came out of his Cabin, going round about all the other Cabins, and cried with a loud voice that they should dislodge to go to Tadousac, where their good friends were. Immediately every man in a trice took down his cabin, and the said grand Captain, first began to take his canoe, & carried it to the Sea, where he embarked his wife and children, & store of furs; and in like manner did well near two hundred canoes, which go strangely; for though our Shallop was well manned, yet they went more swift than we. There are but two that row, the man and the wife. Their Canoes are some eight or nine paces long, and a pace, or a pace and a half broad in the midst, and grow sharper & sharper toward both the ends. They are very subject to overturning, if one know not how to guide them; for they are made of the bark of a Birch tree, strengthened within with little circles of wood well & handsomely framed and are so light, that one man will carry one of them easily; and every Canoe is able to carry the weight of a Pipe: when they would pass over any land to go to some River where they have business, they carry them with them. Their Cabins are low, made like Tents, covered with the said bark of a tree, and they leave in the roof about a foot space uncovered, whereby the light comes in; and they make many fires right in the midst of their Cabin, where they are sometimes ten households together. They lie upon skins one by another, and their dogs with them. They were about a thousand persons, men, women and children. The place of the point of S. Matthew, where they were first lodged, is very pleasant; they were at the bottom of a little hill, which was full of Fir & Cypress trees; upon this point there is a little level plot, which discovereth far off, & upon the top of the said hill, there is a Plain, a league long, and half a league broad, covered with trees; the soil is very sandy and is a good pasture; all the rest is nothing but Mountains of very bad rocks : the Sea beats round about the said hill, which is dry for a large half league at a low water.

The rejoicing which the savages make after they have been victorious over their enemies; their disposition, suffering from hunger, ill-will; their beliefs and false ideas; they speak to devils; their clothes, and how they walk on the snow; with their marriage customs and the burial of their dead.

The ninth day of June the Savages began to make merry together, and to make their feast, as I have said before, and to dance for the aforesaid victory which they had obtained against their enemies. After they had made good cheer, the Algoumequins (Algouquins), one of the three Nations, went out of their Cabins, and retired themselves apart into a public place, and caused all their women and girls to sit down in ranks one by the other, and stood themselves behind, then singing all in one time, as I have said before. And suddenly all the women and maidens began to cast off their Mantles of skins, and stripped themselves stark naked, showing their privities, neverless adorned with Matachias, which are paternosters and chains enterlaced made of the hair of the Porkespicke, which they dye of divers colours. After they had made an end of their songs, they cry all with one voice, ho, ho, ho; at the same instant all the women and maidens covered themselves with their Mantles, for they lie at their feet, and rest a short while; and then eftsoons beginning again to sing, they let fall their Mantles as they did before. They go not out of one place when they dance, and make certain gestures and motions of the body, first lifting up one foot and then another, stamping upon the ground.

While they were dancing of this dance, the Sagamo of the Algoumequins, whose name was Besouat, sat before the said women and virgins, between two staves, whereon the heads of their enemies did hang. Sometimes he rose and made a speech, and said to the Mountainers and Estechemains; ye see how we rejoice for the victory which we have obtained of our enemies, ye must do the like, that we may be contented ; then they altogether cried, ho, ho, ho. As soon as he was returned to his place, the great Sagamo, and all his companions cast off their Mantles, being stark naked save their privities, which were covered with a little skin, and took each of them what they thought good, as Matachias, Hatchets, Swords, Kettles, Fat, Flesh of the Orignac, Seals, in brief, every one had a present, which they gave the Algoumequins. After all these ceremonies the dance ceased, and the said Algoumequins both men and women carried away their presents to their lodgings. They chose out also two men of each Nation of the best disposition, which they caused to run, and he which was the swiftest in running had a present.

All these people are of a very cheerful complexion, they laugh for the most part, nevertheless they are somewhat melancholy. They speak very distinctly, as though they would make themselves well understood, and they stay quickly bethinking themselves a great while, and then they begin their speech again : they often use this fashion in the middest of their Orations in counsel, where there are none but the principals, which are the ancients : the women and children are not present. All these people sometimes endure so great extremity, that they are almost constrained to eat one another, through the great colds and snows ; for the Beasts and Fowls whereof they live, retire themselves into more hot climates. I think if any would teach them how to live, and to learn to till the ground, and other things, they would learn very well ; for I assure you that many of them are of good judgement, and answer very well to the purpose to anything that a man shall demand of them.

They have one naughty quality in them, which is, that they are given to revenge, and great liars, a people to whom you must not give too much credit, but with reason, and standing on your own guard. They promise much and perform little. They are for the most part a people that have no Law, as far as I could see and inform myself of the said great Sagamo, who told me, that they constantly believe, that there is one God, which hath made all things: And then I said unto him, since they believe in one God only, How is it that he sent them into this world, and from whence came they.

He answered me, that after God had made all things, he took a number of Arrows, and stuck them in the ground, from whence men and women grew, which have multiplied in the world until this present, and had their original on this fashion. I replied unto him, that this which he said was false; but that indeed there was one God only, which had created all things in the earth, and in the heavens: seeing all these things so perfect, without anybody to govern this world beneath, he took of the slime of the earth, and thereof made Adam, our first Father: as Adam slept, God took a rib of the side of Adam, and thereof made Eve, whom he gave him for his companion; and that this was the truth that they and we had our original after this manner, and not of Arrows as they believed.

He said nothing unto me, save, that he believed rather that which I said, than that which he told me. I asked him also, whether he believed not there was any other but one God only. He told me, that their belief was, That there was one God, one Son, one Mother, and the Sun, which were four; yet that God was above them all; but that the Son was good, and the Sun in the firmament, because of the good that they received of them; but that the Mother was naught, and did eat them, and that the Father was not very good. I showed him his error according to our faith, wherein he gave me some small credit. I demanded of him, whether they had not seen, nor heard say of their ancestors, that God came into the world. He told me, that he had never seen him; but that in old time there were five men which went toward the Sun setting, which met with God, who asked them, Whither go ye? They said, we go to seek our living: God answered them, you shall find it here. They went farther, without regarding what God had said unto them : which took a stone, and touched two of them with it, which were turned into a stone : And he said again unto the other three, Whither go ye ? and they answered as at the first : and God said to them again, Go no further, you shall find it here. And seeing that nothing came unto them, they went farther : and God took two staves, and touched the two first therewith, which were turned into staves ; and the fifth stayed and would go no further : And God asked him again, whither goest thou ? I go to seek my living ; stay and thou shalt find it. He stayed without going any further, and God gave him meat, and he did eat thereof ; after he had well fed, he returned with other Savages, and told them all the former story. He told them also, That another time there was a man which had store of Tobacco (which is a kind of herb, whereof they take the smoke). And that God came to this man, and asked him where his Tobacco pipe was. The man took his Tobacco pipe and gave it to God, which took Tobacco a great while : after he had taken store of Tobacco, God broke the said pipe into many pieces : and the man asked him, why hast thou broken my pipe, and seest that I have no more ? And God took one which he had, and gave it to him, and said unto him ; lo here I give thee one, carry it to thy great Sagamo, and charge him to keep it, and if he keep it well he shall never want anything, nor none of his companions.

The said man took the Tobacco pipe, and gave it to his great Sagamo, which as long as he kept, the Savages wanted nothing in the world. But after that the said Sagamo lost this Tobacco pipe, which was the occasion of great famine, which sometimes they have among them. I asked him whether he believed all this ? he said yea, and that it was true. This I believe is the cause wherefore they say that God is not very good.

But I replied and told him, that God was wholly good ; and that without doubt this was the Devil that appeared to these men, and that if they would believe in God as we do, they should not want anything needful. That the Sun which they beheld, the Moon and the Stars were created by this great God, which hath made heaven and earth, and they have no power but that which God hath given them. That we believe in this great God, who by his goodness hath sent us his dear Son, which being conceived by the Holy Ghost, took human flesh in the Virginal womb of the Virgin Mary, having been thirty-three years on the earth, working infinite miracles, raising up the dead, healing the sick, casting out Devils, giving sight to the blind, teaching men the will of God his Father, to serve, honour, and worship him, did shed his blood, and suffered death and passion for us, and for our sins, and redeemed mankind, and being buried, he rose again, he descended into hell and ascended into heaven, where he sitteth at the right hand of God his Father. That this was the belief of all the Christians, which believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which nevertheless are not three Gods, but one only, and one only God, and one Trinity, in the which none is before or after the other, none greater or less than another. That the Virgin Mary the Mother of the Son of God, and all men and women which have lived in this world, doing the commandments of God, and suffering martyrdom for his name sake, and by the permission of God have wrought miracles, and are Saints in heaven in his Paradise, do all pray this great divine Majesty for us, to pardon us our faults and our sins which we do against his Law and his Commandments : and so by the prayers of the Saints in heaven, and by our prayers which we make to his divine Majesty, he giveth that which we have need of, and the Devil hath no power over us, and can do us no harm : That if they had this belief, they should be as we are, and that the Devil should be able to do them no hurt, and should never want anything necessary. That the said Sagamo told me, that he approved that which I said. I asked him what ceremony they used in praying to their God. He told me, that they used none other ceremonies, but that every one prayed in his heart as he thought good : This is the cause why I believe they have no law among them, neither do they know how to worship or pray to God, and live for the most part like brute beasts, and I think in short space they would be brought to be good Christians, if their Country were planted, which they desire for the most part.

They have among them certain Savages which they call Pilatoua, which speak visibly with the Devil, which telleth them what they must do, as well for the war as for other things ; and if he should command them to put any enterprise in execution, either to kill a French man, or any other of their Nation, they would immediately obey his commandment. Also they believe that all the dreams which they dream are true : and indeed there are many of them, which say that they have seen and dreamed things which do happen or shall happen. But to speak truly of these things, they are visions of the Devil, which doth deceive and seduce them. Lo this is all their belief that I could learn of them, which is brutish and bestial. All these people are well proportioned of their bodies, without any deformity, they are well set, and the women are well shapen, fat and full, of a tawny colour by abundance of a certain painting wherewith they rub themselves, which maketh them to be of an Olive colour. They are apparelled with skins, one part of their bodies is covered and the other part uncovered ; but in the winter they cover all, for they are clad with good Furs, namely with the skins of Orignac, Otters, Beavers, Sea-Bears, Stags, and Deer, whereof they have store. In the winter when the Snows are great they make a kind of racket which is twice or thrice as big as one of ours in France, which they fasten to their feet, and so go on the Snow without sinking ; for otherwise they could not hunt nor travel in many places.

They have also a kind of Marriage, which is, that when a Maid is fourteen or fifteen years old, she shall have many servants and friends, and she may have carnal company with all those which she liketh, then after five or six years, she may take which of them she will for her husband, and so they shall live together all their life time, except that after they have lived a certain time together and have no children, the man may forsake her and take another wife, saying that his old wife is nothing worth, so that the Maids are more free than the married Women. After they be married they be chaste, and their husbands for the most part are jealous, which give presents to the Father or Parents of the Maid, which they have married : lo this is the ceremony and fashion which they use in their marriages.

Touching their burials, when a man or woman dieth, they make a pit, wherein they put all the goods which they have, as Kettles, Furs, Hatchets, Bows and Arrows, Apparel, and other goods, and then they put the corpse into the grave, and cover it with earth, and set store of great pieces of wood over it, and one stake they set upon end, which they paint with red on the top. They believe the immortality of the Soul, and say that when they be dead they go into other Countries to rejoice with their parents and friends.

The River Saguenay and its source.

The eleventh day of June, I went some twelve or fifteen leagues up Saguenay, which is a fair River, and of incredible depth ; for I believe, as far as I could learn by conference whence it should come, that it is from a very high place from whence there descendeth a fall of water with great impetuosity : but the water that proceedeth thereof is not able to make such a River as this ; which nevertheless holdeth not but from the said course of water (where the first fall is) into the Port of Tadousac, which is the mouth of the said River of Saguenay, in which space are forty or fifty leagues, and it is a good league and a half broad at the most, and a quarter of a league where it is narrowest, which causeth a great current of water. All the Country which I saw, was nothing but Mountains, the most part of rocks covered with woods of Fir-trees, Cypresses, and Birch-trees, the soil very unpleasant, where I found not a league of plain Country, neither on the one side nor on the other. There are certain hills of Sand and Isles in the said River, which are very high above the water. In fine, they are very Deserts void of Beasts and Birds ; for I assure you, as I went on hunting through places which seemed most pleasant unto me, I found nothing at all, but small Birds which are like Nightingales, and Swallows, which come thither in the Summer ; for at other times I think there are none, because of the excessive cold which is there ; this River cometh from the North-west. They reported unto me, that having passed the first fall, from whence the current of water cometh, they pass eight other saults or falls, and then they travel one day's journey without finding any, then they pass ten other saults, and come into a Lake, which they pass in two days (every day they travel at their ease, some twelve or fifteen leagues) : at the end of the Lake there are people lodged : then they enter into three other Rivers, three or four days in each of them ; at the end of which Rivers there are two or three kind of Lakes, where the head of Saguenay beginneth : from the which head or spring, unto the said Port of Tadousac, is ten days' journey with their Canoes. On the side of the said Rivers are many lodgings, whither other Nations come from the North, to truck with the said Mountainers for skins of Beavers and Martens for other Merchandises, which the French Ships bring to the said Mountainers. The said Savages of the North say, that they see a Sea, which is salt. I hold if this be so, that it is some gulf of this our Sea, which disgorgeth itself by the North part between the lands ; and in very deed it can be nothing else. This is that which I have learned of the River of Saguenay.

Departure from Tadoussac, to go to the Rapids; description of Hare Island, Île du Coudre, Île d'Orléans and many other islands, and of our arrival at Quebec.

On Wednesday the eighteenth day of June, we departed from Tadousac, to go to the Sault; we passed by an Isle, which is called the Ile du lievre, or the Isle of the Hare, which may be some two leagues from the Land on the North side, and some seven leagues from the said Tadousac, and five leagues from the South Coast. From the Isle of the Hare we ranged the North Coast about half a league, unto a point that runneth into the Sea, where a man must keep farther off.

The said point is within a league of the Isle, which is called the Ile du Coudre, or the Isle of Filberts, which may be some two leagues in length: And from the said Isle to the Land on the North side is a league. The said Isle is somewhat even, and groweth sharp toward both the ends; on the West end there are Meadows and Points of Rocks which stretch somewhat into the River. The said Isle is somewhat pleasant, by reason of the Woods which environ the same. There is store of Slate, and the soil is somewhat gravelly: at the end whereof there is a Rock which stretcheth into the Sea about half a league. We passed it the North of the said Isle, which is distant from the Isle of the Hare twelve leagues.

The Thursday following we departed from thence, and anchored at a dangerous nook on the Northside, where there be certain Meadows, and a little River, where the Savages lodge sometimes. The said day we still ranged the Coast on the North, unto a place where we put back by reason of the winds which were contrary unto us, where there were many Rocks and places very dangerous: here we stayed three days waiting for fair weather. All this Coast is nothing but Mountains as well on the South side as on the North, the most part like the Coast of the River of Saguenay. On Sunday the two and twentieth of the said month we departed to go to the Isle of Orleans, in the way there are many Isles on the South shore, which are low and covered with trees, shewing to be very pleasant, containing (as I was able to judge) some two leagues, and one league, and another half a league. About these Isles are nothing but Rocks and Flats, very dangerous to pass, and they are distant some two leagues from the main Land on the South.

And from thence we ranged the Isle of Orleans on the Southside : It is a league from the North shore, very pleasant and level, containing eight leagues in length. The Coast on the South shore is low land, some two leagues into the Country : the said lands begin to be low over against the said Isle, which beginneth two leagues from the South Coast : to pass by the North side is very dangerous for the banks of Sand and Rocks, which are between the said Isle and the main Land, which is almost all dry at a low water. At the end of the said Isle I saw a fall of water, which fell from a great Mountain, of the said River of Canada, and on the top of the said Mountain the ground is level and pleasant to behold, although within the said Countries a man may see high mountains which may be some twenty, or five and twenty leagues within the lands, which are near the first Sault of Saguenay. We anchored at Quebec, which is a Strait of the said River of Canada, which is some three hundred paces broad : there is at this Strait on the North side a very high Mountain, which falleth down on both sides : all the rest is a level and goodly Country, where there are good grounds full of Trees, as Oaks, Cypresses, Birches, Fir-trees and Aspes, and other Trees bearing fruit, and wild Vines : So that in mine opinion, if they were dressed, they would be as good as ours. There are along the Coast of the said Quebec Diamonds in the Rocks of Slate which are better than those of Alonson. From the said Quebec to the Isle of Coudre, or Filberts, are nine and twenty leagues.

Point St. Croix, the River Batiscan ; the rivers, rocks, islands, lands, trees, fruits, vines and the fine region beyond Quebec up to Three Rivers.

On Monday the three and twentieth of the said month, we departed from Quebec, where the River begins to grow broad sometimes one league, then a league and a half or two leagues at most. The Country grows still fairer and fairer, and are all low grounds, without Rocks, or very few. The North Coast is full of Rocks and banks of Sand : you must take the South side, about some half league from the shore. There are certain small Rivers which are not navigable, but only for the Canoes of the Savages, wherein there be many falls. We anchored as high as Saint Croix, which is distant from Quebec fifteen leagues. This is a low point, which rises up on both sides. The Country is fair and level, and the soils better than in any place that I have seen, with plenty of wood, but very few Fir-trees and Cypresses. There are in these parts great store of Vines, Pears, small Nuts, Cherries, Gooseberries, red and green, and certain small Roots of the bigness of a little Nut, resembling Mushrooms in taste, which are very good roasted and sod. All this soil is black, without any Rocks, save that there is great store of Slate : The soil is very soft, and if it were well manured it would yield great increase. On the Northside there is a River which is called Batiscan, which goeth far into the Country, whereby sometimes the Algoumequins come down : and another on the same side three leagues from the said Saint Croix, in the way from Quebec, which is, that where Jacques Quartier was in the beginning of the Discovery which he made hereof, and he passed no farther. The said River is pleasant, and goeth far up into the Countries. All this North Coast is very level and delectable.

On Tuesday the four and twentieth of the said month, we departed from the said Saint Croix, where we stayed a tide and a half, that we might pass the next day following by day light, because of the great number of Rocks which are thwart the River (a strange thing to behold) which is in a manner dry at low water : But at half flood, a man may begin to pass safely; yet you must take good heed, with the Lead always in hand. The tide floweth here almost three fathoms and a half : the farther we went, the fairer was the Country. We went some five leagues and a half, and anchored on the North side. The Wednesday following we departed from the said place, which is a flatter Country then that which we passed before, full of great store of Trees as that of Saint Croix. We passed hard by a little Isle, which was full of Vines, and came to an Anchor on the South side near a little Hill : but being on the top thereof all is even ground.

There is another little Isle three leagues from Saint Croix, joining near the South shore. We departed from the said Hill the Thursday following, and passed by a little Isle, which is near the North shore, where I saw six small Rivers, whereof two are able to bear Boats far up, and another is three hundred paces broad ; there are certain Islands in the mouth of it; it goeth far up into the Country; it is the deepest of all the rest which are very pleasant to behold, the soil being full of Trees which are like to Walnut-trees, and have the same smell : but I saw no Fruit, which maketh me doubt : the Savages told me that they bear Fruit like ours.

In passing further we met an Isle, which is called Saint Eloy, and another little Isle, which is hard by the North shore : we passed between the said Isle and the North shore, where between the one and the other are some hundred and fifty paces. From the said Isle we passed a league and a half on the South side near unto a River, whereon Canoes might go. All this Coast on the North side is very good, one may pass freely there, yet with the Lead in the hand, to avoid certain points. All this Coast which we ranged is moving Sand, but after you be entered a little into the Woods, the soil is good. The Friday following we departed from this Isle, coasting still the North side hard by the shore, which is low and full of good Trees, and in great number as far as the three Rivers, where it beginneth to have another temperature of the season, somewhat differing from that of Saint Croix : because the Trees are there more forward then in any place that hitherto I had seen. From the three Rivers to Saint Croix are fifteen leagues. In this River are six Islands, three of which are very small, and the others some five or six hundred paces long, very pleasant and fertile, for the little quantity of ground that they contain. There is one Island in the midst of the said River, which looketh directly upon the passage of the River of Canada, and commandeth the other Islands which lie further from the shore, as well on the one side as on the other, of four or five hundred paces ; it riseth on the South side and falleth somewhat on the North side. This in my judgment would be a very fit place to inhabit ; and it might be quickly fortified ; for the situation is strong of itself, and near unto a great Lake, which is above four leagues distant, which is almost joined to the River of Saguenay, by the report of the Savages, which travel almost a hundred leagues Northward, and pass many Saults, and then go by Land some five or six leagues, and enter into a Lake, whence the said River of Saguenay receiveth the best part of his Spring, and the said Savages come from the said Lake to Tadousac.

Moreover, the planting of The three Rivers would be a benefit for the liberty of certain Nations, which dare not come that way for fear of the said Irocois their enemies, which border upon all the said River of Canada. But this place being inhabited, we might make the Irocois and the other Savages friends, or at least-wise under the favour of the said Plantation, the said Savages might pass freely without fear or danger : because the said place of The three Rivers is a passage. All the soil which I saw on the North shore is sandy. We went up above a league into the said River, and could pass no further, by reason of the great current of water. We took a Boat to search up further, but we went not past a league, but we met a very Strait fall of water, of some twelve paces, which caused us that we could not pass no further. All the ground which I saw on the banks of the said River riseth more and more, and is full of Fir trees and Cypress Trees, and hath very few other Trees.

The length, breadth and depth of a lake, and of the rivers which flow into it; the islands in it; the soil one sees in the country; the river of the Iroquois, and the stronghold of the savages who wage war with them.

On the Saturday following, we departed from The three Rivers, and anchored at a Lake, which is four leagues distant. All this Country from The three Rivers to the entrance of the said Lake is low ground, even with the water on the North side; and on the South side it is somewhat higher. The said Country is exceeding good, and the most pleasant that hitherto we had seen: the Woods are very thin, so that a man may travel easily through them. The next day being the nine and twentieth of June, we entered into the Lake, which is some fifteen leagues in length, and some seven or eight leagues broad: At the entrance thereof on the Southside within a league there is a River which is very great, and entereth into the Country some sixty or eighty leagues, and continuing along the same Coast, there is another little River, which pierceth about two leagues into the Land, and cometh out of another small Lake, which may contain some three or four leagues. On the North side where the Land sheweth very high, a man may see some twenty leagues off; but by little and little the Mountains begin to fall toward the West, as it were into a flat Country.

The Savages say, that the greatest part of these mountains are bad soil. The said Lake hath some three fathoms water whereas we passed, which was almost in the midst: the length lieth East and West, and the breadth from North to the South. I think it hath good fish in it, of such kinds as we have in our own Country.

We passed it the very same day, and anchored about two leagues within the great River which goeth up to the Sault: In the mouth whereof are thirty small Islands, as far as I could discern; some of them are of two leagues, others a league and a half, and some less, which are full of Walnut-trees, which are not much different from ours; and I think their Walnuts are good when they be ripe: I saw many of them under the Trees, which were of two sorts, the one small, and the others as long as a man's Thumb, but they were rotten. There are also store of Vines upon the banks of the said Islands. But when the waters be great, the most part of them is covered with water. And this Country is yet better than any other which I had seen before.

The last day of June we departed from thence, and passed by the mouth of the River of the Irocois; where the Savages which came to make war against them, were lodged and fortified. Their Fortress was made with a number of posts set very close one to another, which joined on the one side on the bank of the great River of Canada, and the other on the bank of the River of the Irocois: and their Boats were ranged the one by the other near the shore, that they might fly away with speed, if by chance they should be surprised by the Irocois. For their Fort is Covered with the bark of Oaks, and serveth them for nothing else, but to have time to embark themselves. We went up the River of the Irocois some five or six leagues, and could pass no farther with our Pinnace, by reason of the great course of water which descendeth, and also because we cannot go on Land, and draw the Pinnace for the multitude of Trees which are upon the banks.

Seeing we could not pass any further, we took our Skiff, to see whether the current were more gentle, but going up some two leagues, it was yet stronger, and we could go no higher. Being able to do no more we returned to our Pinnace. All this River is some three hundred or four hundred paces broad, and very wholesome. We saw five Islands in it, distant one from the other a quarter or half a league, or a league at the most : one of which is a league long, which is the nearest to the mouth, and the others are very small. All these Countries are covered with Trees and low Lands, like those which I had seen before ; but here are more Firs and Cypresses then in other places. Nevertheless, the soil is good, although it be somewhat sandy. This River runneth in a manner South-west. The Savages say, that some fifteen leagues from the place where we were up the River, there is a Sault which falls down from a very steep place, where they carry their Canoes to pass the same some quarter of a league, and come into a lake ; at the mouth whereof, are three Islands, and being within the same they meet with more Isles : This Lake may contain some forty or fifty leagues in length, and some five and twenty leagues in breadth, into which many Rivers fall, to the number of ten, which carry Canoes very far up. When they are come to the end of this Lake, there is another fall, and they enter again into another Lake, which is as great as the former, at the head whereof the Irocois are lodged. They say moreover, that there is a River, which runneth unto the Coast of Florida, whether it is from the said last Lake some hundred, or a hundred and forty leagues. All the Country of the Irocois is somewhat Mountainous, yet notwithstanding exceeding good, temperate, without much Winter, which is very short there.

Arrival at the Rapids. Description of them and the remarkable sights there, with the account given by the savages of the upper end of the great river.

After our departure from the River of the Irocois, we anchored three leagues beyond the same, on the North side. All this Country is a low Land, replenished with all sorts of trees, which I have spoken of before. The first day of July we coasted the North side, where the wood is very thin, and more thin than we had seen in any place before, and all good land for tillage. I went in a Canoe to the South shore, where I saw a number of Isles, which have many fruitful trees, as Vines, Walnuts, Hazel-nuts, and a kind of fruit like Chestnuts, Cherries, Oaks, Aspe, Hops, Ash, Beech, Cypresses, very few Pines and Fir trees. There are also other trees which I knew not, which are very pleasant. We found there store of Strawberries, Raspberries, Gooseberries red, green, and blue, with many small fruits, which grow there among great abundance of grass. There are also many wild beasts, as Orignas, Stags, Does, Bucks, Bears, Porkepickes, Conies, Foxes, Beavers, Otters, Musk-rats, and certain other kinds of beasts which I do not know, which are good to eat, and whereof the Savages live. We passed by an Isle, which is very pleasant, and containeth some four leagues in length, and half a league in breadth. I saw toward the South two high Mountains, which shewed some twenty leagues within the Land. The Savages told me, that here began the first fall of the foresaid River of the Irocois. The Wednesday following we departed from this place, and sailed some five or six leagues. We saw many Islands : the Land is there very low, and these Isles are covered with trees, as those of the River of the Irocois were.

The day following, being the third of July, we ran certain leagues, and passed likewise by many other Islands, which are excellent good and pleasant, through the great store of Meadows which are thereabout, as well on the shore of the main Land, as of the other Islands : and all the Woods are of very small growth, in comparison of those which we had passed. At length we came this very day to the entrance of the Sault or Fall of the great River of Canada, with favourable wind ; and we met with an Isle, which is almost in the midst of the said entrance, which is a quarter of a league long, and passed on the South side of the said Isle, where there was not past three, four or five foot water, and sometimes a fathom or two, and straight on the sudden we found again not past three or four foot. There are many Rocks, and small Islands, whereon there is no wood, and they are even with the water. From the beginning of the foresaid Isle, which is in the midst of the said entrance the water beginneth to run with great force. Although we had the wind very good, yet we could not with all our might make any great way : nevertheless we passed the said Isle which is at the entrance of the Sault or Fall. When we perceived that we could go no further, we came to an anchor on the North shore over against a small Island, which aboundeth for the most part with those kind of fruits which I have spoken of before. Without all delay we made ready our skiff, which we had made of purpose to pass the said Sault : whereinto the said Monsieur du Pont and myself entered, with certain Savages, which we had brought with us to show us the way. Departing from our Pinnace, we were scarce gone three hundred paces, but we were forced to come out, and cause certain Mariners to go into the water to free our Skiff. The Canoe of the Savages passed easily. We met with an infinite number of small Rocks, which were even with the water, on which we touched oftentimes.

There be two great Islands, one on the North side which containeth some fifteen leagues in length, and almost as much in breadth, beginning some twelve leagues up within the River of Canada, going toward the River of the Irocois, and endeth beyond the Sault. The Island which is on the South side is some four leagues long, and some half league broad. There is also another Island, which is near to that on the North side, which may be some half league long, and some quarter broad : and another small Island which is between that on the Northside, and another nearer to the South shore, whereby we passed the entrance of the Sault. This entrance being passed, there is a kind of Lake, wherein all these Islands are, some five leagues long and almost as broad, wherein are many small Islands which are Rocks. There is a Mountain near the said Sault which discovereth far into the Country, and a little River which falleth from the said Mountain into the

Lake. On the South side are some three or four Mountains, which seem to be about fifteen or sixteen leagues within the Land. There are also two Rivers; one which goeth to the first Lake of the River of the Irocois, by which sometimes the Algoumequins invade them: and another which is near unto the Sault, which runneth not far into the Country.

At our coming near to the said Sault with our Skiff and Canoe, I assure you, I never saw any stream of water to fall down with such force as this doth; although it be not very high, being not in some places past one or two fathoms, and at the most three. It falleth as it were step by step: and in every place where it hath some small height, it maketh a strong boiling with the force and strength of the running of the water. In the breadth of the said Sault, which may contain some league, there are many broad Rocks, and almost in the midst, there are very narrow and long Islands, where there is a Fall as well on the side of the said Isles which are toward the South, as on the North side: where it is so dangerous, that it is not possible for any man to pass with any Boat, how small soever it be. We went on land through the Woods, to see the end of the Sault: where, after we had travelled a league, we saw no more Rocks nor Falls: but the water runneth there so swiftly as it is possible: and this current lasteth for three or four leagues: so that it is in vain to imagine that a man is able to pass the said Saults with any Boats. But he that would pass them, must fit himself with the Canoes of the Savages, which one may easily carry. For to carry Boats is a thing which cannot be done in so short time as it should be to be able to return into France, unless a man would winter there. And beside this first Sault, there are ten Saults more, the most part hard to pass. So that it would be a matter of great pains and travail to be able to see and do that by Boat which a man might promise himself, without great cost and charge, and also to be in danger to travel in vain. But with the Canoes of the Savages a man may travel freely and readily into all

Countries, as well in the small as in the great Rivers: So that directing himself by the means of the said Savages and their Canoes, a man may see all that is to be seen, good and bad, within the space of a year or two. That little way which we travelled by Land on the side of the said Sault, is a very thin Wood, through which men with their Arms may march easily, without any trouble; the air is there more gentle and temperate, and the soil better than in any place that I had seen, where is store of such wood and fruits, as are in all other places before mentioned: and it is in the latitude of 45 degrees and certain minutes.

When we saw that we could do no more, we returned to our Pinnace; where we examined the Savages which we had with us, of the end of the River, which I caused them to draw with their hand, and from what part of the Head thereof came. They told us, that beyond the first Sault that we had seen, they travelled some ten or fifteen leagues with their Canoes in the River where there is a river which runneth to the dwelling of the Algoumequins, which are some sixty leagues distant from the great River; and then they passed five Saults, which may contain from the first to the last eight leagues, whereof there are two where they carry their Canoes to pass them: every Sault may contain half a quarter or a quarter of a league at the most. And then they come into a Lake, which may be fifteen or sixteen leagues long. From thence they enter again into a River which may be a league broad, and travel some two leagues in the same; and then they enter into another Lake some four or five leagues long: coming to the end thereof, they pass five other Saults, distant from the first to the last some five and twenty or thirty leagues; whereof there are three where they carry their Canoes to pass them, and through the other two they do but draw them in the water, because the current is not there so strong, nor so bad, as in the others. None of all these Saults is so hard to pass, as that which we saw. Then they come into a Lake, which may contain some eighty leagues in length, in which are many Islands, and at the end of the same the water is brackish and the Winter gentle. At the end of the said Lake they pass a Sault which is somewhat high, where little water descendeth: there they carry their Canoes by land about a quarter of a league to pass this Sault. From thence they enter into another Lake, which may be some sixty leagues long, and that the water thereof is very brackish : at the end thereof they come unto a Strait which is two leagues broad, and it goeth far into the Country. They told us that they themselves had passed no farther ; and that they had not seen the end of a Lake, which is within fifteen or sixteen leagues of the farthest place where themselves had been, nor that they which told them of it, had known any man that had seen the end thereof, because it is so great that they would not hazard themselves to sail far into the same, for fear lest some storm or gust of wind should surprise them. They say that in the Summer the Sun doth set to the North of the said Lake, and in the Winter it setteth as it were in the midst thereof : That the water is there excess-salt, to wit, as salt as the Sea water. I asked them whether from the last Lake which they had seen, the water descended always down the River coming to Gaschepay ? They told me, no : but said, that from the third Lake only it descended to Gaschepay : but that from the last Sault, which is somewhat high, as I have said, the water was almost still, and that the said Lake might take his course by other Rivers, which passed within the Lands, either to the South, or to the North, whereof there are many that run there, the end whereof they see not. Now, in my judgment, if so many Rivers fall into this Lake, having so small a course at the said Sault, it must needs of necessity fall out, that it must have his issue forth by some exceeding great River. But that which maketh me believe that there is no River by which this Lake doth issue forth (considering the number of so many Rivers as fall into it) is this, that the Savages have not seen any River, that runneth through the Countries, save in the place where they were. Which maketh me believe that this is the

South Sea, being salt as they say : Nevertheless we may not give so much credit thereunto, but that it must be done with apparent reasons, although there be some small show thereof. And this assuredly is all that hitherto I have seen and heard of the Savages, touching that which we demanded of them.

Return from the Rapids to Tadoussac, with the comparison of the reports of several savages as to the length and source of the great River of Canada, the number of rapids and lakes that it traverses.

We departed from the said Sault on Friday the fourth day of July, and returned the same day to the River of the Irocois. On Sunday the sixth of July we departed from thence, and anchored in the Lake. The Monday following we anchored at the three Rivers. This day we sailed some four leagues beyond the said three Rivers. The Tuesday following we came to Quebec ; and the next day we were at the end of this Isle of Orleans, where the Savages came to us, which were lodged in the main Land on the North side. We examined two or three Algoumequins to see whether they would agree with those that we had examined touching the end and the beginning of the said River of Canada. They said, as they had drawn out the shape thereof, that having passed the Sault, which we had seen, some two or three leagues, there goeth a River into their dwelling, which is on the North side. So going on forward in the said great River, they pass a Sault, where they carry their Canoes, and they come to pass five other Saults, which may contain from the first to the last some nine or ten leagues, and that the said Saults are not hard to pass, and they do but draw their Canoes in the most part of the said Saults or Falls, saving at two, where they carry them : from thence they enter into a River, which is as it were a kind of Lake, which may contain some six or seven leagues and then they pass five other Falls, where they draw their

Canoes as in the first mentioned, saving in two, where they carry them as in the former : and that from the first to the last there are some twenty or five and twenty leagues. Then they come into a Lake containing some hundred and fifty leagues in length : and four or five leagues within the entrance of that Lake there is a River which goeth to the Algoumequins toward the North ; and another River which goeth to the Irocois, whereby the said Algoumequins and Irocois make war the one against the other. [And a little higher up on the South side of the said Lake there is another River which goeth to the Irocois.] Then coming to the end of the said Lake, they meet with another Fall, where they carry their Canoes. From thence they enter into another exceeding great Lake, which may contain as much as the former : They have been but a very little way in this last Lake, and have heard say, that at the end of the said Lake there is a Sea, the end whereof they have not seen, neither have heard that any have seen it. But that where they have been, the water is not salt, because they have not entered far into it ; and that the course of the water cometh from the Sun-setting toward the East ; and they know not, whether beyond the Lake that they have seen, there be any other course of water that goeth Westward. That the Sun setteth on the right hand of this Lake : which is, according to my judgment, at the North-west, little more or less ; and that in the first great Lake the water freezeth not (which maketh me judge that the climate is there temperate) and that all the Territories of the Algoumequins are low grounds, furnished with small store of wood : And that the coast of the Irocois is Mountainous ; nevertheless they are excellent good and fertile soils, and better than they have seen anywhere else : That the said Irocois reside some fifty or sixty leagues from the said great Lake. And this assuredly is all which they have told me that they have seen : which differeth very little from the report of the first Savages. This day we came within some three leagues of the Isle of Coudres or Filberts.

On Thursday the tenth of the said month, we came within a league and a half of the Ile du Lievre, or of the Hare, on the North side, where other Savages came into our Pinnace, among whom there was a young man, an Algoumequin, which had travelled much in the said great Lake. We examined him very particularly, as we had done the other Savages. He told us, that having passed the said Fall which we had seen, within two or three leagues there is a River, which goeth to the said Algoumequins, where they be lodged, and that passing up the great River of Canada, there are five Falls, which may contain from the first to the last some eight or nine leagues, whereof there be three where they carry their Canoes, and two others wherein they draw them : that each of the said Falls may be a quarter of a league long : then they come into a Lake, which may contain some fifteen leagues. Then they pass five other Falls, which may contain from the first to the last some twenty or five and twenty leagues ; where there are not past two of the said Falls which they pass with their Canoes, in the other three they do but draw them. From thence they enter into an exceeding great Lake, which may contain some three hundred leagues in length : when they are passed some hundred leagues into the said Lake, they meet with an Island, which is very great : and beyond the said Island the water is brackish : But when they have passed some hundred leagues farther, the water is yet salter : and coming to the end of the said Lake, the water is wholly salt. Farther he said, that there is a Fall that is a league broad, from whence an exceeding current of water descends into the said Lake. That after a man is passed this Fall, no more land can be seen neither on the one side nor on the other, but so great a Sea, that they never have seen the end thereof, nor have heard tell, that any other have seen the same. That the Sun setteth on the right hand of the said Lake : and that at the entrance thereof there is a River which goeth to the Algoumequins, and another River to the Irocois, whereby they war the one against the other. That the Country of the Irocois is somewhat mountainous, yet very fertile, where there is store of Indian Wheat, and other fruits, which they have not in their Country : That the Country of the Algoumequins is low and fruitful. I enquired of them, whether they had any knowledge of any Mines ? They told us, that there is a Nation which are called, the good Irocois, which come to exchange for merchandises, which the French ships do give to the Algoumequins, which say, that there is toward the North a Mine of fine Copper, whereof they showed us certain Bracelets, which they had received of the said Good Irocois : and that if any of us would go thither, they would bring them to the place, which should be appointed for that business. And this is all which I could learn of the one and the other, differing but very little ; save that the second which were examined, said, that they had not tasted of the salt water : for they had not been so far within the said Lake, as the others : and they differ some small deal in the length of the way, the one sort making it more short, and the other more long. So that, according to their report, from the Sault or Fall where we were, is the space of some four hundred leagues unto the Salt Sea, which may be the South Sea, the Sun setting where they say it doth. On Friday the tenth of the said month we returned to Tadousac, where our ship lay.

Voyage from Tadoussac to Île Percée. Description of the Bay of Codfish ; of Bonaventure Island ; of Chaleur Bay ; of many rivers, lakes and regions where there are various kinds of mines.

As soon as we were come to Tadousac, we embarked ourselves again to go to Gachepay, which is distant from the said Tadousac about some hundred leagues. The thirteenth day of the said month we met with a company of Savages, which were lodged on the South side, almost in the mid-way between Tadousac and Gachepay. Their Sagamo or Captain which led them is called Armouchides, which is held to be one of the wisest and most hardy among all the Savages : He was going to Tadousac to exchange Arrows, and the flesh of Orignars, which they have for Beavers and Martens of the other Savages, the Mountainers, Estechemains, and Algoumequins. . . .

The fifteenth day of the said month we came to Gachepay, which is in a Bay, about a league and a half on the North side. The said Bay containeth some seven or eight leagues in length, and at the mouth thereof four leagues in breadth. There is a River which runneth some thirty leagues up into the Country : Then we saw another Bay, which is called the Bay des Mollues, or the Bay of Cods, which may be some three leagues long, and as much in breadth at the mouth. From thence we come to the Ile Percee, which is like a Rock, very steep, rising on both sides, wherein there is a hole, through which Shallops and Boats may pass at an high water : and at a low water one may go from the main Land to the said Isle, which is not past four or five hundred paces off. Moreover, there is another Island in a manner South-east from the Ile Percee about a league, which is called the Ile de Bonne-adventure, and it may be some half a league long. All these places of Gachepay, the Bay of Cods, the Ile Percee, are places where they make dry and green Fish. When you are passed the Ile Percee, there is a Bay which is called the Bay of Heat, which runneth at it were West South-west, some four and twenty leagues into the land, containing some fifteen leagues in breadth at the mouth thereof. The Savages of Canada say, that up the great River of Canada, about some sixty leagues, ranging the South coast, there is a small River called Mantanne, which runneth some eighteen leagues up into the Countries and being at the head thereof, they carry their Canoes about a league by land, and they come into the said Bay of Heat, by which they go sometimes to the Ile Percee. Also they go from the said Bay to Tregate and Misamichy. Running along the said coast we pass by many

Rivers, and come to a place where there is a River which is called Souricova, where Monsieur Prevert was to discover a Mine of Copper. They go with their Canoes up this River three or four days, then they pass three or four leagues by land, to the said Mine, which is hard upon the Sea shore on the South side. At the mouth of the said River, there is an Island lying a league into the Sea ; from the said Island unto the Ile Percee, is some sixty or seventy leagues. Still following the said coast, which trendeth toward the East, you meet with a Strait, which is two leagues broad, and five and twenty leagues long. On the East side is an Isle, which is called the Isle of Saint Laurence, where Cape Breton is ; and in this place a Nation of Savages, called the Souricois, do winter.

Passing the Strait of the Isles of Saint Laurence, and ranging the South-west Coast, you come to a Bay which joineth hard upon the Mine of Copper. Passing farther there is a River, which runneth threescore or fourscore leagues into the Country, which reaches near to the Lake of the Irocois whereby the said Savages of the South-west Coast make war upon them. It would be an exceeding great benefit, if there might be found a passage on the Coast of Florida near to the said great Lake, where the water is salt: as well for the Navigation of ships, which should not be subject to so many perils as they are in Canada, as for the shortening of the way about three hundred leagues. And it is most certain, that there are Rivers on the Coast of Florida, which are not yet discovered, which pierce up into the Countries, where the soil is exceeding good and fertile, and very good Havens. The Country and Coast of Florida may have another temperature of the season, and may be more fertile in abundance of fruits and other things, than that which I have seen. But it cannot have more even or better soils, than those which we have seen.

The Savages say, that in the foresaid great Bay of Hete there is a River, which runneth up some twenty leagues into the Country, at the head whereof there is a Lake, which may be about twenty leagues in compass, wherein is little store of water, and the Summer it is dried up, wherein they find, about a foot or a foot and a half under the ground a kind of Metal like to silver, which I showed them ; and that in another place near the said Lake there is a Mine of Copper. And this is that which I learned of the foresaid Savages.

Return from Île Percée to Tadoussac, with the description of the coves, harbours, rivers, islands, rocks, points, bays, and shallows which are along the northern coast.

We departed from the Ile Percee the nineteenth day of the said month to return to Tadousac. When we were within three leagues of Cape le Vesque, or the Bishops Cape, we were encountered with a storm which lasted two days, which forced us to put roomer with a great creek, and to stay for fair weather. The day following we departed, and were encountered with another storm : Being loth to put room, and thinking to gain way we touched on the North shore the eight and twentieth day of July in a creek which is very bad, because of the edges of Rocks which lie there. The creek is in 51 degrees and certain minutes. The next day we anchored near a River, which is called Saint Margarites River, where at a full Sea is some three fathoms water, and a fathom and a half at a low water : this River goeth far up into the Land. As far as I could see within the Land on the East shore, there is a fall of water which entereth into the said River, and falleth some fifty or sixty fathoms down, from whence cometh the greatest part of the water which descendeth down. At the mouth thereof there is a bank of Sand, whereon at the ebb is but half a fathom water. All the Coast toward the East is moving Sand : there is a point some half league from the said River, which stretcheth half a league into the Sea : and toward the West there is a small Island : this place is in fifty degrees. All these Countries are exceeding bad, full of Fir-trees. The Land here is somewhat high, but not so high as that on the

Southside. Some three leagues beyond we passed near into another River, which seemed to be very great, yet barred for the most part with Rocks : some eight leagues farther there is a Point which runneth a league and a half into the Sea, where there is not past a fathom and a half of water. When you are passed this Point, there is another about four leagues off, where is water enough. All this Coast is low and sandy. Four leagues beyond this there is a creek where a River entereth : many ships may pass here on the West side : this is a low point, which runneth about a league into the Sea ; you must run along the Eastern shore some three hundred paces to enter into the same. This is the best Haven which is all along the North shore ; but it is very dangerous in going thither, because of the flats and sholds of sand, which lie for the most part all along the shore, almost two leagues into the Sea. About six leagues from thence, there is a Bay where there is an Isle of sand ; all this Bay is very shallow, except on the East side, where it hath about four fathoms water : within the channel which entereth into the said Bay, some four leagues up, there is a fair creek where a River entereth. All this coast is low and sandy, there descendeth [there] a fall of water which is great. About five leagues farther is a Point which stretcheth about half a league into the Sea, where there is a creek, and from the one point to the other are three leagues, but all are shoals, where is little water. About two leagues off, there is a strand where there is a good haven, and a small River, wherein are three Islands, and where Ships may harbour themselves from the weather. Three leagues beyond this, is a sandy point which runneth out about a league, at the end whereof there is a small Islet. Going forward to Lesquemin, you meet with two little low Islands, and a little rock near the shore : these said Islands are about half a league from Lesquemin, which is a very bad Port, compassed with rocks, and dry at a low water, and you must fetch about a little point of a rock to enter in, where one ship only can pass at a time. A little higher there is a River, which runneth a little way into the land. This is the place where the Basks kill the Whales ; to say the truth, the haven is stark naught. We came from thence to the foresaid haven of Tadousac, the third day of August. All these Countries before mentioned are low toward the shore, and within the land very high. They are neither so pleasant nor fruitful as those on the South, although they be lower. And this for a certainty is all which I have seen of this Northern coast.

The ceremonies of the savages before going to war. The Almouchicois savages and their monstrous shape. Narrative of the Sieur de Prevert, of St. Malo, on the discovery of the coast of Arcadie. What mines there are there ; the goodness and fertility of the country.

At our coming to Tadousac, we found the Savages which we met in the River of the Irocois, who met with three Canoes of the Irocois in the first Lake, which fought against ten others of the Mountainers ; and they brought the heads of the Irocois to Tadousac, and there was but one Mountainer wounded in the arm with the shot of an Arrow, who dreaming of something, all the other ten must seek to content him, thinking also that his wound thereby would mend. If this Savage die, his Parents will revenge his death, either upon their Nation or upon others, or at least wise the Captains must give Presents to the Parents of the dead, to content them ; otherwise as I have said, they would be revenged : which is a great fault among them. Before the said Mountainers set forth to the War, they assembled all, with their richest apparel of Furs, Beavers, and other Skins adorned with Pater-nosters and Chains of divers colours, and assembled in a great public place, where there was before them a Sagamo whose name was Begourat, which led them to the War, and they marched one behind another, with their Bows and Arrows, Maces and Targets, wherewith they furnish themselves to fight : and they went leaping one after another, in making many gestures of their bodies, they made many turnings like a Snail : afterward they began to dance after their accustomed manner, as I have said before : then they made their Feast, and after they had ended it, the women stripped themselves stark naked, being decked with their fairest Cordons, and went into their Canoes thus naked and there danced, and then they went into the water, and struck at one another with their Oars, and beat water upon another : yet they did no hurt, for they warded the blows which they struck one at the other. After they had ended all these Ceremonies, they retired themselves into their Cabins, and the Savages went to war against the Irocois.

The sixt[eenth] day of August we departed from Tadousac, and the eighteenth day of the said month we arrived at the Ile Percee, where we found Monsieur Prevert of Saint Malo, which came from the Mine, where he had been with much trouble, for the fear which the Savages had to meet with their enemies, which are the Armouchicois, which are Savages very monstrous, for the shape that they have. For their head is little, and their body short, their arms small like a bone, and their thigh like ; their legs great and long, which are all of one proportion, and when they sit upon their heels, their knees are higher by half a foot then their head, which is a strange thing, and they seem to be out of the course of Nature. Nevertheless, they be very valiant and resolute, and are planted in the best Countries of all the South Coast : And the Souricois do greatly fear them. But by the encouragement which the said Monsieur de Prevert gave them, he brought them to the said Mine, to which the Savages guided him. It is a very high Mountain, rising somewhat over the Sea, which glistereth very much against the Sun, and there is great store of Verde-grease issuing out of the said Mine of Copper. He said, that at the foot of the said Mountain, at a low water there were many morsels of Copper, as was otherwise declared unto us, which fall down from the top of the Mountain. Passing three or four leagues further toward the South, there is another Mine, and a small River which runneth a little way up into the Land, running toward the South, where there is a Mountain, which is of a black painting, wherewith the Savages paint themselves: Some six leagues beyond the second Mine, toward the Sea, about a league from the South Coast, there is an Isle, wherein is found another kind of Metal which is like a dark brown: if you cut it, it is white, which they used in old time for their Arrows and Knives and did beat it with stones. Which maketh me believe that it is not Tin, nor Lead, being so hard as it is; and having showed them silver, they said that the Mine of that Isle was like unto it, which they found in the earth, about a foot or two deep. The said Monsieur Prevert gave the Savages Wedges and Cizers, and other things necessary to draw out the said Mine; which they have promised to do, and to bring the same the next year, and give it to the said Monsieur Prevert. They say also that within some hundred or one hundred and twenty leagues there are other Mines, but that they dare not go thither unless they have Frenchmen with them to make war upon their enemies, which have the said Mines in their possession. The said place where the Mine is, standeth in 44 degrees and some few minutes, near the South Coast within five or six leagues: it is a kind of Bay, which is certain leagues broad at the mouth thereof, and somewhat more in length, where three Rivers, which fall into the great Bay near unto the Isle of Saint John, which is thirty or five and thirty leagues long, and is six leagues distant from the South shore. There is also another little River, which falleth almost in the mid way of that whereby Monsieur Prevert returned, and there are as it were two kind of Lakes in the said River. Furthermore, there is yet another small River which goeth toward the Mountain of the painting. All these Rivers fall into the said Bay on the South-east part, near about the said Isle which the Savages say there is of this white Metal. On the North side of the said Bay are the Mines of Copper, where there is a good Haven for ships, and a small Island at the mouth of the Haven ; the ground is Ooze and Sand, where a man may run his ship on shore. From the said Mine to the beginning of the mouth of the said Rivers is some sixty or eighty leagues by Land. But by the Sea Coast, according to my judgment, from the passage of the Isle of Saint Lawrence and the Firm Land, it cannot be past fifty or sixty leagues to the said Mine. All this Country is exceeding fair and flat, wherein are all sorts of trees, which we saw as we went to the first Sault up the great River of Canada, very small store of Fir trees and Cypresses. And this of a truth is as much as I learned and heard of the said Monsieur Prevert.

[A frightful monster, which the savages call Gougou. Our short and safe return to France.

There is still one strange thing, worthy of an account, which many savages have assured me was true ; that is, that near the Bay of Heat, toward the south, there is an island where a frightful monster makes his home, which the savages call Gougou, and which they told me had the form of a woman, but very terrible, and of such a size that they told me the tops of the masts of our vessel would not reach to his waist, so great do they represent him ; and they say that he has often eaten up and still continues to eat up many savages ; these he puts, when he can catch them, into a great pocket, and afterward he eats them ; and those who had escaped the danger of this awful beast said that its pocket was so great that it could have put our vessel into it. This monster makes horrible noises in this island, which the savages call the Gougou ; and when they speak of it, it is with unutterable fear, and several have assured me that they have seen him. Even the above-mentioned Sieur Prevert from St. Malo told me that, while going in search of mines, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, he passed so near the haunt of this terrible beast, that he and all those on board his vessel heard strange hissings from the noise she made, and that the savages with him told him it was the same creature, and that they were so afraid that they hid themselves wherever they could, for fear that she would come and carry them off. What makes me believe what they say is the fact that all the savages in general fear her, and tell such strange things of her that, if I were to record all they say of her, it would be considered as idle tales, but I hold that this is the dwelling-place of some devil that torments them in the manner described. This is what I have learned about this Gougou.]

Before we departed from Tadousac, to return into France, one of the Sagamos of the Mountainers named Bechourat, gave his Son to Monsieur du Pont to carry him into France, and he was much recommended unto him by the Great Sagamo Anadabijou, praying him to use him well, and to let him see that, which the other two Savages had seen which we had brought back again. We prayed them to give us a woman of the Irocois, whom they would have eaten : whom they gave unto us, and we brought her home with the foresaid Savage. Monsieur de Prevert in like manner brought home four Savages, one man which is of the South Coast, one woman and two children of the Canadians.

The four and twentieth of August, we departed from Gachepay, the ship of the said Monsieur Prevert and ours. The second of September, we counted that we were as far as Cape Rase. The fifth day of the said month we entered upon the Bank, whereon they use to fish. The sixteenth, we were come into the Sounding, which may be some fifty leagues distant from the Ushant. The twentieth of the said month we arrived in New Haven by the grace of God to all our contentment, with a continual favourable wind.

LA SALLE

Réné Robert Cavalier, Sieur de la Salle, who was assistant to Frontenac, one of the great French governors of Canada, set out in 1679 to carry on the pioneer efforts of the various missionary sects. These priests had furthered the work of Champlain in surveying the whole of the Great Lakes area, and learnt of the great river which bisected the American continent and ended in the Gulf of Mexico. The principal names amongst them are Marquette, Joliet, and Hennepin, all of whom appear in this narrative.

The present account was written by La Salle's lieutenant, Henry de Tonty, who accompanied him both on his Mississippi expedition and his last fatal expedition into Texas in 1687. The whole of the story of the descent of the Mississippi is told here.

LA SALLE

Memoir sent in 1693, on the discovery of the Mississippi and the neighbouring nations by M. D. La Salle, from the year 1678 to the time of his death, and by the Sieur de Tonty to the year 1691.

AFTER having been eight years in the French service, by land and by sea, and having had a hand shot off in Sicily by a grenade, I resolved to return to France to solicit employment. At that time the late M. CAVELIER DE LA SALLE came to Court, a man of great intelligence and merit, who sought to obtain leave to discover the Gulf of Mexico by crossing the southern countries of North America. Having obtained of the King the permission he desired through the favour of the late M. Colbert and M. de Seignelai, the late Monseigneur the Prince Conty, who was acquainted with him, and who honoured me with his favour, directed me to him to be allowed to accompany him in his long journeys, which he very willingly assented to. We sailed from Rochelle on the 14th of July, 1678, and arrived at Quebec on the 15th of September following. We recruited there for some days, and after having taken leave of M. de Frontenac, ascended the St. Lawrence as far as Fort Frontenac (Kingston), 120 leagues from Quebec, on the banks of the Lake Frontenac (Lake Ontario), which is about 300 leagues round. After staying there four days, we embarked in a boat of 40 tons burthen to cross the lake, and on Christmas Day we were opposite a village called Isonnoutouan, to which M. de la Salle sent some canoes to procure Indian corn for our subsistence. From thence we sailed towards Niagara, intending to look for a place above the Falls where a boat might be built. The winds were so contrary that we could not approach it nearer than nine leagues, which obliged us to go by land. We found there some cabins of the Iroquois, who received us well. We slept there, and the next day we went three leagues further up to look for a good place to build a boat, and there encamped. The boat we came in was lost through the obstinacy of the pilot, whom M. de la Salle had ordered to bring it ashore. The crew and the things in it were saved. M. de la Salle determined to return to Fort Frontenac over the ice, and I remained in command at Niagara, with a Father Recollet and 30 men.

The boat was completed in the spring of 1679. M. de la Salle joined us with two other boats, and several men to assist us to work the boat up the Rapids, which I was not able to ascend on account of the weakness of my crew. He directed me to proceed and wait for him at the extremity of Lake Erie, at a place called Detroit, 120 leagues from Niagara, to join some Frenchmen whom he had sent off the last autumn. I embarked in a canoe of bark, and when we were near Detroit the boat came up. We got into it, and continued our voyage as far as Michilimakinac, where we arrived at the end [27th] of August, having crossed two lakes larger than that of Frontenac (Ontario). We remained there some days to rest ourselves and as M. de la Salle intended to go to the Illinois, he sent me to the Falls of St. Mary, which is situated where Lake Superior discharges itself into Lake Huron, to look for some men who had deserted, and he in the meantime sailed for the Lake Illinois.

Having arrived at Poutouatamis, an Illinois village, the calumet was sung, during which ceremony presents were given and received. There is a post placed in the midst of the assembly, where those who wish to make known their great deeds in war, striking the post, declaim on the deeds they have done. This ceremony takes place in presence of those with whom they wish to make friendship, the calumet being the symbol of peace. M. de la Salle sent his boat back to Niagara to fetch the things he wanted, and, embarking in a canoe, continued his voyage to the Miamis River, and there commenced building a house. In the meantime I came up with the deserters, and brought them back to within 30 leagues of the Miamis River, where I was obliged to leave my men, in order to hunt, our provisions failing us. I then went on to join M. de la Salle. When I arrived he told me he wished that all the men had come with me in order that he might proceed to the Illinois. I therefore retraced my way to find them, but the violence of the wind forced me to land, and our canoe was upset by the violence of the waves. It was, however, saved, but everything that was in it was lost, and for want of provisions we lived for three days on acorns. I sent word of what had happened to M. de la Salle, and he directed me to join him. I went back in my little canoe, and as soon as I arrived we ascended 25 leagues, as far as the portage, where the men whom I had left behind joined us. We made the portage, which extends about two leagues, and came to the source of the Illinois River. We embarked there, and ascending [descending] the river for 100 leagues, arrived at a village of the savages. They were absent hunting, and as we had no provisions we opened some *caches* of Indian corn.

During this journey some of our Frenchmen were so fatigued that they determined to leave us, but the night they intended to go was so cold that their plan was broken up. We continued our route, in order to join the savages, and found them 30 leagues above [below] the village. When they saw us they thought we were Iroquois, and put themselves on the defensive and made their women run into the woods ; but when they recognised us the women were called back with their children, and the calumet was danced to M. de la Salle and me, in order to mark their desire to live in peace with us. We gave them some merchandise for the corn which we had taken in their village. This was on the 3rd of January, 1679–80.

As it was necessary to fortify ourselves during the winter we made a fort which was called *Crèvecœur*. Part of our people deserted, and they had even put poison into our kettle. M. de la Salle was poisoned, but he was saved by some antidote a friend had given to him in France. The desertion of these men gave us less annoyance than the effect which it had on the minds of the savages. The enemies of M. de la Salle had spread a report among the Illinois that we were friends of the Iroquois, who are their greatest enemies. The effect thus produced will be seen hereafter.

M. de la Salle commenced building a boat to descend the river. He sent a Father Recollet [Hennepin], with the Sieur Deau, to discover the nation of the Sioux, 400 leagues from the Illinois on the Mississippi River southwards [northwards], a river that runs not less than 800 leagues to the sea without rapids. He determined to go himself by land to Fort Frontenac, because he had heard nothing of the boat which he had sent to Niagara. He gave me the command of this place, and left us on the 22nd of March, with five men. On his road he met with two men, whom he had sent in the autumn to Michilimakinac to obtain news of his boat. They assured him that it had not come down, and he therefore determined to continue his journey. The two men were sent to me with orders to go to the old village to visit a high rock, and to build a strong fort upon it. Whilst I was proceeding thither all my men deserted, and took away everything that was most valuable. They left me with two Recollets and three men, newly arrived from France, stripped of everything and at the mercy of the savages. All that I could do was to send an authentic account of the affair to M. de la Salle. He laid wait for them on Lake Frontenac, took some of them and killed others, after which he returned to the Illinois. As for his boat, it was never heard of.

During the time this happened the Illinois were greatly alarmed at seeing a party of 600 Iroquois. It was then near the month of September. The desertion of our men, and the journey of M. de la Salle to Fort Frontenac, made the savages suspect that we intended to betray them. They severely reproached me on the arrival of their enemies. As I was so recently come from France and was not then acquainted with their manners, I was embarrassed at this event and determined to go to the enemy with necklaces, and to tell them that I was surprised they should come to make war with a nation dependent on the government of New France, and which M. de la Salle, whom they esteemed, governed. An Illinois accompanied me, and we separated ourselves from the body of the Illinois, who, to the number of 400 only, were fighting with the enemy. When I was within gunshot the Iroquois shot at us, seized me, took the necklace from my hand, and one of them plunged a knife into my breast, wounding a rib near the heart. However, having recognised me, they carried me into the midst of the camp, and asked me what I came for.

I gave them to understand that the Illinois were under the protection of the King of France and of the Governor of the country, and that I was surprised that they wished to break with the French, and not to continue at peace. All this time skirmishing was going on on both sides, and a warrior came to give notice that their left wing was giving way, and that they had recognised some Frenchmen among the Illinois, who shot at them. On this they were greatly irritated against me, and held a council on what they should do with me. There was a man behind me with a knife in his hand, who every now and then lifted up my hair. They were divided in opinion. Tégantouki, chief of the Isonoutouan [Senecas] desired to have me burnt. Agoasto, chief of the Onnoutagues [Onandagas], wished to have me set at liberty, as a friend of M. de la Salle, and he carried his point.

They agreed that, in order to deceive the Illinois, they should give me a necklace of porcelain beads to prove that they also were children of the Governor, and ought to unite and make a good peace. They sent me to deliver this message to the Illinois. I had much difficulty in reaching them, on account of the blood I had lost, both from my wound and from my mouth. On my way I met the Fathers Gabriel de la Ribourde and Zenoble Membré, who were coming to look after me. They expressed great joy that these barbarians had not put me to death. We went together to the Illinois, to whom I reported the sentiments of the Iroquois, adding, however, that they must not altogether trust them. They retired within their village, but seeing the Iroquois present themselves every day in battle array, they went to rejoin their wives and children, three leagues off. When they went I was left with the two Recollets and three Frenchmen. The Iroquois made a fort in their village, and left us in a cabin at some distance from their fort.

Two days after, the Illinois appearing on the neighbouring hills, the Iroquois thought that we had some communication with them; this obliged them to take us within their fort. They pressed me to return to the Illinois and induce them to make a treaty of peace. They gave me one of their own nation as a hostage, and I went with Father Zenoble. The Iroquois remained with the Illinois, and one of the latter came with me. When we got to the fort, instead of mending matters he spoilt them entirely by owning that they had in all only 400 men, and that the rest of their young men were gone to war, and that if the Iroquois really wished for peace they were ready to give them the beaver skins and some slaves which they had. The Iroquois called me to them and loaded me with reproaches; they told me that I was a liar to have said that the Illinois had 1,200 warriors, besides the allies who had given them assistance. Where were the 60 Frenchmen who I had told them had been left at the village? I had much difficulty in getting out of the scrape. The same evening they sent back the Illinois to tell his nation to come the next day to within half a league of the fort, and that they would there conclude the peace, which in fact they did at noon. The Iroquois gave them presents of necklaces and merchandise. The first necklace signified that the Governor of New France was angry at their having come to molest their brothers; the second was addressed to M. de la Salle with the same meaning; and the third, accompanied with merchandise, bound them as by oath to a strict alliance that hereafter they should live as brothers.

They then separated, and the Illinois believed, after these presents, in the sincerity of the peace, which induced them to come several times into the fort of Iroquois, where some Illinois chiefs having asked me what I thought, I told them they had everything to fear, that their enemies had no good faith, that I knew that they were making canoes of elm-bark, and that consequently it was intended to pursue them; and that they should take advantage of any delay to retire to some distant nation, for that they would most assuredly be betrayed.

The eighth day after their arrival, on the 10th of September, the Iroquois called me and the Father Zenoble to council, and having made me sit down, they placed six packets of beaver skins before us, and addressing me, they said, that the two first packets were to inform M. de Frontenac that they would not eat his children, and that he should not be angry at what they had done; the third, a plaster for my wound; the fourth, some oil to rub on my own and Father Zenoble's limbs, on account of the long journeys we had taken; the fifth, that the sun was bright; the sixth, that we should profit by it and depart the next day for the French settlements. I asked them when they would go away themselves. Murmurs arose, and some of them said that they would eat some of the Illinois before they went away; upon which I kicked away their presents, saying, that I would have none of them, since they desired to eat the children of the Governor. An Abenakis who was with them, who spoke French, told me that I irritated them, and the chiefs rising drove me from the council. We went to our cabin, where we passed the night on our guard, resolved to kill some of them before they should kill us, for we thought that we should not live out the night. However, at daybreak they directed us to depart, which we did.

After five hours' sailing we landed to dry our peltries which were wet, while we repaired our canoe. The Father Gabriel told me he was going aside to pray. I advised him not to go away, because we were surrounded by enemies. He went about 1,000 paces off, and was taken by forty savages, of a nation called Kikapous, who carried him away and broke his head. Finding that he did not return, I went to look for him with one of the men. Having discovered his trail, I found it cut by several others, which joined and ended at last in one. I brought back this sad news to the Father Zenoble, who was greatly grieved at it. Towards evening we made a great fire, hoping that perhaps he might return ; and we went over to the other side of the river, where we kept a good lookout. Towards midnight we saw a man at a distance, and then many others.

The next day we crossed over the river to look for our crew, and after waiting till noon we embarked and reached the Lake Illinois by short journeys, always hoping to meet with the good father. After having sailed on the lake as far as La Touissant we were wrecked, twenty leagues from the village of Poutouatamis. Our provisions failing us, I left a man to take care of our things and went off by land ; but as I had a fever constantly on me and my legs were swollen, we did not arrive at this village till St. Martin's Day (November 11, 1680). During this journey we lived on wild garlick, which we were obliged to grub up from under the snow. When we arrived we found no savages ; they were gone to their winter quarters. We were obliged to go to the places they had left, where we obtained hardly as much as two handfuls of Indian corn a day, and some frozen gourds which we piled up in a cabin at the water's side. Whilst we were gleaning, a Frenchman whom we had left at the *cache*, came to the cabin where we had left our little store of provisions. He thought we had put them there for him, and therefore did not spare them. We were very much surprised, as we were going off to Michilimakinac, to find him in the cabin, where he had arrived three days before. We had much pleasure in seeing him again, but little to see our provisions partly consumed. We did not delay to embark, and after two hours' sail, the wind in the offing obliged us to land, when I saw a fresh trail, and directed that it should be followed. It led to the Poutouatamis village, who had made a portage to the bay of the Puans [Green Bay].

The next day, weak as we were, we carried our canoe and all our things into this bay, to which there was a league of portage. We embarked in Sturgeon Creek, and turned to the right at hazard, not knowing where to go. After sailing for a league, we found a number of cabins, which led us to expect soon to find the savages.

Five leagues from this place we were stopped by the wind for eight days, which compelled us to consume the provisions we had collected together, and at last we were without anything. We held a council, and despairing of being able to come up with the savages, every one asked to return to the village, where at least there was wood, so that we might die warm. The wind lulling we set off, and on entering Sturgeon's Creek we saw a fire made by savages who had just gone away. We thought they were gone to their village, and determined to go there ; but the creek having frozen in the night we could not proceed in our canoe. We made shoes of the late Father Gabriel's cloak, having no leather.

We were to have started in the morning, but one of my men being very ill from having eaten some *parre-fleche* in the evening, delayed us. As I was urging our starting, two Ottawas savages came up, who led us to where the Poutouatamis were. We found some Frenchmen with them, who kindly received us. I spent the winter with them, and the Father Zenoble left us, to pass the winter with the Jesuits at the end of the bay. I left this place in the spring (1681) for Michilimakinac, hardly recovered from the effects of what we had suffered from hunger and cold during thirty-four days. We arrived at Michilimakinac about the *fête Dieu* in October [June].

M. de la Salle arrived with M. Forest some days afterwards, on his way to seek us at the Illinois. He was very glad to see us again, and notwithstanding the many past reverses, made new preparations to continue the discovery which he had undertaken. I therefore embarked with him for Fort Frontenac, to fetch things that we should want for the expedition. The Father Zenoble accompanied us. When we came to Lake Frontenac, M. de la Salle went forward, and I waited for his boat at the village of Tezagon. When it arrived there I embarked for Illinois. At the Miamis River I assembled some Frenchmen and savages for the voyage of discovery, and M. de la Salle joined us in October. We went in canoes to the River Chicagou, where there is a portage which joins that of the Illinois. The rivers being frozen, we made sledges and dragged our baggage thirty leagues below the village of Illinois, where, finding the navigation open, we arrived at the end of January [Feb. 6th] at the great River Mississippi. The distance from Chicagou was estimated at 140 leagues. We descended the river, and found, six leagues below, on the right, a great river, which comes from the west, on which there are numerous nations. We slept at its mouth.

The next day we went on to the village of Tamarous [Tamaroa, an Illinois tribe], six leagues off on the left. There was no one there, all the people being at their winter quarters in the woods. We made marks to inform the savages that we had passed, and continued our route as far as the River Ouabache [Wabach], which is eighty leagues from that of Illinois. It comes from the east, and is more than 500 leagues in length. It is by this river that the Iroquois advance to make war against the nations of the south. Continuing our voyage about sixty leagues, we came to a place which was named Fort Prudhomme, because one of our men lost himself there when out hunting, and was nine days without food. As they were looking for him they fell in with two Chikasas savages, whose village was three days journey inland. They have 2,000 warriors, the greatest number of whom have *flat heads*, which is considered a beauty among them, the women taking pains to flatten the heads of their children, by means of a cushion which they put on the forehead and bind with a band, which they also fasten to the cradle, and thus make their heads take this form. When they grow up their faces are as big as a large soup plate. All the nations on the seacoast have the same custom.

M. de la Salle sent back one of them with presents to his village, so that, if they had taken Prudhomme, they might send him back, but we found him on the tenth [ninth] day, and as the Chikasas did not return, we continued our route as far as the village of Cappa, fifty leagues off. We arrived there in foggy weather, and as we heard the sound of the tambour, we crossed over to the other side of the river, where, in less than half an hour, we made a fort. The savages having been informed that we were coming down the river, came in their canoes to look for us. We made them land, and sent two Frenchmen as hostages to their village ; the chief visited us with the calumet, and we went to the savages. They regaled us with the best they had, and after having danced the calumet to M. de la Salle, they conducted us to their village of Toyengan, eight leagues from Cappa. They received us there in the same manner, and from thence they went with us to Toriman, two leagues further on, where we met with the same reception. It must be here remarked that these villages, the first of which is Osotonoy, are six leagues to the right descending the river, and are commonly called Akancas (Arkansas). The first three villages are situated on the great river (Mississippi). M. de la Salle erected the arms of the King there ; they have cabins made with the bark of cedar ; they have no other worship than the adoration of all sorts of animals. Their country is very beautiful, having abundance of peach, plum and apple trees, and vines flourish there ; buffaloes, deer, stags, bears, turkeys, are very numerous. They have even domestic fowls. They have very little snow during the winter, and the ice is not thicker than a dollar. They gave us guides to conduct us to their allies, the Taencas, six leagues distant.

The first day we began to see and kill alligators, which are numerous and from 15 to 20 feet long. When we arrived opposite to the village of the Taencas, M. de la Salle desired me to go to it and inform the chief of his arrival. I went with our guides, and we had to carry a bark canoe for ten *arpens*, and to launch it on a small lake in which their village was placed. I was surprised to find their cabins made of mud and covered with cane mats. The cabin of the chief was 40 feet square, the wall 10 feet high, a foot thick, and the roof, which was of a dome shape, about 15 feet high. I was not less surprised when, on entering, I saw the chief seated on a camp bed, with three of his wives at his side, surrounded by more than 60 old men, clothed in large white cloaks, which are made by the women out of the bark of the mulberry tree, and are tolerably well worked. The women were clothed in the same manner; and every time the chief spoke to them, before answering him, they howled and cried out several times—"O-o-o-o-o-o!" to show their respect for him, for their chiefs are held in as much consideration as our kings.

No one drinks out of the chief's cup, nor eats out of his plate, and no one passes before him; when he walks they clean the path before him. When he dies they sacrifice his youngest wife, his house-steward and a hundred men, to accompany him into the other world. They have a form of worship, and adore the sun. There is a temple opposite the house of the chief, and similar to it, except that three eagles are placed on this temple, who look towards the rising sun. The temple is surrounded with strong mud walls, in which are fixed spikes, on which they place the heads of their enemies whom they sacrifice to the sun. At the door of the temple is a block of wood, on which is a great shell and plaited round with the hair of their enemies in a plait as thick as an arm, and about 20 fathoms long. The inside of the temple is naked; there is an altar in the middle, and at the foot of the altar three logs of wood are placed on end, and a fire is kept up day and night by two old priests who are the directors of their worship. These old men showed me a small cabinet within the wall, made of mats of cane. Desiring to see what was inside, the old men prevented me, giving me to understand that their God was there. But I have since learnt that it is the place where they keep their treasure, such as fine pearls which they fish up in the neighbourhood, and European merchandise. At the last quarter of the moon all the cabins make an offering of a dish of the best food they have, which is placed at the door of the temple. The old men take care to carry it away, and to make a good feast of it with their families. Every spring they make a clearing, which they name " the field of the spirit," when all the men work to the sound of the tambour. In the autumn the Indian corn is harvested with much ceremony, and stored in magazines until the moon of June in the following year, when all the village assemble, and invite their neighbours to eat it. They do not leave the ground until they have eaten it all, making great rejoicings the whole time. This is all I learnt of this nation. The three villages below have the same customs.

Let us return to the chief. When I was in his cabin he told me with a smiling countenance the pleasure he felt at the arrival of the French. I saw that one of his wives wore a pearl necklace. I presented her with ten yards of blue glass beads in exchange for it. She made some difficulty but the chief having told her to let me have it, she did so. I carried it to M. de la Salle, giving him an account of all that I had seen, and told him that the chief intended to visit him the next day—which he did. He would not have done this for savages, but the hope of obtaining some merchandise induced him to act thus. He came the next day with wooden canoes to the sound of the tambour and the music of the women. The savages of the river use no other boats than these. M. de la Salle received him with much politeness, and gave him some presents ; they gave us, in return, plenty of provisions and some of their robes. The chiefs returned well satisfied. We stayed during the day, which was the 22nd of March. An observation gave 31 degrees of latitude. We left on the 22nd

[26th], and slept in an island ten leagues off. The next day we saw a canoe, and M. de la Salle ordered me to chase it, which I did, and as I was just on the point of taking it, more than 100 men appeared on the banks of the river to defend their people. M. de la Salle shouted out to me to come back, which I did. We went on and encamped opposite them. Afterwards, M. de la Salle expressing a wish to meet them peaceably, I offered to carry to them the calumet, and embarking, went to them. At first they joined their hands, as a sign that they wished to be friends ; I, who had but one hand, told our men to do the same thing.

I made the chief men among them cross over to M. de la Salle, who accompanied them to their village, three leagues inland, and passed the night there with some of his men. The next day he returned with the chief of the village where he had slept, who was a brother of the great chief of the Natches ; he conducted us to his brother's village, situated on the hillside, near the river, at six leagues' distance. We were well received there. This nation counts more than 300 warriors. Here the men cultivate the ground, hunt, and fish, as well as the Taencas, and their manners are the same. We departed thence on Good Friday, and after a voyage of 20 leagues, encamped at the mouth of a large river, which runs from the west. We continued our journey, and crossed a great canal, which went towards the sea on the right. Thirty leagues further on we saw some fishermen on the bank of the river, and sent to reconnoitre them. It was the village of the Quinipissas, who let fly their arrows upon our men, who retired in consequence. As M. de la Salle would not fight against any nation, he made us embark. Twelve leagues from this village, on the left, is that of the Tangibaos. Scarcely eight days before this village had been totally destroyed. Dead bodies were lying on one another, and the cabins were burnt. We proceeded on our course, and after sailing 40 leagues, arrived at the sea on the 7th of April, 1682.

M. de la Salle sent canoes to inspect the channels; some of them went to the channel on the right hand, some to the left, and M. de la Salle chose the centre. In the evening each made his report, that is to say, that the channels were very fine, wide, and deep. We encamped on the right bank; we erected the arms of the King, and returned several times to inspect the channels. The same report was made. This river is 800 leagues long, without rapids, 400 from the country of the Scioux, and 400 from the mouth of the Illinois river to the sea. The banks are almost uninhabitable, on account of the spring floods. The woods are all those of a boggy district, the country one of canes and briars and of trees torn up by the roots; but a league or two from the river, the most beautiful country in the world, prairies, woods of mulberry-trees, vines, and fruits that we were not acquainted with. The savages gather the Indian corn twice in the year. In the lower part of the river, which might be settled, the river makes a bend N. and S., and in many places every now and then is joined by streams on the right and left. The river is only navigable [for large vessels ?] as far as the village of the Natches, for above that place the river winds too much; but this does not prevent the navigation of the river from the confluence of the Ouabache and the Mississippi as far as the sea. There are but few beavers, but, to make amends, there is a large number of buffaloes, bears, large wolves, stags and hinds in abundance, and some lead mines, which yield two-thirds of ore to one of refuse. As these savages are stationary (*sedentaires*), and have some habits of subordination, they might be obliged to make silk in order to procure necessaries for themselves; bringing to them from France the eggs of silkworms, for the forests are full of mulberry-trees. This would be a valuable trade.

As for the country of Illinois, the river runs 100 leagues from the Fort St. Louis, to where it falls into the Mississippi. Thus it may be said to contain some of the finest lands ever seen. The climate is the same as that of Paris, though in the 40 degree of latitude. The savages there are active and brave, but extremely lazy, except in war, when they think nothing of seeking their enemies at a distance of 500 or 600 leagues from their own country. This constantly occurs in the country of the Iroquois, whom, at my instigation, they continually harass. Not a year passes in which they do not take a number of prisoners and scalps. A few pieces of pure copper, whose origin we have not sought, are found in the river of the Illinois country. Polygamy prevails in this nation, and is one of the great hindrances to the introduction of Christianity, as well as the fact of their having no form of worship of their own. The nations lower down would be more easily converted, because they adore the sun, which is their divinity. This is all that I am able to relate of those parts.

Let us return to the sea coast, where, provisions failing, we were obliged to leave it sooner than we wished, in order to obtain provisions in the neighbouring villages. We did not know how to get anything from the village of the Quinipissas, who had so ill received us as we went down the river. We lived on potatoes until six leagues from their village, when we saw smoke. M. de la Salle sent to reconnoitre at night. Our people reported that they had seen some women. We went on at daybreak, and taking four of the women, encamped on the opposite bank. One of the women was then sent with merchandise to prove that we had no evil design and wished for their alliance and for provisions. She made her report. Some of them came immediately and invited us to encamp on the other bank, which we did. We sent back the three other women, keeping, however, constant guard. They brought us some provisions in the evening, and the next morning, at daybreak, the scoundrels attacked us.

We vigorously repulsed them, and by ten o'clock burnt their canoes, and, but for the fear of our ammunition failing, we should have attacked their village. We left in the evening in order to reach Natches, where we had left a quantity of grain on passing down. When we arrived there the chief came out to meet us. M. de la Salle made them a present of the scalps we had taken from the Quinipissas. They had already heard the news, for they had resolved to betray and kill us. We went up to their village, and as we saw no women there, we had no doubt of their having some evil design. In a moment we were surrounded by 1,500 men. They brought us something to eat, and we ate with our guns in our hands. As they were afraid of firearms, they did not dare to attack us. The chief begged M. de la Salle to go away, as his young men had not much sense, which we very willingly did—the game not being equal, we having only fifty men, French and savages.

We then went on to the Taencas, and then to the Arkansas, where we were very well received. From thence we came to Fort Prudhomme, where M. de la Salle fell dangerously ill, which obliged him to send me forward, on the 6th of May, to arrange his affairs at Missilimakinac. In passing near the Ouabache, I found four Iroquois, who told us that there were 100 men of their nation coming on after them. This gave us some alarm. There is no pleasure in meeting warriors on one's road, especially when they have been unsuccessful. I left them, and at about twenty leagues from Tamaraas we saw smoke. I ordered our people to prepare their arms, and we resolved to advance, expecting to meet the Iroquois. When we were near the smoke, we saw some canoes, which made us think that they could only be Illinois or Tamaraas. They were in fact the latter. As soon as they saw us they came out of the wood in great numbers to attack us, taking us for Iroquois. I presented the calumet to them—they put down their arms, and conducted us to their village without doing us any harm. The chiefs held a council, and, taking us for Iroquois, resolved to burn us ; and, but for some Illinois among us, we should have fared ill. They let us proceed. We arrived about the end of June, 1683 (1682), at the River Chicagou, and, by the middle of July, at Michilimakinac. M. de la Salle, having recovered, joined us in September. Resolving to go to France, he ordered me to collect together the French who were on the River Miamis to construct the Fort of St. Louis in the Illinois. I left with this design, and when I arrived at the place, M. de la Salle, having changed his mind, joined me. They set to work at the fort, and it was finished in March, 1683.

During the winter I gave all the nations notice of what we had done to defend them from the Iroquois, through whom they had lost 700 people in previous years. They approved of our good intentions, and established themselves, to the number of 300 cabins, near the Fort Illinois, as well Miamis as Chawanons [Shawnees].

MACKENZIE

The following narrative is taken from Alexander Mackenzie's own Voyages from Montreal through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans in 1789 and 1793 with an account of the rise and state of the fur trade. *The passage here given is the climax, where he finds himself, in July of* 1793, *on the verge of success. It describes his contacts with the Indians, his observations of the country, includes his remarks on primitive salmon fishing, and ends with his placing a stone on the spot where he reached the Pacific near Vancouver's Sound.*

His journey from Hudson's Bay had opened up a large tract of the north-west and marked, as he indicates in his title, the beginning of the fur trade in that region. It also contributed to the further advance northward which resulted in the exploration of Alaska.

MACKENZIE

JULY, 1793.

At one in the afternoon we embarked, with our small baggage, in two canoes, accompanied by seven of the natives. The stream was rapid, and ran upwards of six miles an hour. We came to a weir, such as I have already described, where the natives landed us, and shot over it without taking a drop of water. They then received us on board again, and we continued our voyage, passing many canoes on the river, some with people in them, and others empty. We proceeded at a very great rate for about two hours and a half, when we were informed that we must land, as the village was only at a short distance. I had imagined that the Canadians who accompanied me were the most expert canoe-men in the world, but they are very inferior to these people, as they themselves acknowledged, in conducting those vessels.

Some of the Indians ran before us, to announce our approach, when we took our bundles and followed. We had walked along a well-beaten path, through a kind of coppice, when we were informed of the arrival of our couriers at the houses, by the loud and confused talking of the inhabitants. As we approached the edge of the wood, and were almost in sight of the houses, the Indians who were before me made signs for me to take the lead, and that they would follow. The noise and confusion of the natives now seemed to increase, and when we came in sight of the village, we saw them running from house to house, some armed with bows and arrows, others with spears, and many with axes, as if in a state of great alarm. This very unpleasant and unexpected circumstance, I attributed to our sudden arrival, and the very short notice of it which had been given them. At all events, I had but one line of conduct to pursue, which was to walk resolutely up to them, without manifesting any signs of apprehension at their hostile appearance.

This resolution produced the desired effect, for as we approached the houses, the greater part of the people laid down their weapons, and came forward to meet us. I was, however, soon obliged to stop from the number of them that surrounded me. I shook hands, as usual with such as were nearest to me, when an elderly man broke through the crowd, and took me in his arms ; another then came, who turned him away without the least ceremony, and paid me the same compliment. The latter was followed by a young man, whom I understood to be his son. These embraces, which at first rather surprised me, I soon found to be marks of regard and friendship. The crowd pressed with so much violence and contention to get a view of us, that we could not move in any direction. An opening was at length made to allow a person to approach me, whom the old man made me understand was another of his sons. I instantly stepped foward to meet him, and presented my hand, whereupon he broke the string of a very handsome robe of sea-otter skin, which he had on, and covered me with it. This was as flattering a reception as I could possibly receive, especially as I considered him to be the eldest son of the chief. Indeed it appeared to me that we had been detained here for the purpose of giving him time to bring the robe with which he had presented me.

The chief now made signs for us to follow him, and he conducted us through a narrow coppice, for several hundred yards, till we came to a house built on the ground, which was of larger dimensions, and formed of better materials than any I had hitherto seen ; it was his residence. We were no sooner arrived there, than he directed mats to be spread before it, on which we were told to take our seats, when the men of the village, who came to indulge their curiosity, were ordered to keep behind us. In our front other mats were placed, where the chief and his counsellors took their seats. In the intervening space, mats, which were very clean, and of a much neater workmanship than those on which we sat, were also spread, and a small roasted salmon placed before each of us. When we had satisfied ourselves with the fish, one of the people who came with us from the last village approached, with a kind of ladle in one hand, containing oil, and in the other something that resembled the inner rind of the cocoa-nut, but of a lighter colour, this he dipped in the oil, and, having eat it, indicated by his gestures how palatable he thought it. He then presented me with a small piece of it, which I chose to taste in its dry state, though the oil was free from any unpleasant smell. A square cake of this was next produced, when a man took it to the water near the house, and having thoroughly soaked it, he returned, and, after he had pulled it to pieces like oakum, put it into a well-made trough, about three feet long, nine inches wide, and five deep ; he then plentifully sprinkled it with salmon oil, and manifested by his own example that we were to eat of it. I just tasted it, and found the oil perfectly sweet, without which the other ingredient would have been very insipid. The chief partook of it with great avidity, after it had received an additional quantity of oil. This dish is considered by these people as a great delicacy, and on examination, I discovered it to consist of the inner rind of the hemlock tree, taken off early in summer, and put into a frame, which shapes it into cakes of fifteen inches long, ten broad, and half an inch thick ; and in this form I should suppose it may be preserved for a great length of time. This discovery satisfied me respecting the many hemlock trees which I had observed stripped of their bark.

In this situation we remained for upwards of three hours, and not one of the curious natives left us during all that time, except a party of ten or twelve of them, whom the chief ordered to go and catch fish, which they did in great abundance, with dipping nets, at the foot of the weir.

At length we were relieved from the gazing crowd, and got a lodge erected, and covered in for our reception during the night. I now presented the young chief with a blanket, in return for the robe with which he had favoured me, and several other articles, that appeared to be very gratifying to him. I also presented some to his father, and amongst them was a pair of scissors, whose use I explained to him, for clipping his beard, which was of great length ; and to that purpose he immediately applied them. My distribution of similar articles was also extended to others, who had been attentive to us. The communication, however, between us was awkward and inconvenient, for it was carried on entirely by signs, as there was not a person with me who was qualified for the office of an interpreter.

We were all of us very desirous to get some fresh salmon, that we might dress them in our own way, but could not by any means obtain that gratification, though there were thousands of that fish strung on cords, which were fastened to stakes in the river. They were even averse to our approaching the spot where they clean and prepare them for their own eating. They had, indeed, taken our kettle from us, lest we should employ it in getting water from the river ; and they assigned as the reason for this precaution, that the salmon dislike the smell of iron.

At the same time, they supplied us with wooden boxes, which were capable of holding any fluid. Two of the men who went to fish, in a canoe capable of containing ten people, returned with a full lading of salmon, that weighed from six to forty pounds, though the far greater part of them were under twenty. They immediately strung the whole of them, as I have already mentioned, in the river.

I now made the tour of the village, which consisted of four elevated houses, and seven built on the ground, besides a considerable number of other buildings or sheds, which are used only as kitchens, and places for curing their fish. The former are constructed by fixing a certain number of posts in the earth, on some of which are laid, and to others are fastened, the supporters of the floor, at twelve feet above the surface of the ground ; their length is from a hundred to a hundred and twenty feet, and they are about forty in breadth. Along the centre are built three, four, or five hearths, for the two-fold purpose of giving warmth, and dressing their fish. The whole length of the building on either side is divided by cedar planks, into partitions or apartments of seven feet square, in the front of which there are boards, about three feet wide, over which, though they are not immovably fixed, the inmates of these recesses generally pass, when they go to rest. The greater part of them are intended for that purpose, and such are covered with boards, at the height of the wall of the house, which is about seven or eight feet, and rest upon beams that stretch across the building. On those also are placed the chests which contain their provisions, utensils, and whatever they possess. The intermediate space is sufficient for domestic purposes. On poles that run along the beams, hang roasted fish, and the whole building is well covered with boards and bark, except within a few inches of the ridge pole ; where open spaces are left on each side to let in light and emit the smoke. At the end of the house that fronts the river, is a narrow scaffolding, which is also ascended by a piece of timber, with steps cut in it ; and at each corner of this erection there are openings for the inhabitants to ease nature. As it does not appear to be a custom among them to remove these heaps of excremental filth, it may be supposed that the effluvia does not annoy them.

The houses which rest on the ground are built of the same materials, and on the same plan. A sloping stage that rises to a cross piece of timber, supported by two forks, joins also to the main building, for those purposes which need not be repeated.

When we were surrounded by the natives on our arrival, I counted sixty-five men, and several of them may be supposed to have been absent ; I cannot, therefore, calculate the inhabitants of this village at less than two hundred souls.

The people who accompanied us hither, from the other village, had given the chief a very particular account of everything they knew concerning us: I was, therefore, requested to produce my astronomical instruments, nor could I have any objection to afford them this satisfaction, as they would necessarily add to our importance in their opinion.

Near the house of the chief I observed several oblong squares, of about twenty feet by eight. They were made of thick cedar boards, which were joined with so much neatness, that I at first thought they were one piece. They were painted with hieroglyphics, and figures of different animals, and with a degree of correctness that was not to be expected from such an uncultivated people. I could not learn the use of them, but they appeared to be calculated for occasional acts of devotion or sacrifice, which all these tribes perform at least twice in the year, at the spring and fall. I was confirmed in this opinion by a large building in the middle of the village, which I at first took for the half finished frame of a house. The groundplot of it was fifty feet by forty-five; each end is formed by four stout posts, fixed perpendicularly in the ground. The corner ones are plain, and support a beam of the whole length, having three intermediate props on each side, but of a larger size, and eight or nine feet in height. The two centre posts, at each end, are two feet and a half in diameter, and carved into human figures, supporting two ridge poles on their heads, at twelve feet from the ground. The figures at the upper part of this square represent two persons, with their hands upon their knees, as if they supported the weight with pain and difficulty; the others opposite to them stand at their ease, with their hands resting on their hips. In the area of the building there were the remains of several fires. The posts, poles, and figures, were painted red and black; but the sculpture of these people is superior to their painting.

Friday, 19.—Soon after I retired to rest last night, the chief paid me a visit to insist on my going to his bed-companion, and taking my place himself; but, notwithstanding his repeated entreaties, I resisted this offering of his hospitality.

At an early hour this morning, I was again visited by the chief, in company with his son. The former complained of a pain in his breast ; to relieve his suffering, I gave him a few drops of Turlington's Balsam on a piece of sugar ; and I was rather surprised to see him take it without the least hesitation. When he had taken my medicine, he requested me to follow him, and conducted me to a shed, where several people were assembled round a sick man, who was another of his sons. They immediately uncovered him, and showed me a violent ulcer in the small of his back, in the foulest state that can be imagined. One of his knees was also afflicted in the same manner. This unhappy man was reduced to a skeleton, and, from his appearance, was drawing near to an end of his pains. They requested that I would touch him, and his father was very urgent with me to administer medicine ; but he was in such a dangerous state, that I thought it prudent to yield no further to the importunities than to give the sick man a few drops of Turlington's Balsam in some water.

I therefore left them, but was soon called back by the loud lamentations of the women, and was rather apprehensive that some inconvenience might result from my compliance with the chief's request. On my return I found the native physicians busy in practising their skill and art on the patient. They blew on him, and then whistled ; at times they pressed their extended fingers, with all their strength, on his stomach ; they also put their forefingers doubled into his mouth, and spouted water from their own with great violence into his face. To support these operations, the wretched sufferer was held up in a sitting posture ; and when they were concluded, he was laid down and covered with a new robe made of the skins of the lynx. I had observed that his belly and breast were covered with scars, and I understood that they were caused by a custom prevalent among them, of applying pieces of lighted touch-wood to their flesh, in order to relieve pain or demonstrate their courage. He was now placed on a broad plank, and carried by six men into the woods, where I was invited to accompany them. I could not conjecture what would be the end of this ceremony, particularly as I saw one man carry fire, another an axe, and a third dry wood. I was indeed, disposed to suspect that, as it was their custom to burn the dead, they intended to relieve the poor man from his pain, and perform the last sad duty of surviving affection. When they advanced a short distance into the woods, they laid him upon a clear spot, and kindled a fire against his back, when the physician began to scarify the ulcer with a very blunt instrument, the cruel pain of which operation the patient bore with incredible resolution. The scene afflicted me, and I left it.

On my return to our lodge, I observed before the door of the chief's residence, four heaps of salmon, each of which consisted of between three and four hundred fish. Sixteen women were employed in cleaning and preparing them. They first separate the head from the body, the former of which they boil ; they then cut the latter down the back on each side of the bone, leaving one third of the fish adhering to it, and afterwards take out the guts. The bone is roasted for immediate use, and the other parts are dressed in the same manner, but with more attention, for future provision. While they are before the fire, troughs are placed under them to receive the oil. The roes are also carefully preserved, and form a favourite article of their food.

After I had observed these culinary preparations, I paid a visit to the chief, who presented me with a roasted salmon ; he then opened one of his chests, and took out of it a garment of blue cloth, decorated with brass buttons ; and another of flowered cotton, which I supposed were Spanish ; it had been trimmed with leather fringe, after the fashion of their own cloaks. Copper and brass are in great estimation among them, and of the former they have great plenty : they point their arrows and spears with it, and work it up into personal ornaments ; such as collars, ear-rings, and bracelets, which they wear on their wrists, arms, and legs. I presume they find it the most advantageous article of trade with the more inland tribes. They also abound in iron. I saw some of their twisted collars of that metal which weighed upwards of twelve pounds. It is generally beat in bars of fourteen inches in length, and one inch three quarters wide. The brass is in thin squares : their copper is in larger pieces, and some of it appeared to be old stills cut up. They have various trinkets ; but their manufactured iron consists only of poignards and daggers. Some of the former have very neat handles, with a silver coin of a quarter or eighth of a dollar fixed on the end of them. The blades of the latter are from ten to twelve inches in length, and about four inches broad at the top, from which they gradually lessen into a point.

When I produced my instruments to take an altitude, I was desired not to make use of them. I could not then discover the cause of this request, but I experienced the good effect of the apprehension which they occasioned, as it was very effectual in hastening my departure. I had applied several times to the chief to prepare canoes and people to take me and my party to the sea, but very little attention had been paid to my application till noon ; when I was informed that a canoe was properly equipped for my voyage, and that the young chief would accompany me. I now discovered that they had entertained no personal fear of the instruments, but were apprehensive that the operation of them might frighten the salmon from that part of the river. The observation taken in this village gave me 52. 25. 52. North latitude.

In compliance with the chief's request I desired my people to take their bundles, and lay them down on the bank of the river. In the mean time I went to take the dimensions of his large canoe, in which, it was signified to me, that about ten winters ago he went a considerable distance towards the mid-day sun, with forty of his people, when he saw two large vessels full of such men as myself, by whom he was kindly received : they were, he said, the first white people he had seen. They were probably the ships commanded by Captain Cook. This canoe was built of cedar, forty-five feet long, four feet wide, and three feet and a half in depth. It was painted black and decorated with white figures of fish of different kinds. The gunwale, fore and aft, was inlaid with the teeth of the sea-otter.[1]

When I returned to the river, the natives who were to accompany us, and my people, were already in the canoe. The latter, however, informed me, that one of our axes was missing. I immediately applied to the chief, and requested its restoration ; but he would not understand me till I sat myself down on a stone, with my arms in a state of preparation, and made it appear to him that I should not depart till the stolen article was restored. The village was immediately in a state of uproar, and some danger was apprehended from the confusion that prevailed in it. The axe, however, which had been hidden under the chief's canoe, was soon returned. Though this instrument was not, in itself, of sufficient value to justify a dispute with these people, I apprehended that the suffering them to keep it, after we had declared its loss, might have occasioned the loss of everything we carried with us, and of our lives also. My people were dissatisfied with me at the moment ; but I thought myself right then, and, I think now, that the circumstances in which we were involved, justified the measure which I adopted.

JULY, 1793.

Saturday, 18.—At one in the afternoon we renewed our voyage in a large canoe with four of the natives. We found the river almost one continued rapid, and in half an hour we came to a house, where, however, we did not land, though invited by the inhabitants. In about an hour we arrived at two houses, where we were, in some degree, obliged to go on shore, as we were informed that the owner of them was a person of consideration. He indeed received and regaled us in the same manner as at the last village ; and to increase his consequence, he produced many European articles, and amongst them were at least forty pounds weight of old copper stills. We made our stay as short as possible, and our host embarked with us. In a very short time we were carried by the rapidity of the current to another house of very large dimensions, which was partitioned into different apartments, and whose doors were on the side. The inhabitants received us with great kindness ; but instead of fish, they placed a long, clean, and well-made trough before us full of berries. In addition to those which we had already seen, there were some black, that were larger than the hurtleberry, and of a richer flavour ; others white, which resembled the blackberry in everything but colour. Here we saw a woman with two pieces of copper in her underlip, as described by Captain Cook. I continued my usual practice of making these people presents in return for their friendly reception and entertainment.

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[1] As Captain Cook has mentioned, that the people of the sea-coast adorned their canoes with human teeth, I was more particular in my inquiries ; the result of which was, the most satisfactory proof that he was mistaken ; but his mistake arose from the very great resemblance there is between human teeth and those of the sea-otter.

The navigation of the river now became more difficult, from the numerous channels into which it was divided, without any sensible diminution in the velocity of its current. We soon reached another house of the common size, where we were well received ; but whether our guides had informed them that we were not in want of anything, or that they were deficient in inclination, or perhaps the means, of being hospitable to us, they did not offer us any refreshment. They were in a state of busy preparation. Some of the women were employed in beating and preparing the inner rind of the cedar bark, to which they gave the appearance of flax. Others were spinning with a distaff and spindle. One of them was weaving a robe of it, intermixed with stripes of the sea-otter skin, on a frame of adequate contrivance that was placed against the side of the house. The men were fishing on the river with drag-nets between two canoes. These nets are forced by poles to the bottom, the current driving them before it ; by which means the salmon coming up the river are intercepted, and give notice of their being taken by the struggles they make in the bag or sleeve of the net. There are no weirs in this part of the river, as I suppose, from the numerous channels into which it is divided. The machines, therefore, are placed along the banks, and consequently these people are not so well supplied with fish as the village which has been already described, nor do they appear to possess the same industry.

The inhabitants of the last house accompanied us in a large canoe. They recommended us to leave ours here, as the next village was but at a small distance from us, and the water more rapid than that which we had passed. They informed us also, that we were approaching a cascade. I directed them to shoot it, and proceeded myself to the foot thereof, where I re-embarked, and we went on with great velocity, till we came to a fall, where we left our canoe, and carried our luggage along a road through a wood for some hundred yards, when we came to a village, consisting of six very large houses, erected on palisades, rising twenty-five feet from the ground, which differed in no one circumstance from those already described, but the height of their elevation. They contained only four men and their families. The rest of the inhabitants were with us and in the small houses which we passed higher up the river.[1] These people do not seem to enjoy the abundance of their neighbours, as the men who returned from fishing had no more than five salmon ; they refused to sell one of them, but gave me one roasted of a very indifferent kind. In the houses there were several chests or boxes containing different articles that belonged to the people whom we had lately passed. If I were to judge by the heaps of filth beneath these buildings, they must have

[1] Mr. Johnstone came to these houses the first day of the preceding month.

been erected at a more distant period than any which we had passed. From these houses I could perceive the termination of the river, and its discharge into a narrow arm of the sea.

As it was now half past six in the evening, and the weather cloudy, I determined to remain here for the night, and for that purpose we possessed ourselves of one of the unoccupied houses. The remains of our last meal, which we brought with us, served for our supper, as we could not procure a single fish from the natives. The course of the river is about West, and the distance from the great village upwards of thirty-six miles. There we had lost our dog, a circumstance of no small regret to me.

Saturday, 20.—We rose at a very early hour this morning, when I proposed to the Indians to run down our canoe, or procure another at this place. To both these proposals they turned a deaf ear, as they imagined that I should be satisfied with having come in sight of the sea. Two of them peremptorily refused to proceed ; but the other two having consented to continue with us, we obtained a larger canoe than our former one, and though it was in a leaky state we were glad to possess it.

At about eight we got out of the river, which discharges itself by various channels into an arm of the sea. The tide was out, and had left a large space covered with seaweed. The surrounding hills were involved in fog. The wind was at West, which was ahead of us, and very strong ; the bay appearing to be from one to three miles in breadth. As we advanced along the land we saw a great number of sea-otters. We fired several shots at them, but without any success from the rapidity with which they plunge under the water. We also saw many small porpoises or divers. The white-headed eagle, which is common in the interior parts ; some small gulls, a dark bird which is inferior in size to the gull, and a few small ducks, were all the birds which presented themselves to our view.

At two in the afternoon the swell was so high, and the wind, which was against us, so boisterous, that we could not proceed with our leaky vessel, we therefore landed in a small cove on the right side of the bay. Opposite to us appeared another small bay, in the mouth of which is an island, and where, according to the information of the Indians, a river discharges itself that abounds in salmon.

Our young Indians now discovered a very evident disposition to leave us ; and, in the evening, one of them made his escape. Mr. Mackay, however, with the other, pursued and brought him back ; but as it was by no means necessary to detain him, particularly as provisions did not abound with us, I gave him a small portion, with a pair of shoes, which were necessary for his journey, and a silk handkerchief, telling him at the same time, that he might go and inform his friends, that we should also return in three nights. He accordingly left us, and his companion, the young chief, went with him.

When we landed, the tide was going out, and at a quarter past four it was ebb, the water having fallen in that short period eleven feet and an half. Since we left the river, not a quarter of an hour had passed in which we did not see porpoises and sea-otters. Soon after ten it was high water, and rendered it necessary that our baggage should be shifted several times, though not till some of the things had been wetted.

We were now reduced to the necessity of looking out for fresh water, with which we were plentifully supplied by the rills that ran down from the mountains.

When it was dark the young chief returned to us, bearing a large porcupine on his back. He first cut the animal open, and having disencumbered it of the entrails, threw them into the sea ; he then singed its skin, and boiled it in separate pieces, as our kettle was not sufficiently capacious to contain the whole ; nor did he go to rest, till with the assistance of two of my people who happened to be awake, every morsel of it was devoured.

I had flattered myself with the hope of getting a distance of the moon and stars, but the cloudy weather continually disappointed me, and I began to fear that I should fail in this important object: particularly as our provisions were at a very low ebb, and we had, as yet, no reason to expect any assistance from the natives. Our stock was, at this time, reduced to twenty pounds weight of pemmican, fifteen pounds weight of rice, and six pounds of flour, among ten half-starved men, in a leaky vessel, and on a barbarous coast. Our course from the river was about West-South-West, distance ten miles.

Sunday, 21.—At forty minutes past four this morning it was low water, which made fifteen feet of perpendicular height below the high-water mark of last night. Mr. Mackay collected a quantity of small muscles which we boiled. Our people did not partake of this regale, as they are wholly unacquainted with sea shell-fish. Our young chief being missing, we imagined that he had taken his flight, but, as we were preparing to depart, he fortunately made his appearance from the woods, where he had been to take his rest after his feast of last night.

At six we were upon the water, when we cleared the small bay, which we named Porcupine Cove, and steered West-South-West for seven miles, we then opened a channel about two miles and a half wide at South-South-West, and had a view of ten or twelve miles into it.

As I could not ascertain the distance from the open sea, and being uncertain whether we were in a bay or among inlets and channels of islands, I confined my search to a proper place for taking an observation. We steered, therefore, along the land on the left, West-North-West a mile and a half; then North-West one fourth of a mile, and North three miles to an island; the land continuing to run North-North-West, then along the island, South-South-West half a mile, West a mile and a half, and from thence directly across to the land on the left (where I had an altitude), South-West three miles.[1] From this position a channel, of which the island we left appeared to make a check, bears North by East.

Under the land we met with three canoes, with fifteen men in them, and laden with their moveables, as if proceeding to a new situation, or returning to a former one. They manifested no kind of mistrust or fear of us, but entered into conversation with our young man, as I supposed, to obtain some information concerning us. It did not appear that they were the same people as those we had lately seen, as they spoke the language of our young chief, with a different accent. They then examined everything we had in our canoe, with an air of indifference and disdain. One of them in particular made me understand, with an air of insolence, that a large canoe had lately been in this bay, with people in her like me, and that one of them, whom he called *Macubah* had fired on him and his friends, and that *Bensins* had struck him on the back, with the flat part of his sword. He also mentioned another name, the articulation of which I could not determine. At the same time he illustrated these circumstances by the assistance of my gun and sword ; and I do not doubt but he well deserved the treatment which he described. He also produced several European articles, which could not have been long in his possession. From his conduct and appearance, I wished very much to be rid of him, and flattered myself that he would prosecute his voyage, which appeared to be in an opposite direction to our course.

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[1] The Cape or Point Menzies of Vancouver.

However, when I prepared to part from them, they turned their canoes about, and persuaded my young man to leave me, which I could not prevent.

We coasted along the land[1] at about West-South-West for six miles, and met a canoe with two boys in it, who were dispatched to summon the people on that part of the coast to join them. The troublesome fellow now forced himself into my canoe, and pointed out a narrow channel on the opposite shore, that led to his village, and requested us to steer towards it, which I accordingly ordered. His importunities now became very irksome, and he wanted to see everything we had, particularly my instruments, concerning which he must have received information from my young man. He asked for my hat, my handkerchief, and in short, everything that he saw about me. At the same time he frequently repeated the unpleasant intelligence that he had been shot at by people of my colour. At some distance from the land a channel opened to us, at South-West by West, and pointing that way, he made me understand that *Macubah* came there with his large canoe. When we were in mid-channel, I perceived some sheds, or the remains of old buildings on the shore ; and as, from that circumstance I thought it probable that some Europeans might have been there I directed my steersman to make for that spot. The traverse is upwards of three miles North-West.

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[1] Named by Vancouver King's Island.

We landed, and found the ruins of a village, in a situation calculated for defence. The place itself was overgrown with weeds, and in the centre of the houses there was a temple, of the same form and construction as that which I described at the large village. We were soon followed by ten canoes, each of which contained from three to six men. They informed us that we were expected at the village, where we should see many of them. From their general deportment I was very apprehensive that some hostile design was meditated against us, and for the first time I acknowledged my apprehensions to my people. I accordingly desired them to be very much upon their guard, and to be prepared if any violence was offered to defend themselves to the last.

We had no sooner landed, than we took possession of a rock, where there was not space for more than twice our number, and which admitted of our defending ourselves with advantage, in case we should be attacked. The people in the three first canoes, were the most troublesome, but, after doing their utmost to irritate us, they went away.

They were, however, no sooner gone, than a hat, a handkerchief, and several other articles, were missing. The rest of our visitors continued their pressing invitations to accompany them to their village, but finding our resolution to decline them was not to be shaken, they, about sun-set relieved us from all further importunities by their departure.

Another canoe, however, soon arrived, with seven stout, well-looking men. They brought a box, which contained a very fine sea-otter skin, and a goat skin that was beautifully white. For the former they demanded my hanger, which, as may well be supposed, could not be spared in our present situation, and they actually refused to take a yard and a half of common broad cloth, with some other articles, for the skin, which proves the unreflecting improvidence of our European traders. The goat-skin was so bulky that I did not offer to purchase it. These men also told me that *Macubah* had been there, and left his ship behind a point of land in the channel, South-West from us ; from whence he had come to their village in boats, which these people represented by imitating our manner of rowing. When I offered them what they did not choose to accept for the otter-skin, they shook their heads, and very distinctly answered, " No, no." And to mark their refusal of anything we asked from them, they emphatically employed the same British monosyllable. In one of the canoes which had left us, there was a seal, that I wished to purchase, but could not persuade the natives to part with it. They had also a fish, which I now saw for the first time. It was about eighteen inches in length, of the shape and appearance of a trout, with strong sharp teeth. We saw great numbers of the animals which we had taken for sea-otters, but I was now disposed to think that a great part of them, at least, must have been seals.

The natives having left us, we made a fire to warm ourselves, and as for supper, there was but little of that, for our whole daily allowance did not amount to what was sufficient for a single meal. The weather was clear throughout the day, which was succeeded by a fine moonlight night. I directed the people to keep watch by two in turn, and laid myself down on my cloak.

Monday, 22.—This morning the weather was clear and pleasant; nor had anything occurred to disturb us throughout the night. One solitary Indian, indeed, came to us with about half a pound of boiled seal's flesh, and the head of a small salmon, for which he asked a handkerchief, but afterwards accepted a few beads. As this man came alone, I concluded that no general plan had been formed among the natives to annoy us, this opinion did not altogether calm the apprehensions of my people.

Soon after eight in the morning, I took five altitudes for time, and the mean of them was 36° 48′ at six in the afternoon, 58. 34. time, by the watch, which makes the achrometer slow apparent time 1h. 21m. 44s.

Two canoes now arrived from the same quarter as the rest, with several men, and our young Indian along with them. They brought a very few small sea-otter skins, out of season, with some pieces of raw seal's flesh. The former were of no value, but hunger compelled some of my people to take the latter, at an extravagant price. Mr. Mackay lighted a bit of touch-wood with a burning-glass, in the cover of his tobacco-box, which so surprised the natives, that they exchanged the best of their otter skins for it. The young man was now very anxious to persuade our people to depart, as the natives, he said, were as numerous as musquitoes, and of very malignant character. This information produced some very earnest remonstrances to me to hasten our departure, but as I was determined not to leave this place, except I was absolutely compelled to it, till I had ascertained its situation, these solicitations were not repeated.

While I was taking a meridian, two canoes, of a larger size, and well manned, appeared from the main South-West channel. They seemed to be the fore-runners of others, who were coming to co-operate with the people of the village, in consequence of the message sent by the two boys, which has been already mentioned; and our young Indian, who understood them, renewed his entreaties for our departure, as they would soon come to shoot their arrows, and hurl their spears at us. In relating our danger, his agitation was so violent, that he foamed at the mouth. Though I was not altogether free from apprehensions on the occasion, it was necessary for me to disguise them, as my people were panic-struck, and some of them asked if it was my determination to remain there to be sacrificed ? My reply was the same as their former importunities had received, that I would not stir till I had accomplished my object ; at the same time, to humour their fears, I consented that they should put everything into the canoe, that we might be in a state of preparation to depart. The two canoes now approached the shore, and in a short time, five men, with their families, landed very quietly from them. My instruments being exposed, they examined them with much apparent admiration and astonishment. My altitude, by an artificial horizon, gave 52° 21′ 33″ ; that by the natural horizon was 52° 20′ 48″ North latitude.[1]

These Indians were of a different tribe from those which I had already seen, as our guide did not understand their language. I now mixed up some vermilion in melted grease, and inscribed, in large characters, on the South-East face of the rock on which we had slept last night, this brief memorial—" Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada, by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three."

[1] This I found to be the cheek of Vancouver's Cascade Canal.

TORRES

Pedro Fernandez de Quiros sailed from Callao in Peru on December 21st, 1605, *with Luis Vaez de Torres as his almirante or lieutenant in charge of navigation. Their voyage across the Pacific can quite easily be followed by means of their reckonings, if the zero of longitude be taken from Tenerife instead of Greenwich. The latitudes are approximately accurate. It was the first occasion in history, so far as is known, that Australia was seen by white men, and the moment will be found in the narrative when they name the new land del Espiritu Santo.*

The entire narrative is by Torres, was written from Manila on the 12*th July*, 1607, *for his King, Philip III of Spain, and is here given complete. It was first translated for Burney's* Discoveries in the South Sea, *which appeared in* 1806.

TORRES

Relation of Luis Vaez de Torres, concerning the discoveries of Quiros, as his almirante, dated Manila, July 12th, 1607.

BEING in this city of Manila, at the end of a year and a half of navigation and making discovery of the lands and seas in the southern parts ; and seeing that the Royal Audience of Manila have not hitherto thought proper to give me dispatches for completing the voyage as Your Majesty commanded, and as I was in hopes of being the first to give yourself a relation of the discovery, etc. ; but being detained here, and not knowing if, in this city of Manila, I shall receive my dispatches, I have thought proper to send Your Majesty Fray Juan de Merlo, of the order of San Francisco, one of the three religious who were on board with me, who having been an eye-witness, will give a full relation to Your Majesty. The account from me is the following.

We sailed from Callao, in Peru, December 21st, 1605, with two ships and a launch, under the command of Captain Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, and I for his almirante ; and without losing company, we stood W.S.W., and went on this course 800 leagues.

In latitude 26° S., it appeared proper to our commander not to pass that latitude, because of changes in the weather : on which account I gave a declaration under my hand that it was not a thing obvious that we ought to diminish our latitude, if the season would allow, till we got beyond 30 degrees. My opinion had no effect ; for from the said 26° S., we decreased our latitude in a W.N.W. course to 24½° S. In this situation we found a small low island, about two leagues long, uninhabited and without anchoring ground.

From hence we sailed W. by N. to 24° S. In this situation we found another island, uninhabited, and without anchorage. It was about ten leagues in circumference. We named it San Valerio.

From hence we sailed W. by N. one day, and then W.N.W. to 21⅓° S., where we found another small low island without soundings, uninhabited, and divided into pieces.

We passed on in the same course, and sailed twenty-five leagues : we found four islands in a triangle, five or six leagues each ; low, uninhabited, and without soundings. We named them las Virgines (the Virgins). Here the variation was north-easterly.

From hence we sailed N.W. to 19° S. In this situation we saw a small island to the eastward, about three leagues distant. It appeared like those we had passed. We named it Sta. Polonia.

Diminishing our latitude from hence half a degree we saw a low island, with a point to the S.E., full of palms : it is in 18½° S. We arrived at it. It had no anchorage. We saw people on the beach : the boats went to the shore, and when they reached it, they could not land on account of the great surf and rocks. The Indians called to them from the land : two Spaniards swam ashore : these they received well, throwing their arms upon the ground, and embraced them and kissed them in the face. On this friendship, a chief among them came on board the *Capitana* to converse, and an old woman ; who were clothed, and other presents were made to them, and they returned ashore presently, for they were in great fear. In return for these good offices they sent a heap, or locks of hair, and some bad feathers, and some wrought pearl oyster shells : these were all their valuables. They were a savage people, mulattoes, and corpulent : the arms they use are lances, very long and thick. As we could not land nor get anchoring ground, we passed on, steering W.N.W.

We went in this direction from that island, getting sight of land. We could not reach it from the first, on account of the wind being contrary and strong with much rain : it was all of it very low, so as in parts to be overflowed.

From this place in 16½° S., we stood N.W. by N. to 10¾° S. In this situation we saw an island, which was supposed to be that of San Bernardo, because it was in pieces : but it was not San Bernardo, from what we afterwards saw. We did not find anchoring ground at it, though the boats went on shore to search for water, which we were in want of, but could not find any : they only found some cocoa-nut trees, though small. Our commander seeing we wanted water, agreed that we should go to the island Santa Cruz, where he had been with the adelantado Alvaro de Mendana, saying we might there supply ourselves with water and wood, and then he would determine what was most expedient for Your Majesty's service. The crew of the *Capitana* at this time were mutinous, designing to go directly to Manila : on this account he sent the chief pilot a prisoner on board my ship, without doing anything farther to him or others, though I strongly importuned him to punish them, or give me leave to punish them ; but he did not choose to do it, from whence succeeded what Your Majesty knows, since they made him turn from the course [voyage], as will be mentioned, and he has probably said at Your Majesty's court.

We sailed from the above island W. by N., and found nearly a point easterly variation. We continued this course till in full 10° S. latitude. In this situation we found a low island of five or six leagues, overflowed and without soundings : it was inhabited, the people and arms like those we had left, but their vessels were different. They came close to the ship, talking to us and taking what we gave them, begging more, and stealing what was hanging to the ship, throwing lances, thinking we could not do them any harm. Seeing we could not anchor, on account of the want we were in of water, our commander ordered me ashore with two boats and fifty men. As soon as we came to the shore they opposed my entrance, without any longer keeping peace, which obliged me to skirmish with them. When we had done them some mischief, three of them came out to make peace with me, singing, with branches in their hands, and one with a lighted torch and on his knees. We received them well and embraced them, and then cloathed them, for they were some of the chiefs ; and asking them for water they did not choose to shew it me, making signs as if they did not understand me. Keeping the three chiefs with me, I ordered the sergeant, with twelve men, to search for water, and having fallen in with it, the Indians came out on their flank and attacked them, wounding one Spaniard. Seeing their treachery they were attacked and defeated, without other harm whatever. The land being in my power, I went over the town without finding anything but dried oysters and fish, and many cocoa-nuts, with which the land was well provided. We found no birds nor animals, except little dogs. They have many covered embarcations, with which they are accustomed to navigate to other islands, with latine sails made curiously of mats ; and of the same cloth their women are cloathed with little shifts and petticoats, and the men only round their waists and hips. From hence we put off with the boats loaded with water, but by the great swell we were overset with much risk of our lives, and so we were obliged to go on without getting water at this island. We named it Matanza.

We sailed in this parallel thirty-two days. In all this route we had very strong currents, and many drifts of wood and snakes, and many birds, all which were signs of land on both sides of us. We did not search for it, that we might not leave the latitude of the island of Santa Cruz, for we always supposed ourselves near it ; and with reason, if it had been where the first voyage when it was discovered had represented ; but it was much further on, as by the account will be seen. So that about sixty leagues before reaching it, and 1940 from the city of Lima, we found a small island of six leagues, very high, and all round it very good soundings ; and other small islands near it, under shelter of which the ships anchored. I went with the two boats and fifty men to reconnoitre the people of this island ; and at the distance of a musket shot separate from the island, we found a town surrounded with a wall, with only one entrance, without a gate. Being near with the two boats with an intention of investing them, as they did not by signs choose peace, at length their chief came into the water up to his neck, with a staff in his hand, and without fear came directly to the boats ; where he was very well received, and by signs which we very well understood, he told me that his people were in great terror of the muskets, and therefore he entreated us not to land, and said that they would bring water and wood if we gave them vessels. I told him that it was necessary to remain five days on shore to refresh. Seeing he could not do more with me he quieted his people, who were very uneasy and turbulent, and so it happened that no hostility was committed on either side. We went into the fort very safely ; and having halted, I made them give up their arms, and made them bring from their houses their effects, which were not of any value, and go with them to the island to other towns. They thanked me very much : the chief always continued with me. They then told me the name of the country : all came to me to make peace, and the chiefs assisted me, making their people get water and wood and carry it on board the ships. In this we spent six days.

The people of this island are of an agreeable conversation, understanding us very well, desirous of learning our language and to teach us theirs. They are great cruisers: they have much beard ; they are great archers and hurlers of darts ; the vessels in which they sail are large, and can go a great way. They informed us of more than forty islands, great and small, all peopled, naming them by their names, and telling us that they were at war with many of them. They also gave us intelligence of the island Santa Cruz, and of what had happened when the adelantado was there.

The people of this island are of ordinary stature : they have amongst them people white and red, some in colour like those of the Indies, others woolly-headed blacks and mulattoes. Slavery is in use amongst them. Their food is yams, fish, cocoa-nuts, and they have hogs and fowls.

This island is named Taomaco, and the name of the chief is Tomai. We departed from hence with four Indians whom we took, at which they were not much pleased : and as we here got wood and water, there was no necessity for us to go to the Island Santa Cruz, which, as I have said, is in this parallel sixty leagues farther on.

So we sailed from hence, steering S.S.E. to 12½° S. latitude, where we found an island like that of Taomaco, and with the same kind of people, named Chucupia : there is only one small anchoring place ; and passing in the offing, a small canoe with only two men came to me to make peace, and presented me some bark of a tree, which appeared like a very fine handkerchief, four yards long and three palms wide : on this I parted from them.

From hence we steered south. We had a hard gale of wind from the north, which obliged us to lye to for two days : at the end of that time it was thought, as it was winter, that we could not exceed the latitude of 14° S., in which we were, though my opinion was always directly contrary, thinking we should search for the islands named by the Indians of Taomaco. Wherefore sailing from this place we steered west, and in one day's sail we discovered a volcano, very high and large, above three leagues in circuit, full of trees, and of black people with much beard.

To the westward, and in sight of this volcano, was an island, not very high and pleasant in appearance. There are few anchoring places, and those very close to the shore : it was very full of black people. Here we caught two in some canoes, whom we cloathed and gave them presents, and the next day we put them ashore. In return for this they shot a flight of arrows at a Spaniard, though in truth it was not in the same port, but about a musket shot further on. They are, however, a people that never miss an opportunity of doing mischief.

In sight of this island and around it are many islands, very high and large, and to the southward one so large that we stood for it, naming the island where our man was wounded Santa Maria.

Sailing thence to the southward towards the large island, we discovered a very large bay, well peopled, and very fertile in yams and fruits, hogs and fowls. They are all black people and naked. They fight with bows, darts and clubs. They did not choose to have peace with us, though we frequently spoke to them and made presents : and they never, with their goodwill, let us set foot on shore.

This bay is very refreshing, and in it fall many and large rivers. It is in 15$\frac{2}{3}$° S. latitude, and in circuit it is twenty-five leagues. We named it the bay de San Felipe y Santiago, and the land del Espiritu Santo.

There we remained fifty days : we took possession in the name of Your Majesty. From within this bay, and from the most sheltered part of it, the *Capitana* departed at one hour past midnight, without any notice given to us, and without making any signal. This happened the 11th of June. And although the next morning we went out to seek for them, and made all proper efforts, it was not possible for us to find them ; for they did not sail on the proper course, nor with good intention. So I was obliged to return to the bay, to see if by chance they had returned thither. And on the same account we remained in this bay fifteen days ; at the end of which we took Your Majesty's orders, and held a consultation with the officers of the frigate. It was determined that we should fulfil them, although contrary to the inclination of many, I may say, of the greater part ; but my condition was different from that of Captain Pedro Fernandez de Quiros.

At length we sailed from this bay, in conformity to the order, although with intention to sail round this island, but the season and the strong currents would not allow this although I ran along a great part of it. In what I saw, there are very large mountains. It has many ports, though some of them are small. All of it is well watered with rivers. We had at this time nothing but bread and water: it was the height of winter, with sea, wind, and ill will [of his crew] against us. All this did not prevent me from reaching the mentioned latitude, which I passed one degree, and would have gone farther if the weather had permitted; for the ship was good. It was proper to act in this manner, for these are not voyages performed every day, nor could Your Majesty otherwise be properly informed. Going into the said latitude on a S.W. course, we had no signs of land that way.

From hence I stood back to the N.W. to 11½° S. latitude: there we fell in with the beginning of New Guinea, the coast of which runs W. by N. and E. by S. I could not weather the east point, so I coasted along to the westward on the south side.

All this land of New Guinea is peopled with Indians, not very white, and naked, except their waists, which are covered with a cloth made of the bark of trees, and much painted. They fight with darts, targets, and some stone clubs, which are made fine with plumage. Along the coast are many islands and habitations. All the coast has many ports, very large, with very large rivers, and many plains. Without these islands there runs a reef of shoals, and between them [the shoals] and the main land are the islands. There is a channel within. In these ports I took possession for Your Majesty.

We went along three hundred leagues of coast, as I have mentioned, and diminished the latitude 2½°, which brought us into 9°. From hence we fell in with a bank of from three to nine fathoms, which extends along the coast above 180 leagues. We went over it along the coast to 7½° S. latitude, and the end of it is in 5°. We could not go farther on for the many shoals and great currents, so we were obliged to sail out S.W. in that depth to 11° S. latitude. There is all over it an archipelago of islands without number, by which we passed, and at the end of the eleventh degree the bank became shoaler. Here were very large islands, and there appeared more to the southward:

they were inhabited by black people, very corpulent, and naked : their arms were lances, arrows, and clubs of stone ill-fashioned. We could not get any of their arms. We caught in all this land twenty persons of different nations, that with them we might be able to give a better account to Your Majesty. They give much notice of other people, although as yet they do not make themselves well understood.

We went upon this bank for two months, at the end of which time we found ourselves in twenty-five fathoms, and in 5° S. latitude, and ten leagues from the coast. And having gone 480 leagues, here the coast goes to the N.E. I did not reach it, for the bank became very shallow. So we stood to the north, and in twenty-five fathoms to 4° latitude, where we fell in with a coast, which likewise lay in a direction east and west. We did not see the eastern termination, but from what we understood of it, it joins the other we had left on account of the bank, the sea being very smooth. This land is peopled by blacks, different from all others : they are better adorned : they use arrows, darts, and large shields, and some sticks of bamboo filled with lime, with which, by throwing it out, they blind their enemies. Finally, we stood to the W.N.W. along the coast, always finding this people, for we landed in many places : also in it we took possession for Your Majesty. In this land also we found iron, china bells, and other things, by which we knew we were near the Malucas ; and so we ran along this coast above 130 leagues, where it comes to a termination fifty leagues before you reach the Malucas. There is an infinity of islands to the southward, and very large, which for the want of provisions we did not approach ; for I doubt if in ten years could be examined the coasts of all the islands we descried. We observed the variation in all this land of New Guinea to the Malucas ; and in all of it the variation agrees with the meridian of the Ladrone Islands and of the Philippine Islands.

At the termination of this land we found Mahometans, who were clothed, and had firearms and swords. They sold us fowls, goats, fruit and some pepper, and biscuit which they called *sagoe*, which will keep more than twenty years. The whole they sold us was but little ; for they wanted cloth, and we had not any ; for all the things that had been given us for traffic were carried away by the *Capitana*, even to tools and medicines, and many other things which I do not mention, as there is no help for it ; but, without them, God took care of us.

These Moors gave us news of the events at the Malucas, and told us of Dutch ships, though none of them came here, although they said that in all this land there was much gold and other good things, such as pepper and nutmegs. From hence to the Malucas it is all islands, and on the south side are many uniting with those of Banda and Amboyna, where the Dutch carry on a trade. We came to the islands of Bachian, which are the first Malucas, where we found a *Theatine*, with about one hundred Christians in the country of a Mahometan king friendly to us, who begged me to subdue one of the Ternate islands inhabited by revolted Mahometans, to whom Don Pedro de Acunha had given pardon in Your Majesty's name, which I had maintained ; and I sent advice to the M. de Campo, Juan de Esquivel, who governed the islands of Ternate, of my arrival, and demanded if it was expedient to give this assistance to the king of Bachian, to which he [Juan de Esquivel] answered that it would be of great service to Your Majesty if I brought force for that purpose. On this, with forty Spaniards and four hundred Moors of the king of Bachian, I made war, and in only four days I defeated them and took the fort, and put the king of Bachian in possession of it in Your Majesty's name, to whom we administered the usual oaths, stipulating with him that he should never go to war against Christians, and that he should ever be a faithful vassal to Your Majesty. I did not find these people of so intrepid a spirit as those we had left.

It must be ascribed to the Almighty that, in all these labours and victories, we lost only one Spaniard. I do not make a relation of them to Your Majesty, for I hope to give it at large.

The king being put in possession, I departed for Ternate, which was twelve leagues from this island, where Juan de Esquivel was, by whom I was very well received ; for he had great scarcity of people, and the nations of Ternate were in rebellion, and assistance to him was very unexpected in so roundabout a way.

In a few days afterwards arrived succour from Manila, which was much desired, for half of the people left by Don Pedro de Acunha were no more, and there was a scarcity of provisions, for, as I said, the nations of the island were in rebellion ; but by the prudence of the M. de Campo, Juan de Esquivel, he went on putting the affairs of the island in good order, although he was in want of money.

I left the *Patache* here and about twenty men, as it was expedient for the service of Your Majesty. From hence I departed for the city of Manila, where they gave me so bad a dispatch, as I have mentioned ; and hitherto, which is now two months, they have not given provisions to the crew ; and so I know not when I can sail from hence to give account to Your Majesty,

Whom may God preserve prosperous,
For sovereign of the world,
Your Majesty's servant,
LUIS VAEZ DE TORRES.

Done at Manila, July 12th, 1607.

TASMAN

Abel Jansz Tasman, a Dutchman, sailed from Batavia "for making discoveries of the unknown south land" in the year 1642. *The extract here given contains all the earlier and more important portion of the voyage by way of Mauritius to Tasmania and New Zealand. The story is told in his own words, being a translation from his Journal included in Burney's* Discoveries in the South Sea. *Tasmania was discovered on the 24th November, as we find from the narrative and also by Tasman's reckoning, though as usual in that time he takes his longitude from a point other than Greenwich, in this case somewhat west of it. The discovery of New Zealand begins with the landing in Murderers' Bay.*

Tasman narrowly missed discovering the extent of Australia, since he subsequently passed through Torres Straits, but though he knew the land to the south was not the great southern continent, since he had already been on the other side of it, he merely thought it another island of the sort with which the region is dotted.

TASMAN

Journal or Description by me, Abel Jansz Tasman, of a voyage from Batavia for Making Discoveries of the Unknown South Land in the year 1642.

May God Almighty be pleased to give His Blessing to this Voyage. Amen.

AUGUST the 14th, we set sail from the road of *Batavia* in the yacht Heemskirk, in company with the fly boat the Zeehaan, for the *Strait of Sunda*: and it was resolved (in Council) to sail from the said *Strait* S.W.bW. to 14° South latitude; afterwards to steer W.S.W. to 20° S.; and afterwards, due West for the *Island Mauritius*.

September the 4th, in the afternoon, we had variation 22° 30′ N.W. At the end of the first watch of the night we saw land; whereupon we shortened sail and lay to for the rest of the night.

The 5th, in the morning, we perceived the land to be the *Island Mauritius*. We stood in, and anchored there about 9 o'clock in the morning. We had latitude 20° S., and our longitude by reckoning was 83° 48′, we supposing ourselves to be 50 miles Eastward from the *Mauritius* when we first saw it.

The 6th, we sent one of our mates, with three of our seamen, and six men from the Zeehaan, to the woods to assist the huntsmen in catching game. At four this afternoon, the ship Arend from the mother country anchored here. She sailed from the *Texel* the 23rd of April last. The Captain of the Arend reported to the Commander on shore, Van Steelen, that he had spoken a French ship near the Island. The Commander therefore immediately dispatched some people to the Northwest part of the Island, being suspicious that the Frenchmen intended to cut ebony there, which would not be allowed.

The 7th, we received from the shore eight goats and one hog. We sent four of the goats to the Zeehaan ; and sent two more men to assist the hunters.

The 9th, we sent our carpenters on shore to cut timber.

The 10th [and at other times afterwards] we received goats and hogs from the shore, half of which were sent to the Zeehaan.

The 13th. This day we sent fish to our people in the woods.

The 16th, the yacht Little Mauritius got under sail to fetch ebony from a place to the Eastward, to be put on board the Arend ; but she was prevented from getting out by the high wind.

The 21st, the Little Mauritius got out, having been detained till now by a strong E.S.E. trade wind.

The 25th at day break we had a light breeze from N.N.E., and afterwards it blew rather fresher from N.W.bW., which is the first land breeze we have had since we have been here at anchor. Our chief steersman, Francis Jacobsz, and Mr. Gillemans, took a draught of the land.

The 26th, we held a Council and we appointed the 4th day of the next month for our departure from this Port.

October the 4th. This was the day fixed for our departure ; but the wind being contrary, we were forced to lie still. We sent our first steersman with the steersman of the Zeehaan to sound the Easterly entrance of the Port, to examine if we could pass that way ; but they found the depth, with the highest spring tide, to be no more than 13 feet.

The 5th, our shallop went fishing, and returned with excellent fish for all the ship's crew.

The 6th, we endeavoured to get through the S.E. channel, but were obliged to give it up. Caught fish for all the crew.

The 7th, the wind continued Easterly. In the evening, we came to anchor under the Islands which are before the

Bay, and had 17 fathoms muddy bottom. It is very difficult to get out of this Bay, the South Easterly winds blowing here so continually. No vessel ought to come in here unless for business.

The 8th, in the morning, we had a breeze from shore with rainy weather. We weighed anchor, but the wind came contrary, and we were obliged to anchor again. About 8 o'clock, the wind changed and blew from N.E.bE. We weighed anchor, and stood out South Eastward to sea: for which the Lord be praised.

This *Island Mauritius*, its South part, is in 20° 12′ S., and in longitude 78° 47′ E. from *Teneriffe*. We kept our course S.S.E.

The 9th, the wind was from between the East and S.E., and we stood to the Southward.

The 12th, the variation was 23° 30′ N.W.

[After the 12th, the winds were variable, and the course was directed South Eastward.]

The 27th, in the morning, we saw a great deal of duck weed. We held a Council, and it was resolved to keep a man constantly at the topmast head to look out; and that whoever first discovered lands, sands, or banks under water, should receive a reward of three reals and a pot of arrack. Our latitude this day by account was 43° S., and our longitude 88° 6′. In the afternoon, we had variation 26° 45′ N.Westerly.

November the 4th, at noon, our latitude by account was 48° 25′ S. In the afternoon on comparing with the master and the steersmen, we found our middle longitude to be 107° 25′. Saw several patches of duck weed: we had a great many thunnies about the ship. and we also saw a seal, which made us conjecture that some Islands might be hereabouts. At night we shortened sail.

The 6th, we had a storm from the West, with hail and snow: the weather very cold. At noon, latitude 49° 4′ S. longitude 114° 56′. The variation was 26°.

The 7th, the wind was westerly with hail and snow. This morning we held Council; and the following was delivered to us by our first Pilot, as the advice of himself and the Steersmen.

" According to the large map of the *South Sea*, the Eastern part of the *Salomon Isles* is in 205° ; the longitude beginning with the *Piko de Teneriffe*, being at present used by everybody. The longitude of *Batavia* is 127° 5′ ; and the longitude of *Hoorn Islands* 185° 45′. This is our advice : that we should keep to the parallel of 44° S. latitude till we have passed 150° longitude : and then make for latitude 40° S., and keeping in that parallel, to run Eastward to 220° longitude : and then steering Northward, search with the trade wind from East to West for the *Salomon Islands*. We imagine if we meet with no main-land till we come to 150° longitude, we must then meet with Islands.

" Undersigned, FRANCIS JACOBSZ."

Whereupon we resolved with our Council and Steersmen to steer N.E. to latitude 45° or 44° S.

The 10th, we had fine weather. We supposed our latitude to be 44° S ; but at noon we found we were in 43° 20′. Longitude 126° 45′. The variation was 21° 30′ N. Westerly. The sea ran very high from the W.S., and sometimes from the S.E.

The 17th, we continued to see much sea weed floating. The sea still ran high from the S.W., wherefore we presume that there is no large tract of land to the South. Latitude at noon 44° 15′. Longitude 147° 3′. We believed we had already passed the South land at present known, or that we were at least as far Eastward as Pieter Nuyts had been.

The 18th, we saw whales. The variation was 12° N. Westerly. During the night, we lay to, and at day-light sailed on again Eastward.

The 19th, our latitude at noon was 45° 5′ S. Longitude 153° 34′ E. In the morning the variation was 8° N. Westerly.

The 22d, at noon, we found the latitude 42° 49′. Our longitude 160° 34′. Our compass was not steady as it should be. It may be that there are loadstones hereabouts, as our compasses do not stand still within eight points. There is something which keeps the needle in continual motion. We have found the great N.W. variation decrease very suddenly.

The 23d, found our latitude at noon 42° 50′. Longitude 162° 51′.

The 24th, we had fine weather and a clear sky, with light wind from S.W. and South. Held our course E.bN. At noon found the latitude was 42° 25′ S.Longitude163° 31′. In the afternoon, abour four o'clock, we saw land bearing E.bN., distant from us by conjecture ten miles. The land was very high, and towards evening we saw high mountains to the E.S.E., and to the N.E. two smaller mountains. Our compass here stood right. We had a light breeze from S.E., and resolved to run off in the night five hours to sea, and then to run back again towards the land. We sounded in the night, and had ground at 100 fathoms, fine white sand with small shells. We sounded afterwards, and had black gravel.

The 25th, in the morning, it was calm. Towards noon, the wind came from S.E., and afterwards from the South. We steered towards the shore, and about five o'clock in the afternoon were within three miles, and had soundings at 60 fathoms, the bottom coral. We ran nearer the coast, and at one mile distance had fine white small sand. The coast here lies N.bW. and S.bE., and is level. We, were here, in latitude 42° 30′ and middle longitude 163° 50′. When you come from the West, and find the N.W. variation suddenly decrease, you may then look out for the land. Near the coast here, the needle points true North. As this land has not before been known to any European, we called it *Antony Van Diemen's Land*, in honour of our High Magistrate the Governor General, who sent us out to make discoveries. The Islands near us we named in honour of the Council of India, as you may see by the little map we made.

The 26th, we had Easterly wind with rain, and did not see the land. At noon, we hoisted the flag to speak the Zeehaan, and ordered Mr. Gillemans to come on board, to whom we declared the reasons mentioned in a letter, which we gave him to show to Gerrit Janszoon, the master of the Zeehaan, and to the mates ; and which is as follows.

" The Officers of the Zeehaan are directed to mark in their Journals, longitude 163° 50′ for the land we saw yesterday, which we found it to be upon comparing our accounts ; and therefore we have fixed this longitude, and shall begin again from here to reckon the longitude. The Commander of the Zeehaan is to give this order to the steersmen. The maps also made of this land should place it in longitude 163° 50′ as before mentioned.

" Undersigned, ABEL JANSEN TASMAN."

At noon, we judged our latitude to be 43° 36′ S. Longitude 163° 2′.

The 27th, in the morning, we saw the coast again. The wind was N.E., with foggy rainy weather. We steered E.S.E. Our latitude at noon by account 44° 4′ S. Longitude 164° 2′. At the fourth hour of the night, it being very dark, we lay to.

The 28th, in the morning, we made sail Eastward. Saw the land N.E. from us, and stood towards it. The direction of the coast is here S.E.bE. and N.W.bW. At noon, our latitude we supposed 44° 21′ S ; longitude 165° 2′. The wind N.W., a light breeze. In the evening, we came near three small Islands, one of which has the shape of a lion's head, and is about three miles from the main land. During the night we lay to.

The 29th, in the morning, we were still near the cliff which is shaped like a lion's head. We sailed along the coast which extends here East and West. Towards midday we passed two cliffs, the Western of which resembles the *Pedra branca* near the coast of *China*. The Eastern has the appearance of a high misshapen tower, and is about four miles from the large land. We passed between this cliff and the main land. At noon, our latitude by account was 43° 53′ S. Longitude 166° 3′. We continued our course along the coast, and about five in the afternoon, we came near to a Bay which seemed to be a good Road, and we resolved to make for it. When we were almost in the Bay, a storm arose which obliged us to take in sail, and return to sea, it not being possible for us with so much wind to anchor the ships.

The 30th. We had been driven so far off in the night, that at daylight we could scarcely see the land. We had variable winds this day, and endeavoured to get in with the shore. At noon, the land bore N.W. from us.

December the 1st, we found our latitude at noon 43° 10′ S., our longitude 167° 55′. In the afternoon, we had an Easterly breeze, and an hour after sunset, we anchored in a good port in 22 fathoms, the bottom fine light grey sand.

The 2d, early in the morning, we sent our first steersman with our shallop, and a boat of the Zeehaan well armed, to a Bay a good mile towards the North West from us, to look for fresh water, refreshments, or any other things. They returned three hours before night, and brought some greens of a kind which grow at the *Cape of Good Hope* and may be used in the place of wormwood ; and some of another kind which was long and saltish like sea parsley. The steersman and the mate of the Zeehaan gave the following account.—They rowed round the point a good mile, where they found good fresh water, but which flowed so slowly, that whilst they stayed they could get only one pailful. The greens, such as they brought, grew in great quantity. They heard human voices, and a sound like that of a trumpet or little gong not far off, but they could see nobody. They saw two trees which were each from two to two and a half fathoms big, and tall from the ground to the branches 60 to 65 feet. The bark had been taken off with flint stones, and steps were cut for people to climb up to search the nests of the birds. These steps were full five feet one from the other, whence it was conjectured that the people here must be very tall, or that they used some artifice in climbing. They observed on the ground the traces of some animals resembling the marks made by the claws of a tiger ; and they brought on board the excrements of some quadruped, as we supposed. They also brought pieces of good looking gums, which dropped from the trees, some like the *gumma lacca*. At the East corner of this Bay, they had soundings at 13 and 14 feet : the tide ebbed and flowed about three feet. Before the said corner they saw people ; and some wild ducks, and geese. They took no fish except muscles which stuck to little bushes. The country was all over furnished with trees which stood thin, so that one might pass through everywhere, and distinguish objects at a distance, without hindrance from bushes or underwood. Many of the trees were burnt deep in near the ground. Smokes also were observed rising in several places in the woods.

The 3d, we went with our shallop to the S.E. part of this Bay, where we found water, but the land was low and the water saltish. In the afternoon, we went to a little Bay W.S.W. from our ships ; but it came to blow, and the surf was high. We, however, let our carpenter swim to the shore, where he set up a post, and left the Prince's flag flying upon it. This was nigh to four remarkable trees which stand in form of a crescent. When the carpenter had erected the post with the flag, he swam back to us through the surf, and we returned on board. In the evening, we observed 3° N.E. variation. We lay at anchor here in 43° S. latitude, and longitude 167° 30′.

The 4th, in the morning, we got under sail, with a N.W. wind, and steered to the Northward as close as we could, that we might look for a watering place. In the evening we saw a round mountain about eight miles N.N.W. from us. We kept our course close to the wind N.Eastward. Several smokes of fires were seen along the coast all the day. Here I should give a description of the extent of the coast, and the Islands near it ; but I hope to be excused, and refer for brevity's sake to the Map made of it and joined herewith.

The 5th, we kept our course as before, and lost sight of the land, the part last seen being the round mountain, which was then due West, six miles from us. We assembled the Council, and resolved to keep our course Eastward to longitude 195°. At noon, our latitude was by account 41° 34′ S. Longitude 169°.

The 11th, the variation was 7° N.Easterly.

The 12th, we had a high sea from the S.W.

The 13th, our latitude was 42° 10′ S. Longitude 188° 28′. Towards noon, we saw a large high land about 15 miles S.S.E. from us. We steered towards it, but the wind was light and variable. In the evening, we had a breeze, and steered East.

The 14th, at noon, we were about two miles from the shore. Our latitude was 42° 10′ S.; longitude 189° 3′. This is a high double land. We could not get sight of the tops of the mountains for dark clouds. We sailed along the coast Northward, so close that we could see the waves break on the shore. We had soundings at two miles distance, 55 fathoms grey sand. In the evening and night it was calm, and a current set from the W.N.W. which made us approach the shore, so we anchored with our stream anchor in 28 fathoms, muddy bottom.

The 15th, in the morning, having a light wind, we weighed and stood farther from shore, and then kept our course Northward. At noon our latitude was 41° 40′ S.; longitude 189° 49′. We did not perceive any people, or the smokes of fires upon the land: and we could see that near the sea-coast the land was barren.

The 16th, we had little wind. Latitude at noon 40° 58′ S. At sunset, we found variation 9° 23′ N.Easterly. The Northern extremity of the land in sight bore E.bN. from us. We steered towards it N.E. and E.N.E. In the second watch, we had soundings at 60 fathoms, fine grey sand.

The 17th, at sunrise, we were about one mile from shore, and saw smoke rising in different places. At noon, latitude by account 40° 32′ S.; longitude 190° 47′. In the afternoon we sailed E.bS., along a low land full of sand hills; having soundings at 30 fathoms depth, black sand. At sunset we anchored in 17 fathoms, near a sandy point of land, within which we saw a large open Bay, three or four miles wide. From this sandy point, a shoal or sand bank runs off a mile to the E.S.E., which lies under water, with six, seven, and eight feet depth: when you have passed this shoal, you can enter the Bay. Variation here 9° N.Easterly.

The 18th. In the morning we weighed anchor, and stood into the Bay; our shallop and a boat of the Zeehaan going in before us to look for good anchorage and a watering place. At sunset it was calm, and we cast anchor in 15 fathoms, good muddy ground. An hour after sunset, we saw several lights on the land, and four vessels coming from the shore towards us. Two of these were our own boats. The people in the other two called to us in a strong rough voice. What they said, we did not understand; however, we called to them again in place of an answer. They repeated their cries several times, but did not come nearer than a stone's throw: they sounded also an instrument which made a noise like a Moorish trumpet; and we answered by blowing our trumpet. This was done on both sides several times. When it grew dark, they left off, and went away. We kept good watch all night, with our guns ready.

The 19th, in the morning, a boat of the natives having 13 men in it, came near our ship; but not nearer than a stone's throw. They called to us several times, but their language had nothing in it like to the vocabulary of the *Salomon Islands* given to us by the General and Council at BATAVIA. These people, as well as we could judge, were of our own common stature, strong boned, and of a rough voice. Their colour is between brown and yellow; their hair black, which they tie up on the crown of the head, like to the Japanese, and wear a large white feather upright in it. Their vessels were two narrow long canoes fastened together, upon which, boards were fixed to sit on. Their paddles were more than a fathom long, and were pointed at the end. Their clothing seemed to us to be of mats, or of cotton : but most of them went with their breast naked.

We showed them fish, linen, and knives, to invite them to come to us ; but they would not, and at length rowed back to the land. In the meantime, the Officers of the Zeehaan came on board us, and we resolved to go nearer to the shore with our ships, as here is good anchorage, and the people seemed to be desirous of our friendship. Immediately after we had taken this resolution, we saw seven vessels coming from the shore. One of them in which were 17 men, came very quickly, and turned round behind the Zeehaan. Another with 13 stout men came within half a stone's throw of our ship. They called out one to the other several times. We showed them, as before, white linen : but they lay still. The Master of the Zeehaan, Gerard Janszoon, who was on board of our ship, ordered his boat, in which were a quarter-master and six seamen, to go to his ship, to carry directions to the mates to keep on their guard, and that in case these people should come alongside, not to allow too many of them to enter the ship at one time. When the Zeehaan's boat put off from our ship, the natives in the *praws* or canoes nearest to us, gave a loud call to those who were behind the Zeehaan, and made a signal with their paddles, the meaning of which we could not guess. But when the boat of the Zeehaan had gone quite clear from our ship, the canoes of the natives which were between our two ships made furiously towards her, and ran with their beaks violently against her, so as to make her heel and take in water ; and the foremost of these villains, with a blunt pointed pike, gave the quarter-master, Cornelius Joppe, a violent blow in his neck which made him fall overboard. The others then attacked the rest of our boat's crew with their paddles, and with short thick clubs (which we had in the beginning supposed to be clumsy *parangs*) and overcame them. In this scuffle, three of the Zeehaan's men were killed, and one was mortally wounded. The quarter-master and two seamen swam for our ship, and we sent our boat which took them up alive. After the fight, these murderers took one of our dead people into their canoe : another of our dead men fell overboard and sunk. They let the boat go. Our ship and the Zeehaan fired at them with our muskets and guns, but we did not hit them, and they paddled away to the shore. We sent our boat to bring back the boat of the Zeehaan, wherein we found one of her men dead, and one mortally wounded.

After this, there could no friendly intercourse take place between us and the natives, nor could we hope to obtain water or refreshments here ; so we weighed anchor and set sail. When we were under sail, twenty-two of their boats put off from the shore and advanced towards us. Eleven of them were full of people. When they were come within reach of our guns, we fired two shots at them, but without effect. The Zeehaan fired also, and hit a man in their foremost canoe, who was standing with a white flag in his hand, so that he fell down. We heard our grape shot clash against their canoes, but we know not what the effect was, except that it caused them suddenly to retreat towards the shore, where they lay still and did not come towards us again.

We named this Bay *Moordenaar's Bay*, [i.e. *Murderer's Bay*.] The part in which we anchored is in 40° 50′ S. latitude, and in longitude 191° 30′. Variation there, 9° 30′ N.Easterly. From *Moordenaar's Bay* we steered E.N.E. ; but during the night we sailed backward and forward, having soundings from 26 to 15 fathoms.

This is the second Land discovered by us. We named it *Staten Land* in honour of the States General. It is possible that this land joins to the *Staten Land* ; but it is uncertain. It is a very fine country, and we hope it is part of the *Unknown South Continent*.

The 20th, in the morning, we saw land nearly all round us, so that we have sailed perhaps 30 miles into a Bay. We at first thought the place where we had anchored was an Island, and that we should find a clear passage [Eastward] to the *Great South Sea* ; but to our great disappointment we find it otherwise. The wind being from the Westward, we did all in our power to turn to windward to get back the way we had come. At noon we were in latitude 40° 51′ S. Longitude 192° 55′. In the afternoon it was calm, and the current ran strong into the Bay. The land all around seems to be good fine land. The sea coast is low, but the land within is high enough. We found a muddy anchoring ground, at 60, 50, and to 15 fathoms depth, about 1½ or 2 miles from shore. We had light winds all the afternoon.

The 21st, in the second watch of the night, a breeze came from the West, and we sailed Northward. We found the coast of the Northern land to extend towards the N.W. In the morning, it began to blow fresh. After breakfast we put about, and stood towards the South coast. Towards evening, we ran for shelter within a small Island which we brought to bear N.N.W. of us, and then cast anchor in 33 fathoms, the bottom sand and shells. We had other Islands and cliffs near us. Our latitude here was 40° 50′, and longitude 192° 37′. It blew so hard in the night that we let go another anchor and got down to topmasts, as did the Zeehaan.

The 22d and 23d, the gale continued strong from the N.W., with dark foggy weather. The Zeehaan was almost forced from her anchors.

The 24th, in the morning, it was calm. The Officers of the Zeehaan came on board our ship, and proposed that if the wind and weather would permit, we should examine if there is any passage through this Bay, as the flood tide was observed to come from the S.E.

The 25th, the weather looked still very dark, and we remained at anchor.

The 26th, in the morning, the wind came from E.N.E. We got under sail, and held our course North, and afterwards N.N.W., intending to sail round this land Northward.

The 27th, we had a strong breeze from S.W. At noon, our latitude was 38° 38′ S. Longitude 190° 15′. After noon we steered N.E. [to get in with the land]. Variation 8° 20′ N.E.

The 28th, at noon, we saw a high mountain E.bN. from us, which at first we took to be an Island, but we found it was a part of the main land, and that the coast here extends as much as I could observe North and South. This mountain is in 38° S. latitude. Our latitude at noon, by account, was 38° 2′. Longitude 192° 23′. At five miles from the shore we had soundings in 50 fathoms, fine sand mixed with clay. In the night it blew hard.

The 29th, we had a fresh gale. Latitude at noon 37° 17′ S.

The 30th, the weather became moderate, wind W.N.W. At noon our latitude was 37° S. Longitude 191° 55′. We sailed N.E., and towards evening saw the land again, bearing N.E. and N.N.E.; we therefore steered more to the North.

The 31st, at noon, found our latitude 36° 45′ S.: longitude 191° 46′. The coast here lies S.E. and N.W. This land is in some places high; and in some full of sand hills. In the evening we were three miles from shore. Had soundings in the night at 80 fathoms.

January 1st, 1643. This is an even coast, without shoals or banks, but there is a great surf on the shore. Latitude at noon 36° 12′ S.

The 2d, and 3d, running Northward along the coast.

The 4th. This morning we were near a Cape of land, and had an Island N.W.bN. from us. We hoisted the white flag for the Officers of the Zeehaan to come on board, and we resolved to stand for the Island to look for fresh water and greens. We find a strong current setting Westward, and much sea from the N.E., from which we hope to find a clear passage Eastward. In the evening we were near the Island, but could not observe that anything we wanted might be got here.

The 5th, in the morning, we had little wind and a calm sea. About noon, we sent Francis Jacobsz in our shallop, and the supercargo, Mr. Gillemans, in the Zeehaan's boat to the Island, to try if fresh water could be got. In the evening, they returned, and reported that they had been at a safe small Bay where fresh water came in abundance from a high mountain ; but that there was a great surf on the shore, which would make watering there troublesome and dangerous. They rowed farther round about this Island to look if there was any more convenient place. Upon the highest mountain of the Island, they saw 35 persons who were very tall, and had staves or clubs. These people called to them in a strong rough voice. When they walked, they took very large strides. On other parts of the Island, a few people were seen here and there, which with those already mentioned, were thought to be all, or nearly all the inhabitants of the Island. Our people saw no trees, nor did they observe any cultivated land, except that near the fresh water there were some square plots of ground, green, and very pleasant ; but of what kind the greens were, they could not distinguish. Two canoes were drawn up on the shore.

In the evening, we anchored in 40 fathoms, good ground, a musket shot distant from the Island. [On the North side.]

The 6th, in the morning, we put water casks in the two boats, and sent them to the shore. As they rowed towards the land, they saw tall men standing in different places, with long staves like pikes in their hands, who called to our people. There was much surf at the watering place, which made landing difficult ; and between a point of the Island and another very high cliff or little Island, the current ran so strong against the boats that they could scarcely stem it : for which reasons the Officers held counsel together, and not being willing to expose the boats and the people, they returned to the ships. Before we saw them coming back, we had fired a gun and hoisted a flag as a signal for them to return. This Island we named *Drie Koningen Eyland*, i.e. *Three Kings Island* : [on account of this being the day of the *Epiphany*.] It is in latitude 34° 25′ S., and longitude 190° 40′.

We called the Officers of the Zeehaan on board, and it was resolved in Council, to sail Eastward to longitude 220°, and then to steer North ; and afterwards to get sight of the *Cocos* and *Hoorne* Islands. In the afternoon, we had the wind E.S.E., and steered N.E. At sunset, *Drie Koningen Eyland* bore S.S.W. distant six or seven miles ; the cliffs and the Island bearing N.E. and S.W. one from the other.

The 7th, 8th, and 9th, steered to the N.E., with light East and E.S.E. winds. A swell from the S.E.

The 10th, found our latitude at noon 31° 28′ S. Longitude 192° 43′. The variation 10° 30′ N.Easterly.

[From the 10th to the 19th, the winds were variable ; the courses sailed were towards the N.E.]

January the 19th, at noon, our latitude was 22° 49′ S. Longitude 203° 27′. About two o'clock this afternoon, we discovered land bearing E.bN. about eight miles from us. We could not get near it, the wind being from the S.E. and blowing fresh. It is a high Island, not more than two or three miles in circumference, and in the situation it was from us, it resembled the breasts of a woman. It is in latitude 22° 55′ S., and longitude 204° 15′. We called it *Pylstaart Eyland*, [*Tropic Bird Island*] as we saw many of those birds near it. The variation there was 7° 30′.

The 20th. At sunrise, the Island we saw yesterday was still in sight, S.S.W. from us, six miles. At noon, found we were in latitude 21° 50′ S. About one hour past noon, we saw other land beating East from us, distant eight miles. We made towards it, and at night took in sail and lay to.

The 21st, in the first of the morning, it was calm. An Island bore from us E.bS., distant five miles. Another Island lay to the North of it. We sailed to the N.W. part of the Northern Island, where we cast anchor in 25 fathoms, coral bottom. Here we lay in 21° 20′ S. latitude, and in longitude 205° 29′. These two Islands lie about S.E. and N.W. one from the other, and one mile and a half apart. The S.E. Island is the highest : the Northern Island is like Holland, and we named it *Amsterdam*, for we found plenty of refreshments here. The Southerly Island we named *Middleburgh*. At noon, three men [natives] came in a small boat or canoe near our ship. They were of a brown colour, and naked except a poor covering round the waist. They were taller than our common stature, and two of them had long thick hair : the other had his hair cut very short. They called out loud to us several times ; and we did so to them. We showed them some white linen, and threw a piece about three yards long into the water to them. They came towards it with their canoe, but it began to sink, and was already deep in the water when one of them jumped out of the canoe and dived after it. He was a long time under water, and at length came up with the linen. He put it several times upon his head as a sign of thankfulness. They then came a little nearer to the ship, and we tied two spike nails, a small Chinese looking-glass, and a string of beads, to a piece of wood, and put it overboard, which they took up, and in return reached to us with a long stick one of their fish-hooks and a small fishing-line. The fish-hook was made of shell, and like a small anchovy. They laid the looking-glass and the beads several times upon their heads, and one of them hung the spike nails round his neck. But as the shutter was before the looking-glass so that they could not look in it, we reached them another, which they looked in and laid on their heads. We showed them an old cocoa-nut and a fowl, and asked them from our Vocabulary for hogs, and fresh water ; but we did not make them understand us. At last, they left us and went on shore, and it seemed to us as if they went for the purpose of fetching something for us. In the afternoon, we saw many people running along the shore with white flags, which we took to be meant for signs of peace, and we hoisted a white flag at our stern ; whereupon four strong men in a small canoe carrying a white flag, put off from the shore and came on board us. The men were painted black from the middle to the thighs, and they had coverings of leaves round their necks. They delivered to us some cloth made of the bark of a tree ; and the white flag they fixed on the stem of our boat. We judged from their gift, and by their canoe being better than the common ones, that they came from the King or Chief of the Country ; and we gave them in return, a looking-glass, a knife, a piece of linen, and two spikes. We filled a wine-glass with wine, and drank it, to show them that it was nothing hurtful, and then filled the glass again and gave it them : but they threw out the wine, and took the glass with them on shore. In a short time after, a great many canoes came to the ships, bringing cocoa-nuts, for which we gave old nails in exchange, at the rate of three or four cocoa-nuts for a double spike. Besides those who came in the canoes, several of the natives swam from the shore, bringing things to exchange. Presently, a grave old man came on board of us, to whom the other Islanders showed much respect, so that he seemed to be their Chief. We conducted him to our Cabin. He paid us his respects, by bowing his head upon our feet ; and we did him honour our way. We showed him a cup of fresh water, and he made signs that there was fresh water on shore. We made him a present of a piece of linen and several other things. This afternoon we detected one of the natives in stealing a pistol and a pair of gloves belonging to the Master of our ship. We took the things from him without anger.

When it was near sunset, about 20 canoes came from the shore and took stations near our ship in a regular order. The people in them were very loud, and called out several times, Woo, Woo, Woo ! whereupon all the natives who were in our ship sat down, and one of the canoes came on board, bringing a present from their King, of a fine large hog, and a great many cocoa-nuts and yams. The bearer of this was one of the four men who had first come to us with the white flag and the cloth. We returned by him a plate and some brass wire. We continued to make exchanges for provisions, until it began to grow dark, when all the natives went ashore except one, who stayed and slept on board of us.

The 22d, in the morning, many canoes came off to us with cocoa-nuts, yams, bananas, plantains, hogs, and fowls, which they exchanged for nails, beads, and linen. Several women also came on board, both old and young. The elder women had the little finger cut off from both hands ; but the young women had not. The meaning of this we could not guess. The person who yesterday brought the presents, came this morning with two hogs ; and we in return gave him a handsome knife and eight spike nails. We likewise gave this old man a satin habit, a hat, and a shirt, which we put on him. We carried some of the natives below to see our ship, and fired one of our great guns, which frightened them a good deal, but seeing that nobody was hurt, they were soon easy again.

About noon, a large boat with a sail, such as is drawn in Le Maire and Schouten's Voyage, came to us. They made us a present of their cloth and some provisions, for which we made returns, and caused our music to be played, which they admired.

In the meantime, we sent our boat and one of the Zeehaan's boats to the shore with water casks, they being armed with muskets, and our Master and Mr. Gilleman going in them. Some of the inhabitants also went from the ship with our people to show them where the fresh water was. They rowed a good way towards the N.E. coast of this land, and arrived at last at a place where there were three small wells ; but with so little water in them that they were obliged to take it up with cocoa-nut shells ; and what they took was of a bad colour. The natives who conducted our men, led them farther into the country to a pleasant valley, where they were seated upon fine mats, and fresh water in cocoa-nut shells brought to them. In the evening, the boats returned on board, bringing a live hog ; but from the account they gave, we found we could not water the ships here. We got by exchanges in the course of this day, near 40 hogs and 70 fowls, at the rate of a spike nail and a yard of old sail-cloth for a hog, and a double middle nail for a fowl ; yams, cocoa-nuts, and fruits we bought for coral or beads. These people have no idea of tobacco, or of smoking. We saw no arms among them, so that here was altogether peace and friendship. The women wear a covering of mat-work that reaches from the middle to the knees : the rest of their body is naked. They cut their hair shorter than that of the men.

The tide here runs S.W. and N.E. ; and by our account we make it high water with a S.W. moon : the current is not strong : the rise and fall of the tide is seven or eight feet.

The 23d. This morning, myself and the Skipper of our ship, Gerard Janszoon, went on shore with the shallop and two boats to dig for fresh water. We made the Chief understand that the wells ought to be made larger, and he directly set his people to work to do it for us ; and in the meanwhile, he went with us to the valley, and ordered mats to be spread on the ground, and when we were seated, cocoa-nuts and fresh fish and several fruits were brought to us. He behaved to us with great friendship, and enquired of us whence we came, and where we intended to go. We told him we had been more than a hundred days at sea, at which he and the natives were much astonished. We explained to them that we came to their country for water and provisions ; and they answered us that we should have as much as we could wish for. We filled to-day nine casks with water, and the Chief made us a present of four live hogs, a good many fowls, with cocoa-nuts and sugar canes. We presented him with two yards of cloth, six large spikes, and six strings of coral. I ordered a white flag to be brought, and we went with it to three of their Chiefs, to whom we explained that we wished it to be set up in that valley, and that it might remain there as a sign of peace between us : at which they were much pleased, and the flag was fixed there.

The anchoring ground where the ships lay was steep and rocky ; and about noon this day, whilst I was on shore, the Heemskirk was driven off the bank by the strength of the trade wind, without being able to help it, and she drifted out to sea. There were but few people on board, and it was midnight before they got the anchor quite up and secured.

We obtained by exchanges with the inhabitants this day, 100 hogs, 150 fowls, and a large quantity of yams, and other fruits. As I could not get to my ship, I was obliged to pass the night on board the Zeehaan.

The 24th, in the morning the Heemskirk was four miles to leeward of the Island. The Zeehaan therefore was got under sail and we went out and joined her. When I got on board the Heemskirk we held a Council, and there being little prospect that we should be able to fetch up to the Island again, as the trade wind was strong from the S.E., we resolved to proceed on our voyage, and to stop at some other Island, if we should meet with any.

The place where we anchored at *Amsterdam* we called *Van Diemen's Road* ; and the Bay where our boats went to fetch water we named *Maria's Bay* ; in honour of our Governor General, and his Lady. From our anchoring place at *Amsterdam*, two high but small Islands, about one mile and a half each in circumference, bore N.bW., distant seven or eight miles.

We directed our course N.E., and about three in the afternoon, we saw a low and pretty large Island, distant four or five miles E.N.E. from us. A short time afterwards, we saw three small Islands Eastward, and two others to the S.E. from us. They are all low land. We steered E.N.E. for the largest Island, and anchored by the West side of it in 12 fathoms, shelly bottom, about a musket shot distance from land. N.W.bN. from us, distant eight or nine miles, we saw two high Islands ; and to the North and N.Eastward we saw seven small Islands, distant from us about three or four miles. Most of these Islands have reefs of coral rock round about them : and the bottom also is rocky and steep, so that one must anchor near to the shore. The variation is here 7° North Easterly.

The 25th, in the morning, several canoes came on board of us with cocoa-nuts, yams, and plantains, to exchange for nails, of which they were very desirous. It seems that but a few people live on this Island. Our chief pilot and the Master went with the shallop and both the boats for fresh water, one of the inhabitants going with them to show them where it was. We gave small presents to some of the natives, that they might know we did not desire to take their water without paying them for it. About two hours before sunset, the Master and pilot returned on board. They reported that they found on shore 60 or 70 persons sitting down, whom they believed to be all the men on this Island : that they had no arms, and seemed a good peaceable people. They saw also many women and children, and were shown a good path which led landwards two-thirds of a mile, to a piece of fresh water about a quarter of a mile in circumference, and which is a fathom and a half or two fathoms higher than the level of the sea. They walked round by the edge of this lake, and found that it lay within a musket shot of the sea on the North side of the Island, where there was a good sandy Bay, and smooth water for landing and for loading the boats. In the front of this Bay was a coral reef, in which there was an opening on the West side. At low water one can row along the shore to the calm water, but the tide must be risen 1½ or 2 feet before one can get to the sandy strand.

As this was at the North side of the Island, and our ships lay at the West side, the boats had to row along the shore a full mile to come at the Bay near the fresh water. About three hours after sunset, our boats returned on board with water. The tide rises and falls here about eight feet. In the lake of fresh water were a good many wild duck, which were not at all shy. The inhabitants came to us with fruits and a few hogs. They are a thievish people, and steal everything they can get at. Their clothing and manners are the same as those of the people of *Amsterdam Island*, except that the men had not so long and thick hair. The women seemed to be as strong in their bodies and limbs as the men. We named this Island *Rotterdam.* The natives called it *Amamocka*. It lies in latitude 20° 15′ S., longitude 206° 19′. The variation here is 6° 20′ N.E.

We continued at anchor taking on board fresh water, and making exchanges for provisions : and God be thanked, we were here well refreshed, and provided with water : but the eyes of an Argus are scarcely sufficient to guard against the thieving of the inhabitants.

On the 31st, at noon, I went on shore with the chief Pilot, the Skipper of our ship, and Mr. Gillemans, the merchant of the Zeehaan, to take our leave, and to make some more exchanges. When we landed, a great many of the natives assembled about us. We asked two of the principal among them to lead us to the Chief of the Island ; and they conducted us by narrow paths, which were very dirty from much rain having fallen in the two last days, to the South side of the Island, where many cocoa-nut trees were regularly planted. From here they took us to the East side of the Island where six large vessels with masts were lying. They then led us to a pool of water which was about a mile in circumference ; but we were not yet come to the *Aigy* or *Latoun*, as they call their Chief. When we had rested, we again asked where the *Aigy* was ; and they pointed to the other side of the pool of water : but the day being far advanced, we returned by another way to our boats. In our walk, we saw several pieces of cultivated ground, or gardens, where the beds were regularly laid out into squares, and planted with different plants and fruits ; bananas and other trees placed in straight lines, which made a pleasant show, and spread round about a very agreeable and fine odour : so that among these people who have the form of the human species but no human manners, you may see traces of reason and understanding. They know nothing about Religion or Divine Worship : they have no idols, relicks, or priests : but they have nevertheless superstitions ; for I saw a man take up a water snake which was near his boat, and he put it respectfully upon his head, and then again into the water. They kill no flies, though they are very numerous and plague them extremely. Our steersman accidentally killed a fly in the presence of one of the principal people, who could not help showing anger at it. The people of this Isand have no King or Chief, and are without government ; nevertheless they punished a man who was detected in stealing from us, by beating him with an old cocoa-nut on the back till the nut broke.

February the 1st. This morning we weighed our anchors and sailed towards the N.N.W.

The 2d, at noon, we were in latitude 19° 20′ S. ; longitude 205° 55′. In the afternoon, we discovered an Island of a tolerable height, bearing N.E.bE. from us about seven miles distant. We had the wind from East, a weak breeze. Our course was North.

On the 4th being under 17° S. latitude, it was resolved in Council to steer Westward, and to keep a sharp look-out that we might not pass the *Cocos* and *Verraders Islands*.

The 5th, we held our course Westward with a light wind from the E.S.E., and kept a look-out for *Cocos* and *Verraders Islands*. Latitude at noon 16° 30′ ; longitude 203° 12′. After three glasses of the dog watch had run out, we saw land, and immediately changed our course Southward till seven glasses were out, and then turned Northward.

The 6th, in the morning, we saw the land again, which we found to be three small Islands, with many sandbanks and shoals round them. A large reef was to the Westward, which extended to the South, and gave us some apprehension. We sailed Southward close to the wind, which was from E.S.E. This reef was eight or nine miles in length and right before us we saw breakers, which we did not dare attempt to pass. We could not clear this reef, neither could we clear a reef which was to the Northward. We observed a small channel about twice the length of a ship wide, where there was no surf ; and as we had no other chance for safety, we steered for it, and passed through the [opening in the] reef, having four fathoms depth, being all the time under a great deal of anxiety. You meet everywhere hereabouts with shoals, and there are here likewise about 18 or 19 Islands which you cannot coast on account of the reefs. When we were clear within the opening, we wished much to anchor near one of the Islands, but could not find anchorage for the many shoals and reefs. At noon, our latitude by account was 17° 9′. Longitude 201° 35′. After noon, we directed our course Northward to try to get out of these difficulties before night. There were many sands to the North, which we could scarcely keep clear of ; but at last we found a passage between the reefs. It was a great disappointment to us that we could not find anchorage among these Islands. In the evening we saw three hills, which we took to be so many Islands. Part of the first watch of the night we ran back to avoid sands. After five glasses [i.e. five half hours] we put about Northward intending to run that way for the rest of the night. The wind was fresh from N.E., and blew strong with rain. Early in the morning we came close upon an Island, and therefore we turned again Southward till day-break. We then saw the Island which yesterday evening bore N.bW., and again put about to the Northward. The wind was N.E. and stormy ; and we went with shortened sail to the N.W. At noon we conjectured our latitude to be 16° S., and longitude 200° 48′.

The 8th. This day we held Council amongst ourselves in the Heemskirk, it being too stormy for our friends of the Zeehaan to come on board ; and we came to a resolution to steer a Northerly course to 5° or to 4° of S. latitude, that we might keep clear of the East coast of *Nova Guinea* the present time of the year being the season when the North and South trade winds meet one another, which must be the cause of a great deal of rain and bad weather. In the large map of the *South Sea*, there are marked some Islands in the same latitude as the Islands we have met with, but differing in longitude above 200 miles from our accounts. However, as our voyage is very long, and we have sailed much East, and much West, it is possible there might be such a difference. The Islands by which we were so much encompassed on the 6th, are about 18 or 20 in number, perhaps more, as we could not exactly number them in the dark weather we had.

DAMPIER

William Dampier had made several voyages to the Philippines and the South Seas, some of them more in the nature of buccaneering expeditions than pure exploration, before he set out for New Holland in 1699. *The following is his own story of his landing at Shark's Bay and his examination of the Western Australian coast, the first of its kind ever attempted or described. The narrative is taken from his own* A Voyage to New Holland, etc., in the Year 1699, *third edition,* 1729. *The earlier portion of this particular story is omitted, before the sighting of the Australian coast.*

In reading Dampier's longitudes the reader should bear in mind that he took the meridian as the Cape of Good Hope.

DAMPIER

July 25th, being in latitude 26 degrees, 14 minutes S., and longitude east from the Cape of Good Hope 85 degrees, 52 minutes, we saw a large gar-fish leap four times by us, which seemed to be as big as a porpose. It was now very fair weather, and the sea was full of a sort of very small grass or moss, which, as it floated in the water, seem'd to have been some spawn of fish ; and there was among it some small fry. The next day the sea was full of small round things like pearl, some as big as white peas ; they were very clear and transparent, and upon crushing any of them a drop of water would come forth : the skin that contained the water was so thin that it was but just discernable. Some weeds swam by us, so that we did not doubt but we should quickly see land. On the 27th also some weeds swam by us, and the birds that had flown along with us all the way almost from Brazil now left us, except only two or three shear-waters. On the 28th we saw many weeds swim by us, and some whales blowing. On the 29th we had dark cloudy weather, with much thunder, lightning, and violent rains in the morning, but in the evening it grew fair. We saw this day a scuttle-bone swim by us, and some of our young men a seal, as it should seem by their description of its head. I saw also some bonetas and some skip-jacks, a fish about eight inches long, broad, and sizeable, not much unlike a roach, which our seamen call so from their leaping about.

The 30th of July, being still nearer the land, we saw abundance of scuttle-bones and sea-weed, more tokens that we were not far from it ; and saw also a sort of fowls, the like of which we had not seen in the whole voyage, all the other fowls having now left us. These were as big as lap-wings, of a grey colour, black about their eyes, with red sharp bills, long wings, their tails long and forked like swallows, and they flew flapping their wings like lapwings. In the afternoon we met with a ripling like a tide or current, or the water of some shoal or over-fall ; but were past it before we could sound. The birds last mentioned and this were further signs of the land. In the evening we had fair weather, and a small gale at west. At eight a clock we sounded again, but had no ground.

We kept on still to the eastward, with an easy sail, looking out sharp ; for, by the many signs we had, I did expect that we were near the land. At twelve a clock in the night I sounded, and had forty-five fathom, coarse sand and small white shells. I presently clapt on a wind and stood to the south, and the wind at W., because I thought we were to the south of a shoal call'd the Abrohles (an appellative name for shoals, as it seems to me), which in a draught I had of that coast is laid down in 27 degrees, 28 minutes latitude, stretching about seven leagues into the sea. I was the day before in 27 degrees, 38 minutes by reckoning. And afterwards steering E. by S. purposely to avoid it, I thought I must have been to the south of it : but sounding again at one a clock in the morning, August the 1st, we had but twenty-five fathom, coral rocks ; and so found the shoal was to the south of us. We presently tack'd again, and stood to the north, and then soon deepened our water ; for at two in the morning we had twenty-six fathom, coral still : at three, we had twenty-eight, coral ground : at four, we had thirty fathom, coarse sand, with some coral : at five, we had forty-five fathom, coarse sand and shells ; being now off the shoal, as appear'd by the sand and shells, and by having left the coral. By all this I knew we had fallen into the north of the shoal, and that it was laid down wrong in my sea-chart : for I found it lye in about 27 degrees latitude, and by our run in the next day I found that the outward edge of it, which I sounded on, lies sixteen leagues off shore. When it was day we steered in E.N.E. with a fine brisk gale, but did not see the land till nine in the morning, when we saw it from our topmast head, and were distant from it about ten leagues, having then forty fathom water and clear sand. About three hours after we saw it on our quarter-deck, being by judgment about six leagues off, and we had then forty fathom, clean sand. As we ran in, this day and the next, we took several sights of it, at different bearings and distances. This morning, August the 1st, as we were standing in we saw several large sea fowls, like our gannets on the coast of England, flying three or four together ; and a sort of white sea-mews, but black about the eyes, and with forked tails. We strove to run in near the shore to seek for a harbour to refresh us after our tedious voyage ; having made one continued stretch from Brazil hither of about 114 degrees, designing from hence also to begin the discovery I had a mind to make on New Holland and New Guinea. The land was low, and appear'd even, and as we drew nearer to it, it made (as you see in Table iv, No. 3, 4, 5) with some red and some white clifts ; these last in latitude 26 degrees, 10 minutes south, where you will find fifty-four fathom within four miles of the shore.

About the latitude of 26 degrees south we saw an opening and ran in, hoping to find a harbour there ; but when we came to its mouth, which was about two leagues wide, we saw rocks and foul ground within, and therefore stood out again : there we had twenty fathom water within two mile of the shore. The land everywhere appeared pretty low, flat and even, but with steep cliffs to the sea ; and when we came near it there were no trees, shrubs, or grass to be seen. The soundings in the latitude of 26 degrees south, from about eight or nine leagues off till you come within a league of the shore, are generally about forty fathom ; differing but little, seldom above three or four fathom. But the lead brings up very different sorts of sand, some coarse, some fine, and of several colours, as yellow, white, grey, brown, blueish and reddish.

When I saw there was no harbour here, nor good anchoring, I stood off to sea again, in the evening of the second of August, fearing a storm on a lee-shore, in a place where there was no shelter, and desirous at least to have sea-room ; for the clouds began to grow thick in the western board, and the wind was already there, and began to blow fresh almost upon the shore, which at this place lies along N.N.W. and S.S.E. By nine a clock at night we had got a pretty good offin, but the wind still increasing I took in my main top-sail, being able to carry no more sail than two courses and the mizen.

At two in the morning, August 3rd, it blew very hard, and the sea was much raised, so that I furled all my sails but my main-sail. Tho' the wind blew so hard, we had pretty clear weather till noon ; but then the whole sky was blackened with thick clouds, and we had some rain, which would last a quarter of an hour at a time, and then it would blow very fierce while the squalls of rain were over our heads ; but as soon as they were gone the wind was by much abated, the stress of the storm being over. We sounded several times, but had no ground till eight a clock, August the 4th, in the evening, and then had sixty fathom water, coral ground. At ten, we had fifty-six fathom, fine sand. At twelve, we had fifty-five fathom, fine sand, of a pale blueish colour. It was now pretty moderate weather, yet I made no sail till morning ; but then, the wind veering about to the S.W., I made sail and stood to the north ; and at eleven a clock the next day, August 5th, we saw land again, at about six leagues distance. This noon we were in latitude 25 degrees, 30 minutes, and in the afternoon our cook died, an old man, who had been sick a great while, being infirm before we came out of England.

The 6th of August, in the morning, we saw an opening in the land, and we ran into it, and anchored in seven and a half fathom water, two miles from the shore, clean sand. It was somewhat difficult getting in here, by reason of many shoals we met with, but I sent my boat sounding before me. The mouth of this sound, which I call'd Shark's Bay, lies in about twenty-five degrees south latitude, and our reckoning made its longitude from the

Cape of Good Hope to be about 87 degrees ; which is less by about one hundred and ninety-five leagues than is usually laid down in our common draughts, if our reckoning was right, and our glasses did not deceive us. As soon as I came to anchor in this bay, I sent my boat ashore to seek for fresh water ; but in the evening my men returned, having found none. The next morning I went ashore myself, carrying pick-axes and shovels with me to dig for water, and axes to cut wood. We tried in several places for water, but finding none after several trials, nor in several miles compass, we left any farther search for it, and spending the rest of the day in cutting wood, we entered aboard at night.

The land is of an indifferent height, so that it may be seen nine or ten leagues off. It appears at a distance very even ; but as you come nigher you find there are many gentle risings, though none steep nor high. 'Tis all a steep shore against the open sea, but in this bay or sound we were now in, the land is low by the seaside, rising gradually within the land. The mould is sand by the seaside, producing a sort of sampier, which bears a white flower. Farther in the mould is reddish, a sort of sand, producing some grass, plants, and shrubs. The grass grows in great tufts, as big as a bushel, here and there a tuft ; being intermix'd with much heath, much of the kind we have growing on our commons in England. Of trees or shrubs here are divers sorts, but none above ten feet high : their bodies about three foot about, and five or six foot high before you come to the branches, which are bushy and composed of small twigs there spreading abroad, tho' thick set and full of leaves, which were mostly long and narrow. The colour of the leaves was on one side whitish, and on the other green ; and the bark of the trees was generally of the same colour with the leaves, of a pale green. Some of these trees were sweet scented and reddish within the bark, like sassafras, but redder. Most of the trees and shrubs had at this time either blossoms or berries on them. The blossoms of the different sort of trees were of several colours, as red, white, yellow, etc., but mostly blue, and these generally smelt very sweet and fragrant, as did some also of the rest. There were also beside some plants, herbs, and tall flowers, some very small flowers growing on the ground, that were sweet and beautiful, and for the most part unlike any I had seen elsewhere.

There were but few land fowls ; we saw none but eagles, of the larger sorts of birds, but five or six sorts of small birds. The biggest sort of these were not bigger than larks, some no bigger than wrens, all singing with great variety of fine shrill notes ; and we saw some of their nests with young ones in them. The water fowls are ducks (which had young ones now, this being the beginning of the spring in these parts), curlews, galdens, crab-catchers, cormorants, gulls, pelicans, and some water fowl, such as I have not seen anywhere besides.

The land animals that we saw here were only a sort of raccoons, different from those of the West Indies, chiefly as to their legs ; for these have very short forelegs, but go jumping upon them as the others do (and like them are very good meat) ; and a sort of guanos, of the same shape and size with other guanos, describ'd, but differing from them in three remarkable particulars : for these had a larger and uglier head, and had no tail, and at the rump, instead of the tail there, they had a stump of a tail, which appear'd like another head ; but not really such, being without mouth or eyes : yet this creature seem'd by this means to have a head at each end, and, which may be reckon'd a fourth difference, the legs also seem'd all four of them to be forelegs, being all alike in shape and length, and seeming by the joints and bending to be made as if they were to go indifferently either head or tail foremost. They were speckled black and yellow, like toads, and had scales or knobs on their backs like those of crocodiles, plated on to the skin, or stuck into it as part of the skin. They are very slow in motion, and when a man comes nigh them they will stand still and hiss, not endeavouring to get away. Their livers are also spotted black and yellow, and the body when opened hath a very unsavoury smell. I did never see such ugly creatures anywhere but here. The guanos I have observ'd to be very good meat, and I have often eaten of them with pleasure ; but tho' I have eaten of snakes, crocodiles, and allegators, and many creatures that look frightfully enough, and there are but few I should have been afraid to eat of if pressed by hunger, yet I think my stomach would scarce have serv'd to venture upon these New Holland guanos, both the looks and the smell of them being so offensive.

The sea fish that we saw here (for here was no river, land or pond of fresh water to be seen), are chiefly sharks. There are abundance of them in this particular sound, that I therefore give it the name of Shark's Bay. There are also skates, thornbacks, and other fish of the ray kind (one sort especially like the sea devil), and gar-fish, bonetas, etc. Of shell fish we got here muscles, periwinkles, limpits, oysters, both of the pearl kind and also eating oysters, as well the common sort as long oysters, beside cockles, etc. The shore was lined thick with many other sorts of very strange and beautiful shells, for variety of colour and shape, most finely spotted with red, black, or yellow, etc., such as I have not seen anywhere but at this place. I brought away a great many of them ; but lost all except a very few, and those not of the best.

There are also some green turtle, weighing about two hundred pounds. Of these we caught two, which the water ebbing had left behind a ledge of rock, which they could not creep over. These served all my company two days, and they were indifferent sweet meat. Of the sharks we caught a great many, which our men eat very savourily. Among them we caught one which was eleven foot long. The space between its two eyes was twenty inches, and eighteen inches from one corner of his mouth to the other. Its maw was like a leather sack, very thick, and so tough that a sharp knife could scarce cut it ; in which we found the head and bones of a hippopotamus, the hairy lips of which were still sound and not putrified ; and the jaw was also firm, out of which we pluckt a great many teeth, two of them eight inches long, and as big as a man's thumb, small at one end, and a little crooked ; the rest not above half so long. The maw was full of jelly, which stank extremely : however, I saved for a while the teeth and the shark's jaw. The flesh of it was divided among my men, and they took care that no waste should be made of it.

It was the 7th of August when we came into Shark's Bay, in which we anchored at three several places, and stayed at the first of them (on the west side of the bay), till the 11th. During which time we searched about, as I said, for fresh water, digging wells, but to no purpose. However, we cut good store of fire wood at this first anchoring place, and my company were all here very well refreshed with raccoons, turtle, shark, and other fish, and some fowls ; so that we were now all much brisker than when we came in hither. Yet still I was for standing farther into the bay, partly because I had a mind to increase my stock of fresh water, which was began to be low, and partly for the sake of discovering this part of the coast. I was invited to go further, by seeing from this anchoring place all open before me, which therefore I designed to search before I left the bay.

So on the 11th, about noon, I steer'd farther in, with an easy sail, because we had but shallow water : we kept therefore good looking out for fear of shoals, sometimes shortening, sometimes deepening the water. About two in the afternoon we saw the land a-head that makes the S. of the bay, and before night we had again sholdings from that shore : and therefore shortened sail and stood off and on all night, under two topsails, continually sounding, having never more than ten fathom, and seldom less than seven. The water deepned and sholdned so very gently, that in heaving the lead five or six times we should scarce have a foot difference. When we came into seven fathom either way, we presently went about. From this S. part of the bay, we could not see the land from whence we came in the afternoon : and this land we found to be an island of three or four leagues long ; but it appearing barren, I did not strive to go nearer it ; and the rather, because the winds would not permit us to do it without much trouble, and at the openings the water was generally shoal. I therefore made no farther attempts in this S.W. and S. part of the bay, and steered away to the eastward, to see if there was any land that way, for as yet we had seen none there.

On the 12th, in the morning, we pass'd by the N. point of that land, and were confirm'd in the persuasion of its being an island, by seeing an opening to the east of it, as we had done on the W. Having fair weather, a small gale, and smooth water, we stood further on in the bay, to see what land was on the E. of it. Our soundings at first were seven fathom, which held so a great while, but at length it decreas'd to six. Then we saw the land right a-head, that in the plan makes the E. of the bay. We could not come near it with the ship, having but shoal water ; and it being dangerous lying there, and the land extraordinary low, very unlikely to have fresh water (though it had a few trees on it, seemingly mangroves), and much of it probably covered at high water, I stood out again in that afternoon, deepening the water, and before night anchored in eight fathom, clean white sand, about the middle of the bay.

The next day we got up our anchor, and that afternoon came to an anchor once more near two islands, and a shoal of coral rocks that face the bay. Here I scrubb'd my ship ; and finding it very improbable I should get out to sea again, sounding all the way ; but finding by the shallowness of the water that there was no going out to sea to the east of the two islands that face the bay, nor between them, I return'd to the west entrance, going out by the same way I came in at, only on the east instead of the west side of the small shoal to be seen in the plan : in which channel we had ten, twelve, and thirteen fathom water, still deepning upon us till we were out at sea. The day before we came out I sent a boat ashore to the most northerly of the two islands, which is the least of them, catching many small fish in the meanwhile with hook and line. The boat's crew returning, told me that the isle produces nothing but a sort of green, short, hard, prickly grass, affording neither wood nor fresh water ; and that a sea broke between the two islands, a sign that the water was shallow. They saw a large turtle, and many skates and thornbacks, but caught none.

It was August the 14th, when I sail'd out of this Bay or Sound, the mouth of which lies, as I said, in 25° 5′ designing to coast along to the N.E. till I might commodiously put in at some other part of N. Holland. In passing out we saw three water-serpents swimming about in the sea, of a yellow colour, spotted with dark brown spots. They were each about four foot long, and about the bigness of a man's wrist, and were the first I saw on this coast which abounds with several sorts of them. We had the winds at our first coming out at N., and the land lying north-easterly. We plied off and on, getting forward but little till the next day : when the wind coming at S.S.W. and S., we began to coast it along the shore to the northward, keeping at six or seven leagues from the shore ; and sounding often, we had between forty and forty-six fathom water, brown sand, with some white shells. This 15th of August, we were in lat. 24° 41′. On the sixteenth day at noon, we were in 23° 22′. The wind coming at E. by N., we could not keep the shore aboard, but were forc'd to go farther off, and lost sight of the land. Then sounding, we had no ground with eighty fathom line ; however, the wind shortly after came about again to the southward, and then we jogged on again to the northward, and saw many small dolphins and whales, and abundance of scuttle-shells swimming on the sea ; and some water-snakes every day. The 17th we saw the land again, and took a sight of it.

The 18th, in the afternoon, being three or four leagues off shore, I saw a shoal-point, stretching from the land into the sea, a league or more. The sea broke high on it ; by which I saw plainly there was a shoal there. I stood farther off, and coasted along shore, to about seven or eight leagues distance ; and at 12 a clock at night we sounded, and had but twenty fathom, hard sand. By this I found I was upon another shoal, and so presently steered off W. half an hour, and had then forty fathom. At one in the morning of the 18th day, we had eighty-five fathom : by two we could find no ground ; and then I ventured to steer along shore again, due N., which is two points wide of the coast (that lies N.N.E.) for fear of another shoal. I would not be too far off from the land, being desirous to search into it wherever I should find an opening, or any convenience of searching about for water, etc. When we were off the shoal-point I mention'd where we had but twenty fathom water, we had in the night abundance of whales about ship, some ahead, others astern, and some on each side blowing and making a very dismal noise ; but when we came out again into deeper water they left us. Indeed, the noise that they made by blowing and dashing of the sea with their tails, making it all of a breach and foam, was very dreadful to us, like the breach of the waves in very shoal-water, or among rocks. The shoal these whales were upon had a depth of water sufficient, no less than twenty fathom, as I said ; and it lies in latitude 22° 22′. The shore was generally bold all along ; we had met with no shoal at sea since the Abrohlo-shoal, when we first fell on the New Holland coast in the latitude of 28°, till yesterday in the afternoon, and this night. This morning also when we expected by the draught we had with us, to have been eleven leagues off shore, we were but four ; so that either our draughts were faulty, which yet hitherto and afterwards we found true enough as to the lying of the coast ; or else here was a tide unknown to us that deceived us ; tho' we had found very little of any tide on this coast hitherto. As to our winds in the coasting thus far, as we had been within the verge of the general trade (tho' interrupted by the storm I mentioned) from the latitude of 28°, when we first fell in with the coast : and by that time we were in the latitude of 25° ; we had usually the regular trade-wind (which is here S.S.E.), when we were at any distance from shore : but we had often sea and land breezes, especially when near shore, and when in Shark's Bay ; and had a particular N. west wind, or storm that set us in thither. On this 18 of August, we coasted with a brisk gale of the true trade-wind at S.S.E., very fair and clear weather ; but haling off in the evening to sea, were next morning out of sight of land ; and the land now trending away N. easterly, and we being to the norward of it, and the wind also shrinking from the S.S.E. to the E.S.E. (that is, from the true trade-wind to the sea-breeze, as the land now lay) ; we could not get in with the land again yet awhile, so as to see it, tho' we trim'd sharp and kept close on a wind. We were this 19th day, in latitude 21° 42′. The 20th, we were in latitude 19° 37′, and kept close on a wind to get sight of the land again, but could not get to see it. We had very fair weather ; and tho' we were so far from the land as to be out of sight of it, yet we had the sea and land-breezes. In the night we had the land-breeze at S.S.E. a small gentle gale ; which in the morning about sun rising would shift about gradually (and withal increasing in strength), till about noon we should have it at E.S.E. which is the true sea-breeze here. Then it would blow a brisk gale, so that we could scarce carry our top-sails double rift ; and it would continue thus to three in the afternoon, when it would decrease again. The weather was fair all the while, not a cloud to be seen ; but very hazy, especially nigh the horizon. We sounded several times this 20th day, and at first had no ground ; but had afterwards from fifty-two to forty-five fathom, coarse brown sand, mixed with small brown and white stones, with dints besides in the tallow.

The 21st day, also, we had small land-breezes in the night and sea-breezes in the day : and as we saw some sea-snakes every day, so this day we saw a great many, of two different sorts or shapes. One sort was yellow, and about the bigness of a man's wrist, about four foot long, having a flat tail about four fingers broad. The other sort was much smaller and shorter, round and spotted, black and yellow. This day we sounded several times, and had forty-five fathom, sand. We did not make the land till noon, and then saw it first from our top-mast head. It bore S.E. by E. about nine leagues distance, and it appeared like a cape or head of land. The sea-breeze this day was not so strong as the day before, and it veered out more ; so that we had a fair wind to run in with to the shore, and at sunset anchored in twenty fathom, clean sand, about five leagues from the bluff point ; which was not a cape (as it appear'd at a great distance, but the easternmost end of an island), about five or six leagues in length and one in breadth. There were three or four rocky islands about a league from us, between us and the bluff point ; and we saw many other islands both to the east and west of it, as far as we could see either way from our topmast-head : and all within them to the S. there was nothing but islands of a pretty heighth, that may be seen eight or nine leagues off. By what we saw of them they must have been a range of islands of about twenty leagues in length, stretching from E.N.E. to W.S.W. and for ought I know, as far as to those of Shark's Bay ; and to a considerable breadth also (for we could see nine or ten leagues in among them) towards the continent or mainland of New Holland, if there be any such thing hereabouts: and by the great tides I met with a while afterwards, more to the N. east ; I had a strong suspicion that here might be a kind of archipelago of islands, and a passage possibly to the S. of New Holland and New Guinea into the great S. sea eastward ; which I had thoughts also of attempting in my return from New Guinea (had circumstances permitted), and told my officers so : but I could not attempt it at this time, because we wanted water, and could not depend upon finding it there. This place is in the latitude of 20° 21′, but in the draught that I had of this coast, which was Tasman's, it was laid down in 19° 50″, and the shore is laid down as all along joining in one body or continent, with some openings appearing like rivers ; and not like islands, as really they are. See several sights of it. This place lies more northerly by 40′ than is laid down in Mr. Tasman's draught : and beside its being made a firm continued land, only with some openings like the mouths of rivers, I found the soundings also different from what the prick'd line of this course shows them, and generally shallower than he makes them ; which inclines me to think that he came not so near the shore as his line shews, and so had deeper soundings, and could not so well distinguish the islands. His meridian or difference of longitude from Shark's Bay agrees well enough with my account, which is two hundred and thirty-two leagues tho' we differ in latitude. And to confirm my conjecture that the line of his course is made too near the shore, at least not far to the east of this place, the water is there so shallow that he could not come there so high.

But to proceed ; in the night we had a small land breeze, and in the morning I weighed anchor, designing to run in among the islands, for they had large channels between them, of a league wide at least, and some two or three leagues wide. I sent in my boat before to sound, and if they found shoal water to return again ; but if they found water enough, to go ashore on one of the islands, and stay till the ship came in : where they might in the meantime search for water. So we followed after with the ship, sounding as we went in, and had twenty fathoms, till within two leagues of the Bluff Head, and then we had shoal water, and very uncertain soundings : yet we ran in still with an easy sail, sounding and looking out well, for this was dangerous work. When we came abreast of the Bluff Head, and about two mile from it, we had but seven fathom : then we edg'd away from it, but had no more water : and running in a little farther, we had but four fathoms ; so we anchored immediately ; and yet when we had veered out the third of a cable, we had seven fathom water again ; so uncertain was the water. My boat came immediately aboard, and told me that the island was very rocky and dry, and they had little hopes of finding water there. I sent them to sound, and bad them, if they found a channel of eight or ten fathom water, to keep on and we would follow with the ship. We were now about four leagues within the outer small rocky islands, but still could see nothing but islands within us ; some five or six leagues long, others not above a mile round. The large islands were pretty high ; but all appeared dry, and mostly rocky and barren. The rocks look'd of a rusty yellow colour, and therefore I despaired of getting water on any of them ; but was in some hopes of finding a channel to run in beyond all these islands, could I have spent time here, and either get to the main of New Holland, or find out some other islands that might afford us water and some other refreshments : besides, that among so many islands, we might have found some sort of rich mineral, or ambergreece, it being a good latitude for both of these. But we had not sailed above a league farther before our water grew shoaler again, and then we anchored in six fathom hard land.

We were now on the inner side of the island, on whose outside is the Bluff-point. We rode a league from the island, and I presently went ashore, and carried shovels to dig for water, but found none. There grew here two or three sorts of shrubs, one just like rosemary ; and therefore I called this Rosemary Island. It grew in great plenty here, but had no smell. Some of the other shrubs had blue and yellow flowers ; and we found two sorts of grain like beans : the one grew on bushes ; the other on a sort of a creeping vine that runs along on the ground, having very thick broad leaves, and the blossom like a bean blossom, but much larger, and of a deep red colour, looking very beautiful. We saw here some Cormorants, Gulls, Crab-catchers, etc., a few small land birds, and a sort of white Parrots, which flew a great many together. We found some shell fish, viz., limpits, perriwinkles, and abundance of small oysters growing on the rocks, which were very sweet. In the sea we saw some green turtle, a pretty many sharks, and abundance of water snakes of several sorts and sizes. The stones were all of rusty colour, and ponderous.

We saw a smoak on an island three or four leagues off; and there also the bushes had been burned, but we found no other sign of inhabitants: 'twas probable that on the island where the smoak was there was inhabitants, and fresh water for them. In the evening I went aboard, and consulted with my officers whether it was best to send thither, or to search among any other of these islands with my boat; or else go from thence, and coast along shore with the ship, till we could find some better place than this was to ride in, where we had shoal water, and lay exposed to winds and tides. They all agreed to go from hence; so I gave orders to weigh in the morning as soon as it should be light, and to get out with the land breeze.

Accordingly, August the 23rd, at five in the morning, we ran out, having a pretty fresh land breeze at S.S.E. By eight a clock we were got out, and very seasonably, for before nine the sea breeze came on us very strong, and increasing, we took in our topsails and stood off under two courses and a mizen, this being as much sail as we could carry. The sky was clear, there being not one cloud to be seen; but the horizon appeared very hazy, and the sun at setting the night before, and this morning at rising, appeared very red. The wind continued very strong till twelve, then it began to abate: I have seldom met with a stronger breeze. These strong sea breezes lasted thus in their turns three or four days. They sprung up with the sunrise; by nine a clock they were very strong, and so continued till noon, when they began to abate; and by sunset there was little wind, or a calm till the land breezes came; which we should certainly have in the morning about one or two a clock. The land breezes were between the S.S.W. and S.S.E. In the night while calm, we fish'd with hook and line, and caught good store of fish, viz., snappers, breams, old wives and dog fish. When these last came we seldom caught any others; for if they did not drive away the other fish, yet they would be sure to keep them from taking our hooks, for they would first have them themselves, biting very greedily. We caught also a monk-fish, of which I brought home the picture.

On the 25th of August, we still coasted along shore, that we might the better see any opening ; kept sounding, and had about twenty fathom clean sand. The 26th day, being about four leagues off shore, the water began gradually to sholden from twenty to fourteen fathom. I was edging in a little towards the land, thinking to have anchored ; but presently after the water decreas'd almost at once, till we had but five fathoms. I durst therefore adventure no farther, but steer'd out the same way that we came in ; and in a short time had ten fathom (being then about four leagues and a half from the shore) and even soundings. I steer'd away E.N.E. coasting along as the land lies. This day the sea breezes began to be very moderate again, and we made the best of our way along the shore, only in the night edging off a little for fear of sholes. Ever since we left Shark's Bay we had fair clear weather, and so for a great while still.

The 27th day we had twenty fathom water all night, yet we could not see land till one in the afternoon, from our topmast-head. By three we could just discern land from our quarter deck ; we had then sixteen fathom. The wind was N. and we steer'd E. by N. which is but one point in on the land ; yet we decreas'd our water very fast ; for at four we had but nine fathom ; the next cast but seven, which frighted us ; and we then tackt instantly and stood off : but in a short time the wind coming at N.W. and W.N.W. we tackt again and steer'd N.N.E. and then deepned our water again, and had all night from fifteen to twenty fathom.

The 28th day we had between twenty and forty fathom. We saw no land this day, but saw a great many snakes and some whales. We saw also some boobies, and noddy-birds ; and in the night caught one of these last. It was of another shape and colour than any I had seen before. It had a small long bill, as all of them have, flat feet like ducks' feet ; its tail forked like a swallow, but longer and broader, and the fork deeper than that of the swallow, with very long wings ; the top or crown of the head of this noddy was coal black, having also black streaks round about and close to the eyes ; and round these streaks on each side, a pretty broad white circle. The breast, belly, and under part of the wings of this noddy were white ; and the back and upper part of its wings of a faint black or smoak colour. Noddies are seen in most places between the tropicks, as well as in the East Indies, and on the coast of Brazil, as in the West Indies. They rest ashore a nights, and therefore we never see them far at sea, not above twenty or thirty leagues, unless driven off in a storm ; when they come about a ship they commonly perch in the night, and will sit still till they are taken by the seamen. They build on cliffs against the sea, or rocks, as I have said.

The 30th day, being in latitude 18° 21′, we made the land again, and saw many great smoaks near the shore ; and having fair weather and moderate breezes, I steer'd in towards it. At four in the afternoon I anchor'd in eight fathom water, clear sand, about three leagues and a half from the shore. I presently sent my boat to sound nearer in, and they found ten fathom about a mile farther in ; and from thence still farther in the water decreased gradually to nine, eight, seven, and two mile distance to six fathom. This evening we saw an eclipse of the moon, but it was abating before the moon appear'd to us ; for the horizon was very hazy, so that we could not see the moon till she had been half an hour above the horizon : and at two hours, twenty-two minutes after sunset, by the reckoning of our glasses, the eclipse was quite gone, which was not of many digits. The moon's centre was then 33° 40′ high.

The 31st of August betimes in the morning, I went ashore with ten or eleven men to search for water. We went armed with muskets and cutlasses for our defence, expecting to see people there ; and carried also shovels and pickaxes to dig wells. When we came near the shore we saw three tall black naked men on the sandy bay a-head of us : but as we rowed in, they went away. When we were landed, I sent the boat with two men in her to lie a little from the shore at an anchor, to prevent being seized ; while the rest of us went after the three black men, who were now got on the top of a small hill, about a quarter of a mile from us, with eight or nine men more in their company. They seeing us coming, ran away. When we came on the top of the hill where they first stood, we saw a plain savannah, about half a mile from us, farther in from the sea. There were several things like hay cocks, standing in the savannah ; which at a distance we thought were houses, looking just like the Hottentots' houses at the Cape of Good Hope : but we found them to be so many rocks. We searched about these for water, but could find none, nor any houses ; nor people, for they were all gone. Then we turned again to the place where we landed, and there we dug for water.

While we were at work, there came nine or ten of the natives to a small hill a little way from us, and stood there menacing and threatening of us, and making a great noise. At last one of them came towards us, and the rest followed at a distance. I went out to meet him, and came within fifty yards of him, making to him all the signs of peace and friendship I could ; but then he ran away, neither would they any of them stay for us to come nigh them, for we tried two or three times. At last I took two men with me, and went in the afternoon along by the sea side purposely to catch one of them, if I could, of whom I might learn where they got their fresh water. There were ten or twelve of the natives a little way off, who seeing us three going away from the rest of our men, followed us at a distance. I thought they would follow us ; but there being for a while a sandbank between us and them, that they could not then see us, we made a halt, and hid ourselves in a bending of the sandbank. They knew we must be thereabouts, and being three or four times our number, thought to seize us. So they dispers'd themselves, some going to the sea shore, and others beating about the sand hills. We knew by what rencounter we had had with them in the morning that we could easily outrun them ; so a nimble young man that was with me, seeing some of them near, ran towards them, and they for some time ran away before him. But he soon overtaking them, they faced about and fought him. He had a cutlass and they had wooden lances, with which, being many of them, they were too hard for him. When he first ran towards them, I chas'd two more that were by the shore ; but fearing how it might be with my young man, I turned back quickly and went up to the top of a sandhill, whence I saw him near me closely engaged with them. Upon their seeing me one of them threw a lance at me, that narrowly miss'd me. I discharg'd my gun to scare them, but avoided shooting any of them ; till finding the young man in great danger from them, and myself in some ; and that tho' the gun had a little frightened them at first, yet they had soon learnt to despise it, tossing up their heads and crying " Pooh, pooh, pooh," and coming on afresh with a great noise ; I thought it high time to charge again and shoot one of them, which I did. The rest seeing him fall made a stand again, and my young man took the opportunity to disengage himself and come off to me ; my other man also was with me, who had done nothing all this while, having come out unarm'd ; and I returned back with my men, designing to attempt the natives no farther, being very sorry for what had happened already. They took up their wounded companion, and my young man, who had been struck through the cheek by one of their lances, was afraid it had been poison'd, but I did not think that likely. His wound was very painful to him, being made with a blunt weapon ; but he soon recover'd of it.

Among the N. Hollanders whom we were thus engaged with there was one who by his appearance and carriage, as well in the morning as this afternoon, seemed to be the chief of them, and a kind of prince or captain among them. He was a young brisk man, not very tall, nor so personable as some of the rest, tho' more active and couragious : he was painted (which none of the rest were at all) with a circle of white paste or pigment (a sort of lime, as we thought) about his eyes, and a white streak down his nose from his forehead to the tip of it. And his breast and some part of his arms were also made white with the same paint ; not for beauty or ornament one would think, but as some wild Indian warriors are said to do, he seem'd thereby to design the looking more terrible ; thus his painting added very much to his natural deformity, for they all of them have the most unpleasant looks and the worst features of any people that ever I saw, tho' I have seen great variety of savages. These New Hollanders were probably the same sort of people as those I met with on this coast in my voyage round the world ; for the place I then touched at was not above forty or fifty leagues to the N.E. of this : and these were much the same blinking creatures (here being also abundance of the same kind of flesh-flies teizing them), and with the same black skins, and hair frizled, tall and thin, etc., as those were : but we had not the opportunity to see whether these, as the former, wanted two of their fore-teeth.

We saw a great many places where they had made fires, and where there were commonly three or four boughs stuck up to the windward of them ; for the wind (which is the sea breeze) in the daytime blows always one way with them, and the land breeze is but small. By their fireplaces we should always find great heaps of fish shells of several sorts ; and 'tis probable that these poor creatures here lived chiefly on the shell fish, as those I before describ'd did on small fish, which they caught in wires or holes in the sand at low water. These gather'd their shell fish on the rocks at low water, but had no wires (that we saw) whereby to get any other sorts of fish : as among the former I saw not any heaps of shells as here, though I know they also gather'd some shell fish. The lances also of those were such as these had ; however, they being upon an island, with their women and children, and all in our power, they did not there use them against us as here on the continent, where we saw none but some of the men under head, who come out purposely to observe us. We saw no houses at either place ; and I believe they have none, since the former people on the island had none, tho' they had all their families with them.

Upon returning to my men I saw that tho' they had dug eight or nine feet deep, yet found no water. So I return'd aboard that evening, and the next day, being September 1st, I sent my boatswain ashore to dig deeper, and sent the sain with him to catch fish. While I staid aboard I observed the flowing of the tide, which runs very swift here, so that our nun-buoy would not bear above the water to be seen. It flows here (as on that part of N. Holland I described formerly) about five fathom ; and here the flood runs S.E. by S. till the last quarter ; then it sets right in towards the shore (which lies here S.S.W. and N.N.E.) and the ebb runs N.W. by N. When the tides slackned we fish'd with hook and line, as we had already done in several places on this coast, on which in this voyage hitherto we had found but little tides ; but by the heighth, and strength, and course of them hereabouts, it should seem that if there be such a passage or streight going through eastward to the great South Sea, as I said one might suspect, one would expect to find the mouth of it somewhere between this place and Rosemary Island, which was the part of New Holland I came last from.

Next morning my men came aboard and brought a rundlet of brackish water, which they got out of another well that they dug in a place a mile off, and about half as far from the shore ; but this water was not fit to drink. However we all concluded that it would serve to boil our oatmeal for burgoo, whereby we might save the remains of our other water for drinking, till we should get more ; and accordingly the next day we brought aboard four hogs-heads of it: but while we were at work about the well we were sadly pester'd with the flies, which were more troublesome to us than the sun, tho' it shone clear and strong upon us all the while, very hot. All this while we saw no more of the natives, but saw some of the smoaks of some of their fires at two or three miles distance.

The land hereabouts was much like the part of New Holland that I formerly described ; 'tis low, but seemingly barricado'd with a long chain of sandhills to the sea, that lets nothing be seen of what is farther within land. At high water, the tides rising so high as they do, the coast shows very low ; but when 'tis low water it seems to be of an indifferent heighth. At low water-mark the shore is all rocky, so that then there is no landing with a boat ; but at high water a boat may come in over those rocks to the Sandy Bay, which runs all along on this coast. The land by the sea for about five or six hundred yards is a dry sandy soil, bearing only shrubs and bushes of divers sorts. Some of these had them at this time of the year, yellow flowers or blossoms, some blue and some white, most of them of a very fragrant smell. Some had fruit-like peascods, in each of which there were just ten small peas : I opened many of them, and found no more nor less. There are also here some of that sort of bean which I saw at Rosemary Island, and another sort of small, red, hard pulse, growing in cods also, with little black eyes like beans. I know not their names, but have seen them used often in the East Indies for weighing gold ; and they make the same use of them at Guinea as I have heard, where the women also make bracelets with them to wear about their arms. These grow on bushes ; but here are also a fruit like beans, growing on a creeping sort of shrub-like vine. There was great plenty of all these sorts of cod fruit growing on the sand hills by the seaside, some of them green, some ripe, and some fallen on the ground ; but I could not perceive that any of them had been gathered by the natives, and might not probably be wholesome food.

The land farther in, that is lower than what borders on the sea, was, so much as we saw of it, very plain and even, partly savannahs, and partly woodland. The savannahs bear a sort of thin coarse grass. The mould is also a coarser sand than that by the sea side, and in some places 'tis clay. Here are a great many rocks in the large savannah we were in, which are five or six foot high, and round at the top like a haycock, very remarkable, some red and some white. The woodland lies farther in still, where there were divers sorts of small trees, scarce any three foot in circumference; their bodies twelve or fourteen foot high, with a head of small knibs or boughs. By the sides of the creeks, especially nigh the sea, there grow a few small black mangrove trees.

There are but few land animals. I saw some lizards, and my men saw two or three beasts like hungry wolves, lean like so many skeletons, being nothing but skin and bones: 'tis probable that it was the foot of one of those beasts that I mention'd as seen by us in New Holland. We saw a rackoon or two, and one small speckled snake.

The land fowls that we saw here were crows (just such as ours in England), small hawks, and kites, a few of each sort; but here are plenty of small turtledoves, that are plump, fat, and very good meat. Here are two or three sorts of smaller birds, some as big as larks, some less; but not many of either sort. The sea fowl are pelicans, boobies, noddies, curlews, sea-pies, etc., and but few of these neither.

The sea is plentifully stock'd with the largest whales that I ever saw, but not to compare with the vast ones of the northern seas. We saw also a great many green turtle, but caught none; here being no place to set a turtle net in; here being no channel for them, and the tides running so strong. We saw some sharks and paracoots, and with hooks and lines we caught some rock fish and old wives. Of shell fish here were oysters, both of the common kind for eating and of the pearl kind; and also wilks, conchs, muscles, limpits, perriwinkles, etc.; and I gather'd a few strange shells, chiefly a sort not large, and thick-set all about with rays or spikes growing in rows.

And thus, having ranged about a considerable time upon this coast, without finding any good fresh water or any convenient place to clean the ship, as I had hop'd for; and it being, moreover, the heighth of the dry season, and my men growing scorbutick for want of refreshments, so that I had little encouragement to search further; I resolved to leave this coast, and accordingly in the beginning of September set sail towards Timor.

COOK

In 1768 the Royal Society was anxious to obtain observation of an eclipse of the sun by Venus, and the King was petitioned to send a ship to the Central Pacific for the purpose. Captain James Cook was selected, and the Endeavour *assigned to his command.*

The astronomical part of the expedition was successful, but Cook went further and determined to carry out the work of Torres and Tasman before him. When he left, it was unknown whether Australia was joined to Tasmania on the south and New Guinea on the north or not ; no one was quite sure what the strait marked on the seventeenth-century maps really meant. Most of the islands east of Australia were as yet undiscovered. It was Cook's genius, for he is one of the greatest scientific explorers that ever lived, that cleared up these doubts in his three voyages.

The following narrative is that portion of his own Journal of his first voyage round the world which deals with the exploration of the east coast of Australia. The Journal was first published literally from his own manuscript in 1892.

COOK

EXPLORATION OF EAST COAST OF AUSTRALIA

Thursday, 19*th*.—In the P.M. had fresh Gales at S.S.W. and Cloudy Squally weather, with a large Southerly Sea; at 6 took in the Topsails, and at 1 a.m brought too and Sounded, but had no ground with 130 fathoms of line. At 5, set the Topsails close reef'd, and 6, saw land extending from N.E. to W., distance 5 or 6 Leagues, having 80 fathoms, fine sandy bottom. We continued standing to the Westward with the Wind at S.S.W. until 8, at which time we got Topgallant Yards a Cross, made all sail, and bore away along shore N.E. for the Eastermost land we had in sight, being at this time in the Latitude of 37° 58′ S., and Long. of 210° 39′ W. The Southermost point of land we had in sight, which bore from us W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S., I judged to lay in the Latitude of 38° 0′ S. and in the Long. of 211° 7′ W. from the Meridian of Greenwich. I have named it Point Hicks, because Lieutenant Hicks was the first who discover'd this Land. To the Southward of this point we could see no land, and yet it was clear in that Quarter, and by our Longitude compared with that of Tasman's, the body of Van Diemen's land ought to have bore due S. from us, and from the soon falling of the Sea after the wind abated I had reason to think it did; but as we did not see it, and finding the Coast to trend N.E. and S.W., or rather more to the Westward, makes me Doubtful whether they are one land or no. However, every one who compares this Journal with that of Tasman's will be as good a judge as I am; but it is necessary to observe that I do not take the Situation of Vandiemen's from the Printed Charts, but from the extract of Tasman's Journal, published by Dirk Rembrantse. At Noon we were in the Latitude of 37° 50′ and Long. of 210° 29′ W. The extreams of the Land extending from N.W. to E.N.E., a remarkable point, bore N. 20° E., distant 4 Leagues. This point rises to a round hillock very much like the Ramhead going into Plymouth sound, on which account I called it by the same name; Lat. 37° 39′, Long, 210° 22′ W. The Variation by an Azimuth taken this morning was 8° 7′ E. What we have as yet seen of this land appears rather low, and not very hilly, the face of the Country green and Woody, but the Sea shore is all a white Sand.

Friday, 20*th*.—In the p.m. and most part of the night had a fresh Gale Westerly, with Squalls, attended with Showers of rain. In the a.m. had the Wind at S.W., with Severe weather. At 1 p.m. saw 3 Water Spouts at once; 2 were between us and the Shore, and one at some distance upon our Larboard Quarter. At 6, shortned sail, and brought too for the Night, having 56 fathoms fine sandy bottom. The Northermost land in sight bore N. by E. ½ E., and a small Island lying close to a point on the Main bore W., distant 2 Leagues. This point I have named Cape Howe; it may be known by the Trending of the Coast, which is N. on the one Side and S.W. on the other. Lat. 37° 28′ S.; Long. 210° 3′ W. It may likewise be known by some round hills upon the main just within it. Having brought too with her head off Shore, we at 10 wore, and lay her head in until 4 a.m., at which time we made sail along shore to the Northward. At 6, the Northermost land in sight bore N., being at this time about 4 Leagues from the Land. At Noon we were in the Lat. of 36° 51′ S. and Long. of 209° 53′ W., and 3 Leagues from the land. Course sail'd along shore since Yesterday at Noon was first N. 50° E., 30 miles, then N. by E. and N. by W., 41 Miles. The weather being clear gave us an opportunity to View the Country, which had a very agreeable and promising aspect, diversified with hills, ridges, plains, and Valleys, with some few small lawns; but for the most part the whole was covered with wood, the hills and ridges rise with a gentle slope; they are not high neither are there many of them.

Saturday, 21*st*.—Winds Southerly, a Gentle breeze, and Clear weather, with which we coasted along shore to the

Northward. In the p.m. we saw the smoke of fire in several places; a Certain sign that the Country is inhabited. At 6, being about 2 or 3 Leagues from the land, we shortned Sail, and Sounded and found 44 fathoms, a sandy bottom. Stood on under an easey sail until 12 o' Clock, at which time we brought too until 4 a.m., when we made sail, having then 90 fathoms, 5 Leagues from the land. At 6, we were abreast of a pretty high Mountain laying near the Shore, which, on account of its figure, I named Mount Dromedary (Lat. 36° 18′ S., Long. 209° 55′ W.). The shore under the foot of the Mountain forms a point, which I have named Cape Dromedary, over which is a peaked hillock. At this time found the Variation to be 10° 42′ E. Between 10 and 11 o'Clock Mr. Green and I took several Observations of the Sun and Moon, the mean result of which gave 209° 17′ W. Longitude from the Meridian of Greenwich. By observation made yesterday we were in the Longitude 210° 9′. West 20′ gives 209° 49′ the Longitude of the Ship to-day at noon per yesterday's observation, the Mean of which and to-day's give 209° 33′ W., by which I fix the Longitude of this Coast. Our Latitude at Noon was 35° 49′ S.; Cape Dromedary bore S. 30° W., distant 12 Leagues. An Open Bay wherein lay 3 or 4 Small Islands, bore N.W. by W., distant 5 or 6 Leagues. This Bay seem'd to be but very little Shelter'd from the Sea Winds, and yet it is the only likely Anchoring place I have yet seen upon the Coast.

Sunday, *22nd*.—In the p.m. had a Gentle breeze at S. by W. with which we steer'd along shore N. by E. and N.N.E. at the distance of about 3 Leagues. Saw the smoke of fire in several places near the Sea beach. At 5, we were abreast of a point of land which, on account of its perpendicular Clifts, I call'd Point Upright; Lat. 35° 35′ S.; it bore from us due W., distant 2 Leagues, and in this Situation had 31 fathoms, Sandy bottom. At 6, falling little wind, we hauld off E.N.E.; at this time the Northermost land in sight bore N. by E. ½ E., and at midnight, being in 70 fathoms, we brought too until 4 a.m., at which time we made sail in for the land, and at daylight found ourselves nearly in the same Place we were at 5 o'Clock in the evening, by which it was apparent that we had been drove about 3 Leagues to the Southward by a Tide or Current in the night. After this we steer'd along shore N.N.E., having a Gentle breeze at S.W., and were so near the Shore as to distinguish several people upon the Sea beach. They appeared to be of a very dark or black Colour; but whether this was the real Colour of their skins or the Cloathes they might have on I know not. At Noon we were by Observation in the Latitude of 35° 27′ and Longitude 209° 23′ ; Cape Dromedary bore S. 28° W., distance 15 Leagues. A remarkable peak'd hill laying inland, the Top of which looked like a Pigeon house, and occasioned my giving it that name, bore N. 32° 33′ W., and a small low Island laying close under the Shore, bore N.W., distance 2 or 3 Leagues ; Variation of the Compass 9° 50′ E. When we first discover'd this Island in the morning I was in hopes, from its appearance, that we should have found Shelter for the Ship behind it ; but when we came to approach it near I did not think that there was even security for a Boat to land. But this, I believe, I should have attempted had not the wind come on Shore, after which I did not think it safe to send a Boat from the Ship, as we had a larg hollow Sea from the S.E. rowling in upon the land, which beat every where very high upon the Shore ; and this we have had ever since we came upon the Coast. The land near the Sea coast still continues of a moderate height, forming alternately rocky points and Sandy beaches ; but inland, between Mount Dromedary and the Pigeon house, are several pretty high Mountains, 2 only of which we saw but what were covered with Trees, and these lay inland behind the Pigeon House, and are remarkably flat a Top, with Steep rocky clifts all round them. As far as we could see the Trees in this Country hath all the appearance of being stout and lofty. For these 2 days past the observed Latitude hath been 12 or 14 Miles to the Southward of the Ship's account given by the Log, which can be owing to nothing but a Current set to the Southward.

Monday 23rd.—In the P.M. had a Gentle breeze at E., which in the night veer'd to N.E. and N. At ½ past 4 p.m., being about 5 Miles from the Land, we Tack'd and stood off S.E. and E. until 4 a.m., at which time we Tack'd and stood in, being then about 9 or 10 Leagues from the land. At 8, it fell little wind, and soon after Calm. At Noon we were by Observation in the Latitude of 35° 38′ and about 6 Leagues from the land, Mount Dromedary bearing S. 37° W., distant 17 Leagues, and the Pidgeon house N. 40° W.; in this situation had 74 fathoms.

Tuesday, *24th.*—In the p.m. had Variable light Airs and Calms until 6 o'Clock, at which time a breeze spring up at N. by W.; at this time we had 70 fathoms Water, being about 4 or 5 Leagues from the land, the Pidgeon house bearing N. 40° W., Mount Dromedary S. 30° W., and the Northermost land in sight N. 19° E. Stood to the N.E. until Noon, having a Gentle breeze at N.W., at which time we Tack'd and stood to the Westward, being then, by observation, in the Latitude of 35° 10′ S. and Longitude 208° 51′ W. A point of land which I named Cape St. George, we having discovered it on that Saint's day, bore W., distant 19 Miles, and the Pidgeon house S. 7° W., the Latitude and Longitude of which I found to be 35° 19′ W. and 209° 42′ W. In the morning we found the Variation to be, by the Amplitude, 7° 50′ E., by several Azimuths 7° 54′ E.

Wednesday 25th.—In the p.m. had a fresh breeze at N.W. until 3 o'Clock, at which time it came to West, and we Tack'd and stood to the Northward. At 5 o'Clock, being about 5 or 6 Leagues from the land, the Pidgeon house bearing W.S.W., distant 9 Leagues, sounded and had 86 fathoms. At 8, being very squally, with lightning, we close reef'd the Topsails and brought too, being then in 120 fathoms. At 3 a.m. made sail again to the Northward, having the advantage of a fresh Gale at S.W. At Noon we were about 3 or 4 Leagues from the land and in the Latitude of 34° 22′ and Longitude 208° 36′ W. Course and distance sail'd since Yesterday noon is N. by E. 49 Miles. In the Course of this day's run we saw the Smoke of fire in several places near the Sea beach. About 2 Leagues to the Northward of Cape St. George the Shore seems to form a bay, which appear'd to be shelter'd from the N.E. winds ; but as we had the wind it was not in my power to look into it, and the appearance was not favourable enough to induce me to loose time in beating up to it. The N. point of this bay, on account of its Figure, I nam'd Long Nose. Latitude 45° 4′ S., 8 Leagues to the Northward of this, is a point which I call'd Red Point ; some part of the Land about it appeared of that Colour (Latitude 34° 29′ S., Longitude 208° 49′ W.). A little way inland to the N.W. of this point is a round hill, the top of which look'd like the Crown of a Hatt.

Thursday, 26*th.*—Clear, serene weather. In the p.m. had a light breeze at N.N.W. until 5, at which time it fell Calm, we being then about 3 or 4 Leagues from the land and in 48 fathoms. Variation by Azimuth 8° 48′ E., the extreams of the land from N.E. by N. to S.W. by S. Saw several smokes along shore before dark, and 2 or 3 times a fire. In the Night we lay becalm'd, driving in before the Sea, until one o'Clock a.m., at which time we got a breeze from the land, with which we steer'd N.E., being then in 38 fathoms water. At Noon it fell little Wind, and veer'd to N.E. by N., we being then in the Latitude of 34° 10′ and Longitude 208° 27′ W., and about 5 Leagues from the land, which extended from S. 37° W. to N. ½ E. In this Latitude are some White Clifts, which rise perpendicular from the Sea to a moderate height.

Friday, 27*th.*—Var'ble light Airs between the N.E. and N.W., clear pleasant weather. In the p.m. stood off Shore until 2, then Tackt and Stood in till 6, at which time we tack'd and stood off, being then in 54 fathoms and about 4 or 5 miles from the land, the Extreams of which bore from S., 28° W. to N. 25° 30′ E. At 12 we tack'd and stood in until 4 a.m., then made a Trip off until day light, after which we stood in for the land ; in all this time we lost ground, owing a good deal to the Variableness of the winds, for at Noon we were by Observation in the Latitude of 34° 21′ S., Red Point bearing S. 27° W., distant 3 Leagues. In this Situation we were about 4 or 5 Miles from the land, which extended from S. 19° 30′ W. to N. 29° E.

Saturday, 28*th*.—In the p.m. hoisted out the Pinnace and Yawl in order to attempt a landing, but the Pinnace took in the Water so fast that she was obliged to be hoisted in again to stop her leakes. At this time we saw several people a shore, 4 of whom were carrying a small Boat or Canoe, which we imagin'd they were going to put in to the Water in order to Come off to us ; but in this we were mistaken. Being now not above 2 Miles from the Shore Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Tupia, and myself put off in the Yawl, and pull'd in for the land to a place where we saw 4 or 5 of the Natives, who took to the Woods as we approached the Shore ; which disappointed us in the expectation we had of getting a near View of them, if not to speak to them. But our disappointment was heightened when we found that we no where could effect a landing by reason of the great Surff which beat every where upon the shore. We saw haul'd up upon the beach 3 or 4 small Canoes, which to us appeared not much unlike the Small ones of New Zeland. In the wood were several Trees of the Palm kind, and no under wood ; and this was all we were able to observe from the boat, after which we return'd to the Ship about 5 in the evening. At this time it fell Calm, and we were not above a Mile and a half from the Shore, in 11 fathoms, and within some breakers that lay to the Southward of us ; but luckily a light breeze came off from the Land, which carried us out of danger, and with which we stood to the Northward. At daylight in the morning we discover'd a Bay, which appeared to be tollerably well shelter'd from all winds, into which I resolved to go with the Ship, and with this View sent the Master in the Pinnace to sound the Entrance, while we keept turning up with the Ship, having the wind right out. At noon the Entrance bore N.N.W., distance 1 Mile.

Sunday, 29*th.*—In the p.m. wind Southerly and Clear weather, with which we stood into the bay and Anchored under the S. shore about 2 miles within the Entrance in 5 fathoms, the S. point bearing S.E. and the N. point E. Saw, as we came in, on both points of the bay, several of the Natives and a few hutts; Men, Women, and Children on the S. Shore abreast of the Ship, to which place I went in the Boats in hopes of speaking with them, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia. As we approached the Shore they all made off, except 2 Men, who seem'd resolved to oppose our landing. As soon as I saw this I order'd the boats to lay upon their Oars, in order to speak to them; but this was to little purpose, for neither us nor Tupia could understand one word they said. We then threw them some nails, beads, etc., a shore, which they took up, and seem'd not ill pleased with, in so much that I thought that they beckon'd to us to come ashore; but in this we were mistaken, for as soon as we put the boat in they again came to oppose us, upon which I fir'd a musquet between the 2, which had no other Effect than to make them retire back, where bundles of their darts lay, and one of them took up a stone and threw at us, which caused my firing a Second Musquet, load with small Shott; and altho' some of the shott struck the man, yet it had no other effect than making him lay hold on a Target. Immediately after this we landed, which we had no sooner done than they throw'd 2 darts at us; this obliged me to fire a third shott, soon after which they both made off, but not in such haste but what we might have taken one; but Mr. Banks being of Opinion that the darts were poisoned, made me cautious how I advanced into the Woods. We found here a few small hutts made of the Bark Trees, in one of which were 4 or 5 Small Children, with whom we left some strings of beads, etc. A quantity of Darts lay about the Hutts; these we took away with us. 3 Canoes lay upon the beach, the worst I think I ever saw; they were about 12 or 14 feet long, made of one piece of the Bark of a Tree, drawn or tied up at each end, and the middle keept open by means of pieces of Stick by way of Thwarts. After searching for fresh water without success, except a little in a Small hole dug in the Sand, we embarqued, and went over to the N. point of the bay, where in coming in we saw several people; but when we landed now there were nobody to be seen. We found here some fresh Water, which came trinkling down and stood in pools among the rocks; but as this was troublesome to come at I sent a party of men ashore in the morning to the place where we first landed to dig holes in the sand, by which means and a Small stream they found fresh Water sufficient to Water the Ship. The String of Beads, etc., we had left with the Children last night were found laying in the Hutts this morning; probably the Natives were afraid to take them away. After breakfast we sent some Empty Casks a shore and a party of Men to cut wood, and I went myself in the Pinnace to sound and explore the Bay, in the doing of which I saw some of the Natives; but they all fled at my Approach. I landed in 2 places, one of which the people had but just left, as there were small fires and fresh Muscles broiling upon them; here likewise lay Vast heaps of the largest Oyster Shells I ever saw.

Monday, 30*th*.—As soon as the Wooders and Waterers were come on board to Dinner 10 or 12 of the Natives came to the watering place, and took away their Canoes that lay there, but did not offer to touch any one of our Casks that had been left ashore; and in the afternoon 16 or 18 of them came boldly up to within 100 yards of our people at the watering place, and there made a stand. Mr. Hicks, who was the Officer ashore, did all in his power to intice them to him by offering them presents; but it was to no purpose, all they seem'd to want was for us to be gone. After staying a Short time they went away. They were all Arm'd with Darts and wooden Swords; the darts have each 4 prongs, and pointed with fish bones. Those we have seen seem to be intended more for striking fish than offensive Weapons ; neither are they poisoned, as we at first thought. After I had return'd from sounding the Bay I went over to a Cove on the N. side of the Bay, where, in 3 or 4 Hauls with the Sean, we caught about 300 pounds weight of Fish, which I caused to be equally divided among the Ship's Company. In the a.m. I went in the Pinnace to sound and explore the N. side of the bay, where I neither met with inhabitants or anything remarkable. Mr. Green took the Sun's Meridian Altitude a little within the S. Entrance of the Bay, which gave the Latitude 34° 0′ S.

Tuesday, *May 1st.*—Gentle breezes, Northerly. In the p.m. 10 of the natives again visited the Watering place. I, being on board at this time, went immediately ashore, but before I got there they were going away. I follow'd them alone and unarm'd some distance along shore, but they would not stop until they got farther off than I choose to trust myself. These were armed in the same manner as those that came Yesterday. In the evening I sent some hands to haul the Saine, but they caught but a very few fish. A little after sunrise I found the Variation to be 11° 3′ E. Last night Forby Sutherland, Seaman, departed this Life, and in the a.m. his body Was buried ashore at the watering place, which occasioned my calling the south point of this bay after his name. This morning a party of us went ashore to some Hutts, not far from the Watering place, where some of the Natives are daily seen ; here we left several articles, such as Cloth, Looking Glasses, Coombs, Beads, Nails, etc. ; after this we made an Excursion into the Country, which we found diversified with Woods, Lawns, and Marshes. The woods are free from underwood of every kind, and the trees are at such a distance from one another that the whole Country, or at least great part of it, might be Cultivated without being obliged to cut down a single tree. We found the Soil everywhere, except in the Marshes, to be a light white sand, and produceth a quantity of good Grass, which grows in little Tufts about as big as one can hold in one's hand, and pretty close to one another; in this manner the Surface of the Ground is Coated. In the woods between the Trees Dr. Solander had a bare sight of a Small Animal something like a Rabbit, and we found the Dung of an Animal which must feed upon Grass, and which, we judge, could not be less than a Deer; we also saw the Track of a Dog, or some such like Animal. We met with some Hutts and places where the Natives had been, and at our first setting out one of them was seen; the others, I suppose, had fled upon our Approach. I saw some Trees that had been cut down by the Natives with some sort of a Blunt instrument, and several Trees that were barqued the bark of which had been cut by the same instrument; in many of the Trees, especially the Palms, were cut steps of about 3 or 4 feet asunder for the conveniency of Climbing them. We found 2 Sorts of Gum, one sort of which is like Gum Dragon, and is the same, I suppose, Tasman took for Gum lac; it is extracted from the largest tree in the Woods.

Wednesday, *2nd*.—Between 3 and 4 in the p.m. we return'd out of the Country, and after Dinner went ashore to the watering place, where we had not been long before 17 or 18 of the Natives appeared in sight. In the morning I had sent Mr. Gore, with a boat, up to the head of the Bay to drudge for Oysters; in his return to the Ship he and another person came by land, and met with these people, who followed him at the Distance of 10 or 20 Yards. Whenever Mr. Gore made a stand and faced them they stood also, and notwithstanding they were all Arm'd, they never offer'd to Attack him; but after he had parted from them, and they were met by Dr. Monkhouse and one or 2 more, who, upon making a Sham retreat, they throw'd 3 darts after them, after which they began to retire. Dr. Solander, I, and Tupia made all the haste we could after them, but could not, either by words or Actions prevail upon them to come near us. Mr. Gore saw some up the Bay, who by signs invited him ashore, which he prudently declined. In the a.m. had the wind in the S.E. with rain, which prevented me from making an Excursion up the head of the bay as I intended.

Thursday, *3rd*.—Winds at S.E., a Gentle breeze and fair weather. In the p.m. I made a little excursion along the Sea Coast to the Southward, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander. At our first entering the woods we saw 3 of the Natives, who made off as soon as they saw us; more of them were seen by others of our people, who likewise made off as soon as they found they were discover'd. In the a.m. I went in the Pinnace to the head of the bay, accompanied by Drs. Solander and Monkhouse, in order to Examine the Country, and to try to form some Connections with the Natives. In our way thither we met with 10 or 12 of them fishing, each in a Small Canoe, who retir'd into Shoald water upon our approach. Others again we saw at the first place we landed at, who took to their Canoes, and fled before we came near them; after this we took Water, and went almost to the head of the inlet, were we landed and travell'd some distance in land. We found the face of the Country much the same as I have before described, but the land much richer; for instead of sand I found in many places a deep black soil, which we thought was Capable of producing any kind of grain. At present it produceth, besides Timber, as fine Meadow as ever was seen; however, we found it not all like this, some few places were very rocky, but this, I believe, to be uncommon. The stone is sandy, and very proper for building, etc. After we had sufficiently examin'd this part we return'd to the Boat, and seeing some Smoke and Canoes at another part we went thither, in hopes of meeting with the people, but they made off as we approached. There were 6 Canoes and 6 small fires near the Shore, and Muscles roasting upon them, and a few Oysters laying near; from this we conjectured that there had been just 6 people, who had been out each in his Canoe picking up the Shell fish, and come a Shore to eat them, where each had made his fire to dress them by. We tasted of their Cheer, and left them in return Strings of beads, etc. The day being now far spent, we set out on our return to the Ship.

Friday, *4th*.—Winds northerly, serene weather. Upon my return to the Ship in the evening I found that none of the Natives had Appear'd near the Watering place, but about 20 of them had been fishing in their Canoes at no great distance from us. In the a.m., as the Wind would not permit us to sail, I sent out some parties into the Country to try to form some Connections with the Natives. One of the Midshipmen met with a very old man and Woman and 2 Small Children; they were Close to the Water side, where several more were in their Canoes gathering of Shell fish, and he, being alone, was afraid to make any stay with the 2 old People least he should be discovr'd by those in the Canoes. He gave them a bird he had Shott, which they would not Touch; neither did they speak one word, but seem'd to be much frightned. They were quite Naked; even the Woman had nothing to cover her nudities. Dr. Monkhouse and another Man being in the Woods, not far from the watering place, discover'd 6 more of the Natives, who at first seem'd to wait his coming; but as he was going up to them he had a dart thrown at him out of a Tree, which narrowly escaped him. As soon as the fellow had thrown the dart he descended the Tree and made off, and with him all the rest, and these were all that were met with in the Course of this day.

Saturday, *5th*.—In the p.m. I went with a party of Men over to the North Shore, and while some hands were hauling the Sean, a party of us made an Excursion of 3 or 4 Miles into the Country, or rather along the Sea Coast. We met with nothing remarkable; great part of the Country for some distance inland from the Sea Coast is mostly a barren heath, diversified with Marshes and Morasses. Upon our return to the Boat we found they had caught a great number of small fish, which the sailors call leather Jackets on account of their having a very thick skin; they are known in the Wt. Indies. I had sent the Yawl in the morning to fish for Sting rays, who returned in the Evening with upwards of four hundred weight; one single one weigh'd 240 lbs. Exclusive of the entrails. In the a.m., as the wind Continued Northerly, I sent the Yawl again a fishing, and I went with a party of Men into the Country, but met with nothing extraordinary.

Sunday, *6th.*—In the evening the Yawl return'd from fishing, having Caught 2 Sting rays weighing near 600 lbs. The great quantity of plants Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander found in this place occasioned my giving it the Name of Botany Bay. It is situated in the Lat. of 34° 0′ S., Long. 208° 37′ W. It is capacious, safe, and Commodious; it may be known by the land on the Sea Coast, which is of a pretty even and moderate height, Rather higher than it is inland, with steep rocky Clifts next the Sea, and looks like a long Island lying close under the Shore. The Entrance of the Bay lies about the Middle of this land. In coming from the Southward it is discover'd before you are abreast of it, which you cannot do in coming from the Northward; the entrance is little more than a Quarter of a Mile broad, and lies in W.N.W. To sail into it keep the S. shore on board until within a small bare Island, which lies close under the North Shore. Being within that Island the deepest of Water is on that side, 7, 6 and 5 fathoms a good way up; there is Shoald Water a good way off from the S. Shore—from the inner So. Point quite to the head of the harbour; but over towards the N. and N.W. Shore is a Channell of 12 or 14 feet at low Water, 3 or 4 Leagues up, to a place where there is 3 or 4 fathoms; but there I found very little fresh Water. We Anchor'd near the South Shore about a Mile within the Entrance for the Conveniency of Sailing with a Southerly wind and the getting of Fresh Water; but I afterwards found a very fine stream of fresh Water on the N. shore in the first sandy Cove within the Island, before which the Ship might lay almost land locked, and wood for fuel may be got everywhere. Although wood is here in great plenty, yet there is very little Variety; the biggest trees are as large or larger than our Oaks in England, and grows a good deal like them, and Yields a reddish Gum ; the wood itself is heavy, hard, and black like Lignum Vitæ. Another sort that grows tall and Strait something like Pines—the wood of this is hard and Ponderous, and something of the Nature of America live Oak. These 2 are all the Timber trees I met with ; there are a few sorts of Shrubs and several Palm Trees and Mangroves about the Head of the Harbour.

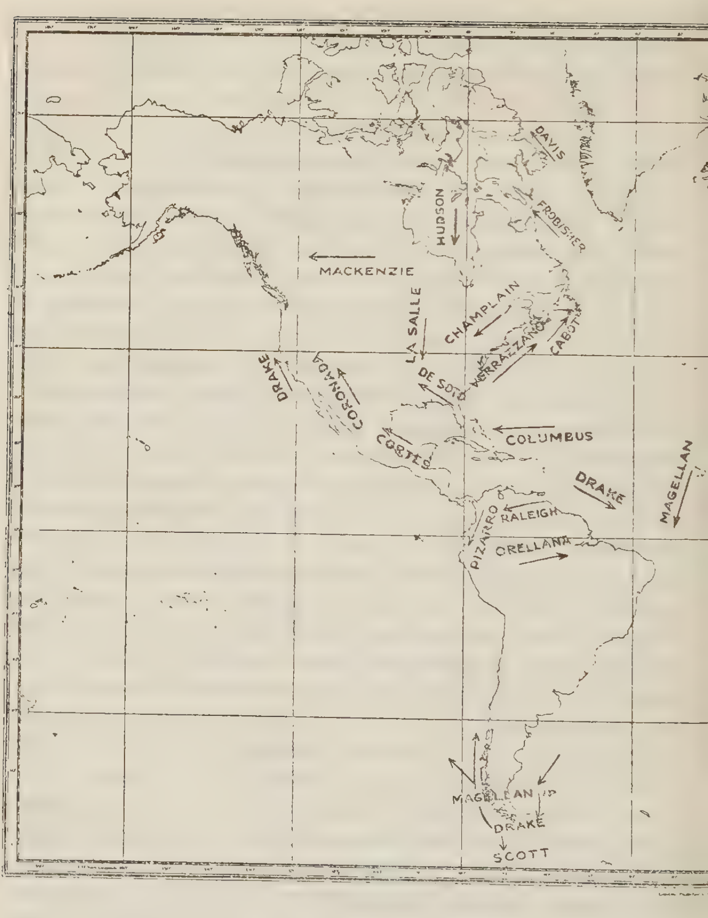
The Country is woody, low, and flat as far in as we could see, and I believe that the Soil is in general sandy. In the Wood are a variety of very beautiful birds, such as Cocatoos, Lorryquets, Parrots, etc., and crows Exactly like those we have in England. Water fowl is no less plenty about the head of the Harbour, where there is large flats of sand and Mud, on which they seek their food ; the most of these were unknown to us, one sort especially, which was black and white, and as large as a Goose, but most like a Pelican. On the sand and Mud banks are Oysters, Muscles, Cockles, etc., which I believe are the Chief support of the inhabitants, who go into Shoald Water with their little Canoes and peck them out of the sand and Mud with their hands, and sometimes roast and Eat them in the Canoe, having often a fire for that purpose, as I suppose, for I know no other it can be for. The Natives do not appear to be numerous, neither do they seem to live in large bodies, but dispers'd in small parties along by the Water side. Those I saw were about as tall as Europeans, of a very dark brown Colour, but not black, nor had they woolly, frizled hair, but black and lank like ours. No sort of Cloathing or Ornaments were ever seen by any of us upon any one of them or in or about any of their Hutts ; from which I conclude that they never wear any. Some that we saw had their faces and bodies painted with a sort of White Paint or Pigment. Altho' I have said that shell fish is their Chief support, yet they catch other sorts of fish, some of which we found roasting on the fire the first time we landed ; some of these they strike with Gigs, and others they catch with hook and line; we have seen them strike fish with gigs, and hooks and lines are found in their Hutts. Sting rays, I believe, they do not eat, because I never saw the least remains of one near any of their Hutts or fire places.

However, we could know but very little of their Customs, as we never were able to form any Connections with them; they had not so much as touch'd the things we had left in their Hutts on purpose for them to take away. During our stay in this Harbour I caused the English Colours to be display'd ashore every day, and an inscription to be cut out upon one of the Trees near the Watering place, setting forth the Ship's Name, Date, etc. Having seen everything this place afforded, we, at daylight in the morning, weigh'd with a light breeze at N.W., and put to Sea, and the wind soon after coming to the Southward we steer'd along shore N.N.E., and at Noon we were by observation in the Latitude of 33° 50′ S., about 2 or 3 Miles from the Land, and abreast of a Bay, wherein there appear'd to be safe Anchorage, which I called Port Jackson. It lies 3 leagues to the Northward of Botany Bay. I had almost forgot to mention that it is high water in this Bay at the full and change of the Moon about 8 o'Clock, and rises and falls upon a Perpendicular about 4 or 5 feet.

SOME ACCOUNT OF NEW WALES

In the Course of this Journal I have at different times made mention of the Appearance or Aspect of the face of the Country, the Nature of the Soil, its produce, etc. By the first it will appear that the Southward of 33° or 34° the land in general is low and level, with very few Hills or Mountains; further to the Northward it may in some places be called a Hilly, but hardly anywhere can be called a Mountainous, Country, for the Hills and Mountains put together take up but a small part of the Surface in Comparison to what the Planes and Valleys do which intersect or divide these Hills and Mountains. It is indifferently well water'd, even in the dry Seasons, with small brooks and Springs, but no great Rivers, unless it be in the Wet Season, when the low lands and Vallies near the Sea, I do suppose, are mostly laid under Water. The Small Brooks may then become large Rivers ; but this can only happen with the Tropick. It was only in Thirsty Sound that we could find no fresh Water, and that no doubt was owing to the Country being there very much intersected with Salt Creeks and Mangrove land.

The low land by the Sea, and even as far in land as we were, is for the most part friable, loose, sandy Soil yet indifferently fertile, and Cloathed with woods, long grass, shrubs, plants, etc. The Mountains or Hills are checquer'd with woods and Lawns ; some of the Hills are wholy cover'd with Flourishing Trees ; others but thinly, and the few that are upon them are small, and the spot of Lawns or Savannahs are rocky and barren, especially to the Northward, where the Country did not afford or produce near the Vegetation that it does to the Southward, nor were the Trees in the Woods half so tall and stout. The Woods do not produce any great variety of Trees ; there are only 2 or 3 sorts that can be called Timber. The largest is the gum Tree, which grows all over the country ; the wood of this Tree is too hard and ponderous for most common uses. The Tree which resembles our Pines I saw nowhere in perfection but in Botany Bay ; this wood, as I have before observed, is something of the same Nature as American Live Oak ; in short, most of the large Trees in this Country are of a hard and ponderous nature, and could not be applied to many purposes. Here are several sorts of the Palm kind, Mangrove, and several other sorts of small Trees and Shrubs quite unknown to me, besides a very great number of Plants hitherto unknown ; but these things are wholy out of my way to describe, nor will this be of any loss, since not only plants, but everything that can be of use to the Learned World will be very accurately described by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander.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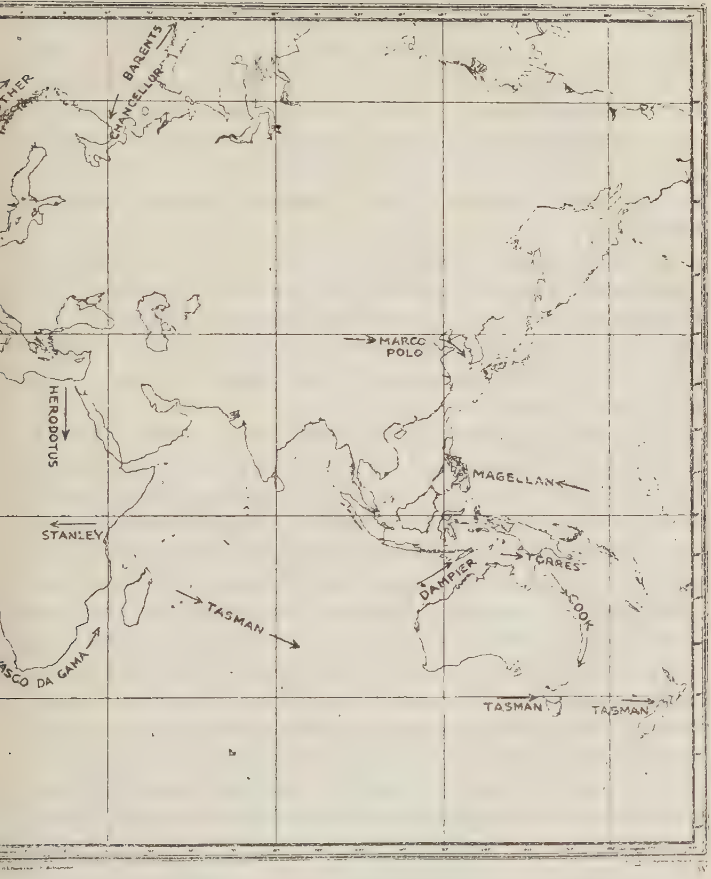
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f the World

rers whose narratives make up the text

The Land naturally produces hardly anything fit for Man to eat, and the Natives know nothing of Cultivation. There are, indeed, growing wild in the wood a few sorts of Fruit (the most of them unknown to us), which when ripe do not eat amiss, one sort especially, which we called Apples, being about the size of a Crab Apple ; it is black and pulpey when ripe, and tastes like a Damson ; it hath a large hard stone or Kernel, and grows on Trees or Shrubs.

In the Northern parts of the Country, as about Endeavour River, and probably in many other places, the Boggy or watery Lands produce Taara or Cocos, which, when properly cultivated, are very good roots, without which they are hardly eatable ; the Tops, however, make very good greens.

Land Animals are scarce, so far as we know confin'd to a very few species ; all that we saw I have before mentioned. The sort which is in the greatest Plenty is the Kangooroo or Kanguru, so called by the Natives ; we saw a good many of them about Endeavour River, but kill'd only 3, which we found very good Eating. Here are likewise Lizards, Snakes, Scorpions, Centapees, etc. but not in any plenty. Tame Animals they have none but Dogs, and of these we saw but one, and therefore must be very scarce, probably they eat them faster than they breed them ; we should not have seen this one had he not made us frequent Visits while we lay in Endeavour River.

The land Fowls are Bustards, Eagles, Hawks, Crows, such as we have in England, Cockatoes of 2 sorts, White and Brown, very beautiful Birds of the Parrot kind, such as Lorryquets, etc., Pidgeons, Doves, Quails and several sorts of smaller birds. The Sea and Water Fowls are Herons, Boobies, Noddies, Guls, Curlews, Ducks, Pelicans, etc., and when Mr. Banks and Mr. Gore where in the Country, at the head of Endeavour River, they saw and heard in the Night great numbers of Geese. The Sea is indifferently well stocked with fish of Various sorts, such as Sharks, Dog-fish, Rock-fish, Mullets, Breams, Cavallies, Mack'rel, old wives, Leather Jackets, Five Fingers, Sting rays, Whip rays, etc., all excellent in their kind. The Shell fish are Oysters of 3 or 4 sorts, viz., Rock Oysters and Mangrove Oysters, which are small, Pearl Oysters and Mud Oysters ; these last are the best and Largest I ever saw. Cockles and Clams of several sorts, many of those that are found upon the Reefs are of a prodigious size, Craw fish, Crabs, Muscles, and a variety of other sorts. Here are also upon the Shoals and Reefs great Numbers of the finest Green Turtle in the world, and in the River and Salt Creeks are some Aligators.

The Natives of this Country are of a middle Stature, streight Bodied and Slender limb'd ; their Skins the Colour of Wood soot, their Hair mostly black, some Lank and others curled ; they all wear it Cropt Short ; their Beards, which are generally black, they likewise crop short, or Singe off. There features are far from being disagreeable, and their Voices are soft and Tunable. They go quite Naked, both Men and Women, without any manner of Cloathing whatever ; even the Women do not so much as cover their privities, altho' none of us was ever very near any of their Women, one Gentleman excepted, yet we are all of us as well satisfied of this as if we had lived among them. Notwithstanding we had several interviews with the Men while we lay in Endeavour River, yet, whether through Jealousy or disregard, they never brought any of their women along with them to the Ship, but always left them on the Opposite side of the River, where we had frequent Opportunities viewing them thro' our Glasses. They wear as Ornaments, Necklaces made of Shells, Bracelets, or Hoops, about their Arms, made mostly of Hair Twisted and made like a Cord Hoop ; these they wear tight about the upper parts of their Arms, and some have Girdles made in the same manner. The Men wear a bone, about 3 or 4 inches long and a finger's thick, run thro' the Bridge of their Nose ; they likewise have holes in their Ears for Ear Rings, but we never saw them wear any ; neither are all the other

Ornaments wore in Common, for we have seen as many without as with them. Some of these we saw on Possession Island wore breast plates, which we supposed were made of Mother of Pearl Shells. Many of them paint their Bodies and faces with a Sort of White paste or Pigment; this they apply different ways, each according to his fancy.

Their offensive weapons are Darts; some are only pointed at one end, others are barb'd, some with wood, others with Stings of rays, and some with Sharks' Teeth, etc.; these last are stuck fast on with Gum. They throw the Darts with only one hand, in the doing of which they make use of a piece of wood about 3 feet long, made thin like the blade of a Cutlass, with a little hook at one End, to take hold of the End of the dart, and at the other end is fix'd a thin piece of bone about 3 or 4 Inches long; the use of this is, I believe, to keep the dart steady, and to make it quit the hand in a proper direction. By the helps of these throwing sticks, as we call them, they will hit a mark at the Distance of 40 or 50 yards, with almost, if not as much, Certainty as we can do with a Musquet, and much more so than with a ball. These throwing sticks we at first took for wooden swords, and perhaps on some occasions they may use them as such; that is, when all their darts are expended. Be this as it may, they never Travel without both them and their Darts, not for fear of Enemies, but for killing of Game, etc., as I shall show hereafter. There defensive weapons are Targets, made of wood; but these we never saw used but once in Botany Bay.

I do not look upon them to be a warlike people; on the contrary, I think them as Timerous and inoffensive race, no ways inclined to Cruelty, as appear'd from their behaviour to one of our people in Endeavour River, which I have before mentioned, neither are they very numerous. They live in small parties along by the Sea Coast, the banks of Lakes, Rivers, Creeks, etc. They seem to have no fixed habitation, but move about from place to place like wild beasts in search of Food, and, I believe, depend wholy upon the Success of the present day for their Subsistance. They have wooden fish Gigs, with 2, 3, or 4 prongs, each very ingeniously made, with which they strike fish. We have also seen them strike both fish and birds with their Darts. With these they likewise kill other Animals ; they have also wooden Harpoons for striking Turtle, but of these I believe they get but few, except at the seasons they come ashore to lay. In short, these people live wholy by fishing and hunting, but mostly by the former, for we never saw one Inch of Cultivated land in the whole Country. They know, however, the use of Taara, and sometimes eat them ; we do not know that they Eat anything raw, but roast or broil all they eat on slow small fires. Their Houses are mean, small Hovels, not much bigger than an Oven, made of Peices of Sticks, Bark, Grass, etc. and even these are seldom used but in the Wet seasons, for in the daytimes we know they as often sleep in the Open Air as anywhere else. We have seen many of their Sleeping places, where there has been only some branches or peices of Bark, grass, etc., about a foot high on the Windward side.

Their Canoes are as mean as can be conceived, especially to the Southward, where all we saw were made of one peice of the Bark of Trees about 12 or 14 feet long, drawn or Tied together at one end. As I have before made mention, these Canoes will not Carry above 2 people, in general there is never more than one in them ; but, bad as they are, they do very well for the purpose they apply them to, better than if they were larger, for as they draw but little water they go in them upon the Mud banks, and pick up Shell fish, etc., without going out of the Canoe. The few Canoes we saw to the Northward were made out of a Log of wood hollow'd out, about 14 feet long and very narrow, with out-riggers ; these will carry 4 people. During our whole stay in Endeavour River we saw but one Canoe, and had great reason to think that the few people that resided about that place had no more ; this one served them to cross the River and to go a Fishing in, They attend the Shoals, and flatts, one where or another, every day at low water to gather Shell fish, or whatever they can find to eat, and have each a little bag to put what they get in ; this bag is made of net work. They have not the least knowledge of Iron or any other Metal that we know of ; their working Tools must be made of Stone, bone, and Shells ; those made of the former are very bad, if I may judge from one of their Adzes I have seen.

Bad and mean as their Canoes are, they at Certain seasons of the Year (so far as we know) go in them to the most distant Islands which lay upon the Coast, for we never landed upon one but what we saw signs of People having been there before. We were surprised to find Houses, etc., upon Lizard Island, which lies 5 Leagues from the nearest part of the Main ; a distance we before thought they could not have gone in their Canoes.

The Coast of this Country, at least so much of it as lays to the Northward of 25° of Latitude, abounds with a great Number of fine bays and Harbours, which are Shelter'd from all winds ; but the Country itself, so far as we know, doth not produce any one thing that can become an Article in Trade to invite Europeans to fix a settlement upon it. However, this Eastern side is not that barren and miserable country that Dampier and others have described the Western side to be. We are to consider that we see this country in the pure state of nature ; the Industry of Man has had nothing to do with any part of it, and yet we find all such things as nature hath bestow'd upon it in a flourishing state. In this Extensive Country it can never be doubted but what most sorts of Grain, Fruit, roots, etc., of every kind would flourish here were they once brought hither, planted and Cultivated by the hands of Industry ; and here are Provender for more Cattle, at all seasons of the Year, than ever can be brought into the Country. When one considers the Proximity of this Country with New Guinea, New Britain, and several other Islands which produce Cocoa Nutts and many other fruits proper for the support of man, it seems strange that they should not long ago be Transplanted here ; by its not being done it should seem that the Natives of this Country have no commerce with their Neighbours, the New Guineans. It is very probable that they are a different people, and speak a different Language.

From what I have said of the Natives of New Holland they may appear to some to be the most wretched People upon Earth ; but in reality they are far more happier than we Europeans, being wholy unacquainted not only with the Superfluous, but with the necessary Conveniences so much sought after in Europe ; they are happy in not knowing the use of them. They live in a Tranquility which is not disturbed by the Inequality of Condition. The earth and Sea of their own accord furnishes them with all things necessary for Life. They covet not Magnificient Houses, Household-stuff, etc. ; they live in a Warm and fine Climate, and enjoy every wholesome Air, so that they have very little need of Cloathing ; and this they seem to be fully sensible of, for many to whom we gave Cloth, etc., let it carelessly upon the Sea beach and in the Woods, as a thing they had no manner of use for ; in short, they seem'd to set no Value upon anything we gave them, nor would they ever part with anything of their own for any one Article we could offer them. This, in my opinion, Argues that they think themselves provided with all the necessarys of Life, and that they have no Superfluities.

MUNGO PARK

The following chapter contains those portions of Mungo Park's own Journal which find him in the deepest portion of the Niger country, as near the source of the river as he was ever destined to go. The point of his farthest advance is about 1° 40′ *west longitude and about* 14° 50′ *north latitude. The author was in a rather desperate plight, but by his endless good humour and unlimited resourcefulness he contrived to get himself out of some very tight corners and succeeds in amusing the reader while he thrills him.*

Park had previously been in the East Indies in 1793 *and, finding that an association of noblemen and gentlemen had been formed "for the purpose of prosecuting discoveries in the interior of Africa and were desirous of engaging a person to explore that continent by way of the Gambia river," he offered his services through the President of the Royal Society. His application was accepted, he was given a letter of credit for two hundred pounds, and on the 22nd May,* 1795, *he sailed. His* Journal of Travels *was published in* 1799.

MUNGO PARK

The author proceeds to Wassiboo—Is joined by some fugitive Kaartans, who accompany him in his route through Bamgarra—Discovers the Niger—Some account of Sego, the capital of Bambarra—Mansong, the king, refuses to see the author, but sends him a present—Great hospitality of a negro woman.

WAWRA is a small town surrounded with high walls, and inhabited by a mixture of Mandingoes and Foulahs. The inhabitants employ themselves chiefly in cultivating corn, which they exchange with the Moors for salt. Here, being in security from the Moors, and very much fatigued, I resolved to rest myself ; and meeting with a hearty welcome from the Dooty, whose name was Flancharee, I laid myself down upon a bullock's hide, and slept soundly for about two hours. The curiosity of the people would not allow me to sleep any longer. They had seen my saddle and bridle, and were assembled in great number to learn who I was, and whence I came. Some were of opinion that I was an Arab ; others insisted that I was some Moorish Sultan ; and they continued to debate the matter with such warmth, that the noise awoke me. The Dooty (who had formerly been at Gambia) at last interposed in my behalf, and assured them that I was certainly a white man ; but he was convinced, from my appearance, that I was a very poor one.

In the course of the day, several women, hearing that I was going to Sego, came and begged me to inquire of Mansong, the king, what was become of their children. One woman, in particular, told me that her son's name was Mamadee ; that he was no Heathen, but prayed to God morning and evening, and had been taken from her about three years ago, by Mansong's army ; since which she had never heard of him. She said, she often dreamed about him; and begged me, if I should see him, either in Bambarra, or in my own country, to tell him, that his mother and sister were still alive. In the afternoon, the Dooty examined the contents of the leather bag, in which I had packed up my clothes; but finding nothing that was worth taking, he returned it, and told me to depart in the morning.

July 6th. It rained very much in the night, and at daylight I departed, in company with a Negro, who was going to a town called Dingyee for corn; but we had not proceeded above a mile before the ass upon which he rode kicked him off, and he returned, leaving me to prosecute the journey by myself.

I reached Dingyee about noon; but the Dooty and most of the inhabitants had gone into the fields to cultivate corn. An old Foulah, observing me wandering about the town, desired me to come to his hut, where I was well entertained; and the Dooty, when he returned, sent me some victuals for myself, and corn for my horse.

July 7th. In the morning, when I was about to depart, my landlord, with a great deal of diffidence, begged me to give him a lock of my hair. He had been told, he said, that white men's hair made a saphie, that would give to the possessor all the knowledge of white men. I had never before heard of so simple a mode of education, but instantly complied with the request; and my landlord's thirst for learning was such, that, with cutting and pulling, he cropped one side of my head pretty closely; and would have done the same with the other, had I not signified my disapprobation by putting on my hat, and assuring him, that I wished to reserve some of this precious merchandise for a future occasion.

I reached a small town called Wassiboo, about twelve o'clock, where I was obliged to stop until an opportunity should offer of procuring a guide to Satilé, which is distant a very long day's journey, through woods without any beaten path. I accordingly took up my residence at the Dooty's house, where I stayed four days; during which time I amused myself by going to the fields with the family to plant corn. Cultivation is carried on here on a very extensive scale; and, as the natives themselves express it, " hunger is never known." In cultivating the soil, the men and women work together. They use a large sharp hoe, much superior to that used in Gambia: but they are obliged, for fear of the Moors, to carry their arms with them to the field. The master, with the handle of his spear, marks the field into regular plats, one of which is assigned to every three slaves.

On the evening of the 11th, eight of the fugitive Kaartans arrived at Wassiboo. They had found it impossible to live under the tyrannical government of the Moors, and were now going to transfer their allegiance to the King of Bambarra. They offered to take me along with them as far as Satilé; and I accepted the offer.

July 12th. At daybreak we set out, and travelled with uncommon expedition until sunset: we stopped only twice in the course of the day; once at a watering-place in the woods, and another time at the ruins of a town, formerly belonging to Daisy, called *Illa-Compe* (the corn town). When we arrived in the neighbourhood of Satilé, the people who were employed in the corn fields, seeing so many horsemen took us for a party of Moors, and ran screaming away from us. The whole town was instantly alarmed, and the slaves were seen, in every direction, driving the cattle and horses towards the town. It was in vain that one of our company galloped up to undeceive them: it only frightened them the more; and when we arrived at the town, we found the gates shut, and the people all under arms. After a long parley, we were permitted to enter; and, as there was every appearance of a heavy tornado, the Dooty allowed us to sleep in his baloon, and gave us each a bullock's hide for a bed.

July 13th. Early in the morning we again set forward. The roads were wet and slippery, but the country was very beautiful, abounding with rivulets, which were increased by the rain into rapid streams. About ten o'clock we came to the ruins of a village, which had been destroyed by war about six months before: and in order to prevent any town from being built there in future, the large Bentang tree, under which the natives spent the day, had been burnt down; the wells filled up; and everything that could make the spot desirable, completely destroyed.

About noon, my horse was so much fatigued that I could not keep up with my companions; I therefore dismounted, and desired them to ride on, telling them, that I would follow as soon as my horse had rested a little. But I found them unwilling to leave me; the lions, they said, were very numerous in those parts, and though they might not so readily attack a body of people, they would soon find out an individual; it was therefore agreed, that one of the company should stay with me, to assist in driving my horse, while the others passed on to Galloo, to procure lodgings, and collect grass for the horses before night. Accompanied by this worthy Negro, I drove my horse before me until about four o'clock, when we came in sight of Galloo, a considerable town, standing in a fertile and beautiful valley, surrounded with high rocks.

As my companions had thoughts of settling in this neighbourhood, they had a fine sheep given them by the Dooty; and I was fortunate enough to procure plenty of corn for my horse. Here they blow upon elephants' teeth when they announce evening prayers, in the same manner as at Kemmoo.

Early next morning (July 14th), having first returned many thanks to our landlord for his hospitality while my fellow-travellers offered up their prayers that he might never want, we set forward; and about three o'clock arrived at Moorja: a large town, famous for its trade in salt, which the Moors bring here in great quantities, to exchange for corn and cotton cloth. As most of the people here are Mahomedans, it is not allowed to the Kafirs to drink beer, which they call *Neo-dollo* (corn spirit), except in certain houses. In one of these I saw about twenty people sitting round large vessels of this beer, with the greatest conviviality; many of them in a state of intoxication. As corn is plentiful, the inhabitants are very liberal to strangers; I believe we had as much corn and milk sent us by different people, as would have been sufficient for three times our number; and though we remained here two days, we experienced no diminution of their hospitality.

On the morning of the 16th, we again set forward, accompanied by a coffle of fourteen asses, loaded with salt, bound for Sansanding. The road was particularly romantic, between two rocky hills; but the Moors sometimes lie in wait here to plunder strangers. As soon as we had reached the open country, the master of the salt coffle thanked us for having stayed with him so long, and now desired us to ride on. The sun was almost set before we reached Datliboo. In the evening we had a most tremendous tornado. The house in which we lodged, being flat-roofed, admitted the rain in streams; the floor was soon ankle deep, the fire extinguished, and we were left to pass the night upon some bundles of fire wood, that happened to lie in a corner.

July 17th. We departed from Datliboo; and about ten o'clock passed a large coffle returning from Sego, with corn hoes, mats, and other household utensils. At five o'clock we came to a large village, where we intended to pass the night, but the Dooty would not receive us. When we departed from this place, my horse was so much fatigued that I was under the necessity of driving him, and it was dark before we reached Fanimboo, a small village; the Dooty of which no sooner heard that I was a white man, than he brought out three old muskets, and was much disappointed when he was told that I could not repair them.

July 18th. We continued our journey; but, owing to a light supper the preceding night, we felt ourselves rather hungry this morning, and endeavoured to procure some corn at a village; but without success. The towns were now more numerous, and the land that is not employed in cultivation affords excellent pasturage for large herds of cattle; but owing to the great concourse of people daily going to and returning from Sego, the inhabitants are less hospitable to strangers.

My horse becoming weaker and weaker every day, was now of very little service to me: I was obliged to drive him before me for the greater part of the day; and did not reach Geosorro until eight o'clock in the evening. I found my companions wrangling with the Dooty, who had absolutely refused to give or sell them any provisions; and as none of us had tasted victuals for the last twenty-four hours, we were by no means disposed to fast another day, if we could help it. But finding our entreaties without effect, and being very much fatigued, I fell asleep, from which I was awakened, about midnight, with the joyful information "*kinnenata*" (the victuals is come). This made the remainder of the night pass away pleasantly; and at daybreak, July 19th, we resumed our journey, proposing to stop at a village called Doolinkeaboo, for the night following. My fellow travellers, having better horses than myself, soon left me, and I was walking barefoot, driving my horse, when I was met by a coffle of slaves, about seventy in number, coming from Sego. They were tied together by their necks with thongs of a bullock's hide, twisted like a rope; seven slaves upon a thong; and a man with a musket between every seven. Many of the slaves were ill conditioned, and a great number of them women. In the rear came Sidi Mahomed's servant, whom I remembered to have seen at the camp of Benowm: he presently knew me, and told me that these slaves were going to Morocco, by the way of Ludamar, and the Great Desert.

In the afternoon, as I approached Doolinkeaboo, I met about twenty Moors on horseback, the owners of the slaves I had seen in the morning; they were well armed with muskets, and were very inquisitive concerning me, but not so rude as their countrymen generally are. From them I learned that Sidi Mahomed was not at Sego, but had gone to Kancaba for gold-dust.

When I arrived at Doolinkeaboo, I was informed that my fellow-travellers had gone on ; but my horse was so much fatigued that I could not possibly proceed after them. The Dooty of the town at my request, gave me a draught of water, which is generally looked upon as an earnest of greater hospitality ; and I had no doubt of making up for the toils of the day, by a good supper and a sound sleep : unfortunately, I had neither one nor the other. The night was rainy and tempestuous, and the Dooty limited his hospitality to the draught of water.

July 20th. In the morning I endeavoured, both by entreaties, and threats, to procure some victuals from the Dooty, but in vain. I even begged some corn from one of his female slaves, as she was washing it at the well, and had the mortification to be refused. However, when the Dooty was gone to the fields, his wife sent me a handful of meal, which I mixed with water, and drank for breakfast. About eight o'clock, I departed from Doolinkeaboo, and at noon stopped a few minutes at a large Korree ; where I had some milk given me by the Foulahs. And hearing that two Negroes were going from thence to Sego, I was happy to have their company, and we set out immediately. About four o'clock we stopped at a small village, where one of the Negroes met with an acquaintance, who invited us to a sort of public entertainment, which was conducted with more than common propriety. A dish made of sour milk and meal, called *Sinkatoo*, and beer made from their corn, was distributed with great liberality ; and the women were admitted into the society : a circumstance I had never before observed in Africa. There was no compulsion ; every one was at liberty to drink as he pleased : they nodded to each other when about to drink, and on setting down the calabash, commonly said *berka* (thank you). Both men and women appeared to be somewhat intoxicated, but they were far from being quarrelsome.

Departing from thence, we passed several large villages where I was constantly taken for a Moor, and became the subject of much merriment to the Bambarrans ; who, seeing me drive my horse before me, laughed heartily at my appearance.—He has been at Mecca, says one ; you may see that by his clothes : another asked if my horse was sick ; a third wished to purchase it, &c. ; so that I believe the very slaves were ashamed to be seen in my company. Just before it was dark, we took up our lodging for the night at a small village, where I procured some victuals for myself and some corn for my horse, at the moderate price of a button ; and was told that I should see the Niger (which the Negroes call Joliba or *the great water*), early the next day. The lions are here very numerous : the gates are shut a little after sunset, and nobody allowed to go out. The thoughts of seeing the Niger in the morning, and the troublesome buzzing of musketoes, prevented me from shutting my eyes during the night ; and I had saddled my horse, and was in readiness before daylight ; but, on account of the wild beasts, we were obliged to wait until the people were stirring, and the gates opened. This happened to be a market day at Sego, and the roads were everywhere filled with people carrying different articles to sell. We passed four large villages, and at eight o'clock saw the smoke over Sego.

As we approached the town, I was fortunate enough to overtake the fugitive Kaartans, to whose kindness I had been so much indebted in my journey through Bambarra. They readily agreed to introduce me to the king ; and we rode together through some marshy ground, where, as I was anxiously looking around for the river, one of them called out, *geo affilli* (see the water) ; and looking forwards, I saw with infinite pleasure the great object of my mission ; the long sought for majestic Niger, glittering to the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing slowly *to the eastward*. I hastened to the brink, and, having drank of the water, lifted up my fervent thanks in prayer, to the Great Ruler of all things, for having thus far crowned my endeavours with success.

The circumstance of the Niger's flowing towards the east, and its collateral points, did not, however, excite my surprise; for although I had left Europe in great hesitation on this subject, and rather believed that it ran in the contrary direction, I had made such frequent inquiries during my progress, concerning this river; and received from Negroes of different nations, such clear and decisive assurances that its general course was *towards the rising sun*, as scarce left any doubt on my mind; and more especially as I knew that Major Houghton had collected similar information, in the same manner.

Sego, the capital of Bambarra, at which I had now arrived, consists, properly speaking, of four distinct towns; two on the northern bank of the Niger, called Sego Korro, and Sego Boo; and two on the southern bank, called Sego Soo Korro, and Sego See Korro. They are all surrounded with high mud walls; the houses are built of clay, of a square form, with flat roofs; some of them have two stories, and many of them are white-washed. Besides these buildings, Moorish mosques are seen in every quarter; and the streets, though narrow, are broad enough for every useful purpose, in a country where wheel carriages are entirely unknown. From the best inquiries I could make, I have reason to believe that Sego contains altogether about thirty thousand inhabitants. The King of Bambarra constantly resides at Sego See Korro; he employs a great many slaves in conveying people over the river, and the money they receive (though the fare is only ten Kowrie shells for each individual) furnishes a considerable revenue to the king, in the course of a year. The canoes are of a singular construction, each of them being formed of the trunks of two large trees, rendered concave, and joined together, not side by side, but end ways; the junction being exactly across the middle of the canoe: they are therefore very long and disproportionably narrow, and have neither decks nor masts; they are, however, very roomy; for I observed in one of them four horses, and several people crossing over the river. When we arrived at this ferry, with a view to pass over to that part of the town in which the king resides, we found a great number waiting for a passage; they looked at me with silent wonder, and I distinguished, with concern, many Moors among them. There were three different places of embarkation, and the ferrymen were very diligent and expeditious; but, from the crowd of people, I could not immediately obtain a passage; and sat down upon the bank of the river, to wait for a more favourable opportunity. The view of this extensive city; the numerous canoes upon the river; the crowded population and the cultivated state of the surrounding country, formed altogether a prospect of civilisation and magnificence, which I little expected to find in the bosom of Africa.

I waited more than two hours without having an opportunity of crossing the river; during which time the people who had crossed, carried information to Mansong the King, that a white man was waiting for a passage, and was coming to see him. He immediately sent over one of his chief men, who informed me that the king could not possibly see me until he knew what had brought me into his country; and that I must not presume to cross the river without the king's permission. He therefore advised me to lodge at a distant village, to which he pointed, for the night; and said that in the morning he would give me further instructions how to conduct myself. This was very discouraging. However, as there was no remedy, I set off for the village; where I found, to my great mortification, that no person would admit me into his house. I was regarded with astonishment and fear, and was obliged to sit all day without victuals, in the shade of a tree; and the night threatened to be very uncomfortable, for the wind rose, and there was great appearance of a heavy rain; and the wild beasts are so very numerous in the neighbourhood that I should have been under the necessity of climbing up the tree, and resting among the branches.

About sunset, however, as I was preparing to pass the night in this manner, and had turned my horse loose, that he might graze at liberty, a woman, returning from the labours of the field, stopped to observe me, and perceiving that I was weary and dejected, inquired into my situation, which I briefly explained to her : whereupon, with looks of great compassion, she took up my saddle and bridle and told me to follow her. Having conducted me into her hut, she lighted up a lamp, spread a mat on the floor, and told me I might remain there for the night. Finding that I was very hungry, she said she would procure me something to eat. She accordingly went out, and returned in a short time with a very fine fish ; which having caused to be half broiled upon some embers, she gave me for supper. The rites of hospitality being thus performed towards a stranger in distress, my worthy benefactress (pointing to the mat, and telling me I might sleep there without apprehension) called to the female part of her family, who had stood gazing on me all the while in fixed astonishment, to resume their task of spinning cotton ; in which they continued to employ themselves great part of the night. They lightened their labour by songs, one of which was composed extempore ; for I was myself the subject of it. It was sung by one of the young women, the rest joining in a sort of chorus. The air was sweet and plaintive, and the words, literally translated, were these.—" The winds roared, and the rains fell.—The poor white man, faint and weary, came and sat under our tree.—He has no mother to bring him milk ; no wife to grind his corn. *Chorus*. Let us pity the white man ; no mother has he, etc., etc."—Trifling as this recital may appear to the reader, to a person in my situation, the circumstance was affecting in the highest degree. I was oppressed by such unexpected kindness ; and sleep fled from my eyes. In the morning I presented my compassionate landlady with two of the four brass buttons which remained on my waistcoat : the only recompense I could make her.

July 21st. I continued in the village all this day, in conversation with the natives, who came in crowds to see me ; but was rather uneasy towards evening, to find that no message had arrived from the king ; the more so, as the people began to whisper, that Mansong had received some very unfavourable accounts of me, from the Moors and Slatees residing at Sego ; who it seems were exceedingly suspicious concerning the motives of my journey. I learnt that many consultations had been held with the king, concerning my reception and disposal : and some of the villagers frankly told me, that I had many enemies, and must expect no favour.

July 22nd. About eleven o'clock, a messenger arrived from the king ; but he gave me very little satisfaction. He inquired particularly if I had brought any present ; and seemed much disappointed when he was told that I had been robbed of everything by the Moors. When I proposed to go along with him, he told me to stop until the afternoon, when the king would send for me.

July 23rd. In the afternoon another messenger arrived from Mansong with a bag in his hands. He told me it was the king's pleasure that I should depart forthwith from the vicinage of Sego : but that Mansong, wishing to relieve a white man in distress, had sent me five thousand Kowries, to enable me to purchase provisions in the course of my journey ; the messenger added that if my intentions were really to proceed to Jenné, he had orders to accompany me as a guide to Sansanding. I was, at first, puzzled to account for this behaviour of the king ; but from the conversation I had with the guide, I had afterward reason to believe that Mansong would willingly have admitted me into his presence at Sego ; but was apprehensive he might not be able to protect me, against the blind and inveterate malice of the Moorish inhabitants. His conduct, therefore, was at once prudent and liberal. The circumstances under which I made my appearance at Sego, were undoubtedly such as might create in the mind of the king, a well warranted suspicion that I wished to conceal the true object of my journey. He argued, probably, as my guide argued : who, when he was told, that I had come from a great distance, and through many dangers, to behold the Joliba river, naturally inquired, if there were no rivers in my own country, and whether one river was not like another. Notwithstanding this, and in spite of the jealous machinations of the Moors, this benevolent prince thought it sufficient, that a white man was found in his dominions, in a condition of extreme wretchedness; and that no other plea was necessary to entitle the sufferer to his bounty.

Departure from Sego, and arrival at Kabba—Description of the Shea, or vegetable butter tree—The author and his guide arrive at Sansanding—Behaviour of the Moors at that place—The author pursues his journey to the eastward—Incidents on the road—Arrives at Modiboo, and proceeds for Kea; but obliged to leave his horse by the way—Embarks at Kea in a fisherman's canoe for Moorzan; is conveyed from thence across the Niger to Silla—Determines to proceed no further eastward—Some account of the further course of the Niger, and the towns in its vicinage, towards the east.

Being, in the manner that has been related, compelled to leave Sego, I was conducted the same evening to a village about seven miles to the eastward, with some of the inhabitants of which my guide was acquainted, and by whom we were well received. He was very friendly and communicative, and spoke highly of the hospitality of his countrymen; but withal told me, that if Jenné was the place of my destination, which he seemed to have hitherto doubted, I had undertaken an enterprize of greater danger than probably I was apprized of; for, although the town of Jenné was, nominally, a part of the King of Bambarra's dominions, it was in fact, he said, a city of the Moors; the leading part of the inhabitants being Bushreens, and even the Governor himself, though appointed by Mansong, of the same sect. Thus was I in danger of falling a second time into the hands of men who would consider it not only justifiable, but meritorious, to destroy me; and this reflection was aggravated by the circumstance that the danger increased, as I advanced in my journey: for

I learned that the places beyond Jennê were under the Moorish influence, in a still greater degree than Jennê itself: and Tombuctoo, the great object of my search, altogether in possession of that savage and merciless people, who allow no Christian to live there.

But I had now advanced too far to think of returning to the westward, on such vague and uncertain information, and determined to proceed; and being accompanied by the guide, I departed from the village on the morning of the 24th. About eight o'clock, we passed a large town called Kabba, situated in the midst of a beautiful and highly cultivated country; bearing a greater resemblance to the centre of England, than to what I should have supposed had been the middle of Africa. The people were every where employed in collecting the fruit of the Shea trees, from which they prepare the vegetable butter mentioned in former parts of this work.—These trees grow in great abundance all over this part of Bambarra. They are not planted by the natives, but are found growing naturally in the woods; and in clearing woodland for cultivation, every tree is cut down but the Shea. The tree itself, very much resembles the American oak; and the fruit, from the kernel of which, being first dried in the sun, the butter is prepared, by boiling the kernel in water, has somewhat the appearance of a Spanish olive. The kernel is enveloped in a sweet pulp, under a thin green rind; and the butter produced from it, besides the advantage of its keeping the whole year without salt, is whiter, firmer, and, to my palate, of a richer flavour than the best butter I ever tasted made from cow's milk. The growth and preparation of this commodity, seem to be among the first objects of African industry in this and the neighbouring states; and it constitutes a main article of their inland commerce.

We passed, in the course of the day, a great many villages inhabited chiefly by fishermen; and in the evening about five o'clock arrived at Sansanding; a very large town, containing, as I was told, from eight to ten thousand inhabitants. This place is much resorted to by the Moors, who bring salt from Beeroo, and beads and coral from the Mediterranean, to exchange here for gold-dust, and cotton-cloth. This cloth they sell to great advantage in Beeroo, and other Moorish countries, where, on account of the want of rain, no cotton is cultivated.

I desired my guide to conduct me to the house in which we were to lodge, by the most private way possible. We accordingly rode along between the town and the river, passing by a creek or harbour, in which I observed twenty large canoes, most of them fully loaded, and covered with mats, to prevent the rain from injuring the goods. As we proceeded, three other canoes arrived, two with passengers, and one with goods. I was happy to find that all the Negro inhabitants took me for a Moor; under which character I should probably have passed unmolested, had not a Moor, who was sitting by the riverside, discovered the mistake, and setting up a loud exclamation, brought together a number of his countrymen.

When I arrived at the house of Counti Mamadi, the Dooty of the town, I was surrounded with hundreds of people, speaking a variety of different dialects, all equally unintelligible to me. At length, by the assistance of my guide, who acted as interpreter, I understood that one of the spectators pretended to have seen me at one place, and another at some other place; and a Moorish woman absolutely swore that she had kept my house three years at Gallam, on the river Senegal. It was plain that they mistook me for some other person; and I desired two of the most confident, to point towards the place where they had seen me. They pointed due south; hence I think it probable that they came from Cape Coast, where they might have seen many white men. Their language was different from any I had yet heard.

The Moors now assembled in great numbers; with their usual arrogance, compelling the Negroes to stand at a distance. They immediately began to question me concerning my religion; but finding that I was not master of the Arabic, they sent for two men, whom they call *Ilhuidi* (Jews), in hopes that they might be able to converse with me. These Jews, in dress, and appearance, very much resemble the Arabs ; but though they so far conform to the religion of Mahomet as to recite, in public, prayers from the Koran, they are but little respected by the Negroes ; and even the Moors themselves allowed, that though I was a Christian, I was a better man than a Jew. They, however, insisted that, like the Jews, I must conform so far as to repeat the Mahomedan prayers ; and when I attempted to waive the subject by telling them that I could not speak Arabic, one of them, a Shereef from Tuat, in the Great Desert, started up and swore by the Prophet, that if I refused to go to the mosque, he would be one that would assist in carrying me thither. And there is no doubt but this threat would have been immediately executed, had not my landlord interposed in my behalf. He told them, that I was the king's stranger, and he could not see me ill treated, whilst I was under his protection. He therefore advised them to let me alone for the night ; assuring them, that, in the morning, I should be sent about my business.

This somewhat appeased their clamour ; but they compelled me to ascend a high seat, by the door of the mosque, in order that everybody might see me ; for the people had assembled in such numbers as to be quite ungovernable ; climbing upon the houses, and squeezing each other, like the spectators at an execution. Upon this seat I remained until sunset, when I was conducted into a neat little hut, with a small court before it ; the door of which Counti Mamadi shut, to prevent any person from disturbing me. But this precaution could not exclude the Moors. They climbed over the top of the mud-wall, and came in crowds into the court, in order, they said, to see me *perform my evening devotions, and eat eggs*. The former of these ceremonies, I did not think proper to comply with ; but I told them I had no objection to eat eggs, provided they would bring me eggs to eat. My landlord immediately brought me seven hen's eggs, and was much surprised to find that I could not eat them raw ; for it seems to be a prevalent opinion among the inhabitants of the interior, that Europeans subsist almost entirely on this diet. When I had succeeded, in persuading my landlord that this opinion was without foundation, and that I would gladly partake of any victuals which he might think proper to send me ; he ordered a sheep to be killed, and part of it to be dressed for my supper. About midnight, when the Moors had left me, he paid me a visit, and with much earnestness, desired me to write him a saphie. " If a Moor's saphie is good," (said this hospitable old man), " a white man's must needs be better." I readily furnished him with one, possessed of all the virtues I could concentrate ; for it contained the Lord's prayer. The pen with which it was written was made of a reed ; a little charcoal and gum-water made very tolerable ink, and a thin board answered the purpose of paper.

July 25th. Early in the morning, before the Moors were assembled, I departed from Sansanding, and slept the ensuing night at a small town called Sibili ; from whence, on the day following, I reached Nyara, a large town at some distance from the river, where I halted the 27th, to have my clothes washed, and recruit my horse. The Dooty there has a very commodious house, flat roofed, and two stories high. He showed me some gunpowder of his own manufacturing : and pointed out as a great curiosity a little brown monkey, that was tied to a stake by the door, telling me that it came from a far distant country, called Kong.

July 28th. I departed from Nyara, and reached Nyamee about noon. This town is inhabited chiefly by Foulahs, from the kingdom of Masina. The Dooty (I know not why), would not receive me, but civilly sent his son on horseback, to conduct me to Modiboo ; which, he assured me, was at no great distance.

We rode nearly in a direct line through the woods ; but in general went forwards with great circumspection. I observed that my guide frequently stopped, and looked under the bushes. On inquiring the reason of this caution, he told me that lions were very numerous in that part of the country, and frequently attacked people travelling through the woods. While he was speaking, my horse started, and looking round, I observed a large animal of the camelopard kind, standing at a little distance. The neck and fore legs were very long ; the head was furnished with two short black horns, turning backwards ; the tail, which reached down to the ham joint, had a tuft of hair at the end. The animal was of a mouse colour ; and it trotted away from us in a very sluggish manner ; moving its head from side to side, to see if we were pursuing it.

Shortly after this, as we were crossing a large open plain, where there were a few scattered bushes, my guide, who was a little way before me, wheeled his horse round in a moment, calling out something in the Foulah language, which I did not understand. I inquired in Mangingo what he meant ; *Wara billi billi*, a very large lion, said he ; and made signs for me to ride away. But my horse was too much fatigued ; so we rode slowly past the bush, from which the animal had given us the alarm. Not seeing any thing myself, however, I thought my guide had been mistaken, when the Foulah suddenly put his hand to his mouth, exclaiming, *Soubah an alluhi* (God preserve us!) and to my great surprise I then perceived a large red lion, at a short distance from the bush, with his head couched between his fore paws. I expected he would instantly spring upon me, and instinctively pulled my feet from my stirrups to throw myself on the ground, that my horse might become the victim rather than myself. But it is probable that the lion was not hungry ; for he quietly suffered us to pass, though we were fairly within his reach. My eyes were so riveted upon this sovereign of the beasts, that I found it impossible to remove them, until we were at a considerable distance.

We now took a circuitous route, through some swampy ground, to avoid any more of these disagreeable rencounters. At sunset we arrived at Modiboo, a delightful village on the banks of the Niger, commanding a view of the river for many miles, both to the east and west. The small green islands (the peaceful retreat of some industrious Foulahs, whose cattle are here secure from the depredations of wild beasts), and the majestic breadth of the river, which is here much larger than at Sego, render the situation one of the most enchanting in the world. Here are caught great plenty of fish, by means of long cotton nets, which the natives make themselves ; and use nearly in the same manner as nets are used in Europe. I observed the head of a crocodile lying upon one of the houses, which they told me had been killed by the shepherds, in a swamp near the town. These animals are not uncommon in the Niger ; but I believe they are not oftentimes found dangerous. They are of little account to the traveller, when compared with the amazing swarms of musquetoes, which rise from the swamps and creeks, in such numbers as to harass even the most torpid of the natives ; and as my clothes were now almost worn to rags, I was but ill prepared to resist their attacks. I usually passed the night, without shutting my eyes, walking backwards and forwards, fanning myself with my hat ; their stings raised numerous blisters on my legs and arms ; which, together with the want of rest, made me very feverish and uneasy.

July 29th. Early in the morning, my landlord observing that I was sickly, hurried me away ; sending a servant with me as a guide to Kea. But though I was little able to walk, my horse was still less able to carry me ; and about six miles to the east of Modiboo, in crossing some rough clayey ground, he fell ; and the united strength of the guide and myself, could not place him again upon his legs. I sat down for some time, beside this worn-out associate of my adventures ; but finding him still unable to rise, I took off the saddle and bridle, and placed a quantity of grass before him. I surveyed the poor animal, as he lay panting on the ground, with sympathetic emotion ; for I could not suppress the sad apprehension, that I should myself, in a short time, lie down and perish in the same manner, of fatigue and hunger. With this foreboding, I left my poor horse; and with great reluctance followed my guide on foot, along the bank of the river, until about noon ; when we reached Kea, which I found to be nothing more than a small fishing village. The Dooty, a surly old man, who was sitting by the gate received me very coolly : and when I informed him of my situation, and begged his protection, told me, with great indifference, that he paid very little attention to fine speeches, and that I should not enter his house. My guide remonstrated in my favour, but to no purpose ; for the Dooty remained inflexible in his determination. I knew not where to rest my wearied limbs, but was happily relieved by a fishing canoe, belonging to Silla, which was at that moment coming down the river. The Dooty waved to the fisherman to come near, and desired him to take charge of me as far as Moorzan. The fisherman, after some hesitation, consented to carry me ; and I embarked in the canoe, in company with the fisherman, his wife, and a boy. The Negro who had conducted me from Modiboo, now left me ; I requested him to look to my horse on his return, and take care of him if he was still alive, which he promised to do.

Departing from Kea, we proceeded about a mile down the river, when the fisherman paddled the canoe to the bank, and desired me to jump out. Having tied the canoe to a stake, he stripped off his clothes, and dived for such a length of time, that I thought he had actually drowned himself, and was surprised to see his wife behave with so much indifference upon the occasion ; but my fears were over when he raised up his head astern of the canoe, and called for a rope. With this rope he dived a second time, and then got into the canoe, and ordered the boy to assist him in pulling. At length, they brought up a large basket, about ten feet in diameter, containing two fine fish which the fisherman (after returning the basket into the water), immediately carried ashore, and hid in the grass. We then went a little further down, and took up another basket, in which was one fish. The fisherman now left us, to carry his prizes to some neighbouring market; and the woman and boy proceeded with me in the canoe, down the river.

About four o'clock we arrived at Moorzan, a fishing town on the northern bank; from whence I was conveyed across the river to Silla, a large town; wherein I remained until it was quite dark, under a tree, surrounded by hundreds of people. But their language was very different from the other parts of Bambarra; and I was informed that in my progress eastward, the Bambarra tongue was but little understood, and that when I reached Jenné, I should find that the majority of the inhabitants spoke a different language, called *Jenné Kummo*, by the Negroes; and *Kalam Soudan*, by the Moors.

With a great deal of intreaty, the Dooty allowed me to come into his baloon, to avoid the rain; but the place was very damp, and I had a smart paroxysm of fever during the night. Worn down by sickness, exhausted with hunger and fatigue; half naked, and without any article of value, by which I might procure provisions, clothes, or lodging; I began to reflect seriously on my situation. I was now convinced by painful experience, that the obstacles to my further progress were insurmountable. The tropical rains were already set in, with all their violence; the rice grounds and swamps were everywhere overflowed; and, in a few days more, travelling of every kind, unless by water, would be completely obstructed. The Kowries which remained of the King of Bambarra's present, were not sufficient to enable me to hire a canoe for any great distance; and I had but little hopes of subsisting by charity, in a country where the Moors have such influence. But above all, I perceived that I was advancing, more and more, within the power of those merciless fanatics; and from my reception both at Sego and Sansanding, I was apprehensive, that, in attempting to reach even Jenné (unless under the protection of some man of consequence amongst them, which I had no means of obtaining), I should sacrifice my life to no purpose; for my discoveries would perish with me. The prospect either way was gloomy. In returning to the Gambia, a journey on foot of many hundred miles, presented itself to my contemplation, through regions and countries unknown. Nevertheless, this seemed to be the only alternative ; for I saw inevitable destruction in attempting to proceed to the eastward. With this conviction on my mind, I hope my readers will acknowledge, that I did right in going no farther. I had made every effort to execute my mission in its fullest extent, which prudence could justify. Had there been the most distant prospect of a successful termination, neither the unavoidable hardships of the journey, nor the dangers of a second captivity, should have forced me to desist. This, however, necessity compelled me to do ; and whatever may be the opinion of my general readers on this point, it affords me inexpressible satisfaction, that my honourable employers have been pleased, since my return, to express their full approbation of my conduct.

Having thus brought my mind, after much doubt and perplexity, to a determination to return westward : I thought it incumbent on me, before I left Silla, to collect from the Moorish and Negro traders, all the information I could, concerning the further course of the Niger eastward ; and the situation and extent of the kingdoms in its vicinage ; and the following few notices I received from such various quarters, as induce me to think they are authentic.

Two short days' journey to the eastward of Silla, is the town of Jenné, which is situated on a small island in the river : and is said to contain a greater number of inhabitants than Sego itself, or any other town in Bambarra. At the distance of two days more, the river spreads into a considerable lake, called *Dibbie* (or the dark lake), concerning the extent of which, all the information I could obtain was, that in crossing it, from west to east, the canoes lose sight of land one whole day. From this lake the water issues in many different streams, which terminate in two large branches, one whereof flows towards the north-east, and the other to the east; but these branches join at Kabra, which is one day's journey to the southward of Tombuctoo, and is the port or shipping-place of that city. The tract of land which the two streams encircle, is called Jinbala, and is inhabited by Negroes; and the whole distance, by land, from Jenné to Tombuctoo, is twelve days' journey.

From Kabra, at the distance of eleven days' journey, down the stream, the river passes to the southward of Houssa, which is two days' journey distant from the river. Of the further progress of this great river, and its final exit, all the natives with whom I conversed, seemed to be entirely ignorant. Their commercial pursuits seldom induce them to travel further than the cities of Tombuctoo and Houssa; and as the sole object of those journeys is the acquirement of wealth, they pay but little attention to the course of rivers, or the geography of countries. It is, however, highly probable that the Niger affords a safe and easy communication between very remote nations. All my informants agreed, that many of the Negro merchants who arrive at Tombuctoo and Houssa, from the eastward, speak a different language from that of Bambarra, or any other kingdom with which they are acquainted. But even these merchants, it would seem, are ignorant of the termination of the river, for such of them as can speak Arabic, describe the amazing length of its course in very general terms; saying only that they believe it *runs to the world's end*.

The names of many kingdoms to the eastward of Houssa, are familiar to the inhabitants of Bambarra. I was shown quivers and arrows of very curious workmanship, which I was informed came from the kingdom of Kassina.

On the northern bank of the Niger, at a short distance from Silla, is the kingdom of Masina, which is inhabited by Foulahs. They employ themselves there, as in other places, chiefly in pasturage, and pay an annual tribute to the King of Bambarra, for the lands which they occupy.

To the north-east of Masina, is situated the kingdom of Tombuctoo, the great object of European research : the capital of this kingdom being one of the principal marts for that extensive commerce which the Moors carry on with the Negroes. The hopes of acquiring wealth in this pursuit, and zeal for propagating their religion, have filled this extensive city with Moors and Mahomedan converts ; the king himself, and all the chief officers of state are Moors ; and they are said to be more severe and intolerant in their principles than any other of the Moorish tribes in this part of Africa. I was informed by a venerable old Negro, that when he first visited Tombuctoo, he took up his lodging at a sort of public inn, the landlord of which, when he conducted him into his hut, spread a mat on the floor, and laid a rope upon it ; saying, " if you are a Mussulman, you are my friend, sit down ; but if you are a Kafir, you are my slave ; and with this rope I will lead you to market." The present King of Tombuctoo is named *Abu Abrahima* ; he is reported to possess immense riches. His wives and concubines are said to be clothed in silk, and the chief officers of state live in considerable splendour. The whole expence of his government is defrayed, as I was told, by a tax upon merchandise, which is collected at the gates of the city.

The city of Houssa (the capital of a large kingdom of the same name, situated to the eastward of Tombuctoo), is another great mart for Moorish commerce. I conversed with many merchants who had visited that city ; and they all agreed that it is larger, and more populous, than Tombuctoo. The trade, police, and government, are nearly the same in both : but in Houssa, the Negroes are in greater proportion to the Moors, and have some share in the Government.

Concerning the small kingdom of Jinbala, I was not able to collect much information. The soil is said to be remarkably fertile, and the whole country so full of creeks and swamps, that the Moors have hitherto been baffled in every attempt to subdue it. The inhabitants are Negroes, and some of them are said to live in considerable affluence, particularly those near the capital ; which is a resting-place for such merchants as transport goods from Tombuctoo to the western parts of Africa.

To the southward of Jinbala, is situated the Negro kingdom of Gotto, which is said to be of great extent. It was formerly divided into a number of petty states, which were governed by their own chiefs ; but their private quarrels invited invasion from the neighbouring kingdoms. At length a politic chief, of the name of Moosee, had address enough to make them unite in hostilities against Bambarra ; and on this occasion he was unanimously chosen general ; the different chiefs consenting for a time to act under his command. Moosee immediately dispatched a fleet of canoes, loaded with provisions, from the banks of the lake Dibbie up the Niger, towards Jenné, and with the whole of his army pushed forwards into Bambarra. He arrived on the banks of the Niger opposite to Jenné, before the townspeople had the smallest intimation of his approach : his fleet of canoes joined him the same day, and having landed the provisions, he embarked part of his army, and in the night took Jenné by storm. This event so terrified the King of Bambarra, that he sent messengers to sue for peace, and in order to obtain it, consented to deliver to Moosee, a certain number of slaves every year ; and return every thing that had been taken from the inhabitants of Gotto. Moosee, thus triumphant, returned to Gotto, where he was declared king, and the capital of the country is called by his name.

On the west of Gotto, is the kingdom of Baedoo, which was conquered by the present king of Bambarra about seven years ago, and has continued tributary to him ever since.

West of Baedoo, is Maniana ; the inhabitants of which, according to the best information I was able to collect, are cruel and ferocious : carrying their resentment towards their enemies, so far as never to give quarter ; and even to indulge themselves with unnatural and disgusting banquets of human flesh.

I am well aware that the accounts which the Negroes give of their enemies, ought to be received with great caution ; but I heard the same account in so many different kingdoms, and from such variety of people, whose veracity I had no occasion to suspect, that I am disposed to allow it some degree of credit. The inhabitants of Bambarra, in the course of a long and bloody war, must have had frequent opportunities of satisfying themselves as to the fact ; and if the report had been entirely without foundation, I cannot conceive why the term *Madummulo* (man eaters), should be applied exclusively to the inhabitants of Maniana.

STANLEY

Henry M. Stanley's account of how he found Livingstone combines the romances of two voyages of discovery. As related in the Introduction, he was commissioned in October of 1869 *to look for the missionary-explorer who had now been absent for five years. He went to India, made for Zanzibar, crossed to the mainland, and proceeded east until he found his quarry at Ujiji, on the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika.*

The passage here given constitutes Chapter XI. of his How I Found Livingstone, *published in* 1872, *the year after the successful termination of his mission. Besides the famous meeting, it contains a great deal of detail about East Central Africa, his equipment, his problems, etc.*

STANLEY

We bade farewell to Mrera on the 17th of October, to continue our route north-westward. All the men and I were firm friends now; all squabbling had long ceased. Bombay and I had forgotten our quarrel; the kirangozi and myself were ready to embrace, so loving and affectionate were the terms upon which we stood towards one another. Confidence returned to all hearts—for now, as Mabruk Unyanyembe said, "we could smell the fish of the Tanganika." Unyanyembe, with all its disquietude, was far behind. We could snap our fingers at that terrible Mirambo and his unscrupulous followers, and by-and-by, perhaps, we may be able to laugh at the timid seer who always prophesied portentous events—Sheikh, the son of Nasib. He laughed joyously, as we glided in Indian file through the young forest jungle beyond the clearing of Mrera, and boasted of our prowess. Oh! we were truly brave that morning!

Emerging from the jungle, we entered a thin forest, where numerous ant-hills were seen like so many sand dunes. I imagine that these ant-hills were formed during a remarkably wet season, when, possibly, the forest-clad plain was inundated. I have seen the ants at work by thousands, engaged in the work of erecting their hills in other districts suffering from inundation. What a wonderful system of cells these tiny insects construct! A perfect labyrinth—cell within cell, room within room, hall within hall—an exhibition of engineering talents and high architectural capacity—a model city, cunningly contrived for safety and comfort!

Emerging after a short hour's march out of the forest, we welcome the sight of a murmuring translucent stream, swiftly flowing towards the north-west, which we regard with the pleasure which only men who have for a long time sickened themselves with that potable liquid of the foulest kind, found in salinas, mbugas, pools, and puddle-holes, can realise. Beyond this stream rises a rugged and steep ridge, from the summit of which our eyes are gladdened with scenes that are romantic, animated, and picturesque. They form an unusual feast to eyes sated with looking into the depths of forests, at towering stems of trees, and at tufted crowns of foliage. We have now before us scores of cones, dotting the surface of a plain which extends across Southern Ukonongo to the territory of the Wafipa, and which reaches as far as the Rikwa Plain. The immense prospect before which we are suddenly ushered is most varied ; exclusive of conical hills and ambitious flat-topped and isolated mountains, we are in view of the watersheds of the Rungwa River, which empties into the Tanganika south of where we stand, and of the Malagarazi River, which the Tanganika receives, a degree or so north of this position. A single but lengthy latitudinal ridge serves as a dividing line to the watershed of the Rungwa and Malagarazi ; and a score of miles or so further west of this ridge rises another, which runs north and south.

We camped on this day in the jungle, close to a narrow ravine with a marshy bottom, through the oozy, miry contents of which the waters from the watershed of the Rungwa slowly trickled southward towards the Rikwa Plain. This was only one of many ravines, however, some of which were several hundred yards broad, others were but a few yards in width, the bottoms of which were most dangerous quagmires, overgrown with dense tall reeds and papyrus. Over the surface of these great depths of mud were seen hundreds of thin threads of slimy ochre-coloured water which swarmed with animalculæ. By-and-by, a few miles south of the base of this ridge (which I call Kasera, from the country which it cuts in halves), these several ravines converge and debouch into the broad, marshy, oozy, spongy " river " of Usense, which trends in a south-easterly direction ; after which, gathering the contents of the watercourses from the north and north-east into its own broader channel, it soon becomes a stream of some breadth and consequence, and meets a river flowing from the east, from the direction of Urori, with which it conflows in the Rikwa Plain, and empties about sixty rectilineal miles further west into the Tanganika Lake. The Rungwa River, I am informed, is considered as a boundary line between the country of Usowa on the north, and Ufipa on the south.

We had barely completed the construction of our camp defences when some of the men were heard challenging a small party of natives which advanced towards our camp, headed by a man who, from his garb and head-dress we knew was from Zanzibar. After interchanging the customary salutations, I was informed that this party was an embassy from Simba (" Lion "), who ruled over Kasera, in Southern Unyamwezi. Simba, I was told, was the son of Mkasiwa, King of Unyanyembe, and was carrying on war with the Wazavira, of whom I was warned to beware. He had heard such reports of my greatness that he was sorry I did not take his road to Ukawendi that he might have had the opportunity of seeing me, and making friends with me ; but in the absence of a personal visit Simba had sent his embassy to overtake me, in the hope that I would present him with a token of my friendship in the shape of cloth. Though I was rather taken aback by the demand, still it was politic in me to make this powerful chief my friend, lest on my return from the search after Livingstone he and I might fall out. And since it was incumbent on me to make a present, for the sake of peace, it was necessary to exhibit my desire for peace by giving—if I gave at all—a royal present. The ambassador conveyed from me to Simba, or the " Lion " of Kasera, two gorgeous cloths, and two other doti consisting of Merikani and Kaniki ; and, if I might believe the ambassador, I had made Simba a friend for ever.

On the 18th of October, breaking camp at the usual hour, we continued our march north-westward by a road which zig-zagged along the base of the Kasera mountains, and which took us into all kinds of difficulties. We traversed at least a dozen marshy ravines, the depth of mire and water in which caused the utmost anxiety. I sunk up to my neck in deep holes in the Stygian ooze caused by elephants, and had to tramp through the oozy beds of the Rungwa sources with my clothes wet and black with mud and slime. Decency forbade that I should strip, and wade through the sedgy marsh naked ; and the hot sun would also blister my body. Moreover, these morasses were too frequent to lose time in undressing and dressing, and, as each man was weighted with his own proper load, it would have been cruel to compel the men to bear me across. Nothing remained, therefore, but to march on, all encumbered as I was with my clothing and accoutrements, into these several marshy water-courses, with all the philosophical stoicism that my nature could muster for such emergencies. But it was very uncomfortable, to say the least of it.

We soon entered the territory of the dreaded Wazavira, but no enemy was in sight. Simba, in his wars, had made clean work of the northern part of Uzavira, and we encountered nothing worse than a view of the desolated country, which must have been once—judging from the number of burnt huts and débris of ruined villages—extremely populous. A young jungle was sprouting up vigorously in their fields, and was rapidly becoming the home of wild denizens of the forest. In one of the deserted and ruined villages, I found quarters for the Expedition, which were by no means uncomfortable. I shot three brace of guinea fowl in the neighborhood of Misonghi, the deserted village we occupied, and Ulimengo, one of my hunters, bagged an antelope, called the " mbawala," for whose meat some of the Wanyamwezi have a superstitious aversion. I take this species of antelope, which stands about three and a half feet high, of a reddish hide, head long, horns short, to be the " Nzoe " antelope discovered by Speke in Uganda, and whose Latin designation is, according to Dr. Sclater, "Tragelaphus Spekii." It has a short bushy tail, and long hair along the spine.

A long march in a west-by-north direction, lasting six hours, through a forest where the sable antelope was seen, and which was otherwise prolific with game, brought us to a stream which ran by the base of a lofty conical hill, on whose slopes flourished quite a forest of feathery bamboo.

On the 20th, leaving our camp, which lay between the stream and the conical hill above mentioned, and surmounting a low ridge which sloped from the base of the hill-cone, we were greeted with another picturesque view, of cones and scarped mountains, which heaved upward in all directions. A march of nearly five hours through this picturesque country brought us to the Mpokwa River, one of the tributaries of the Rungwa, and to a village lately deserted by the Wazavira. The huts were almost all intact, precisely as they were left by their former inhabitants. In the gardens were yet found vegetables, which, after living so long on meat, were most grateful to us. On the branches of trees still rested the Lares and Penates of the Wazavira, in the shape of large and exceedingly well-made earthen pots.

In the neighboring river one of my men succeeded, in a few minutes, in catching sixty fish of the silurus species by the hand alone. A number of birds hovered about the stream, such as the white-headed fish-eagle and the black kingfisher, enormous snowy spoonbills, ibis, martins, &c. This river issued from a mountain clump eight miles or so north of the village of Mpokwa, and comes flowing down a narrow thread of water, sinuously winding amongst tall reeds and dense brakes on either side—the home of hundreds of antelopes and buffaloes. South of Mpokwa, the valley broadens, and the mountains deflect eastward and westward, and beyond this point commences the plain known as the Rikwa, which, during the Masika is inundated, but which, in the dry season, presents the same bleached aspect that plains in Africa generally do when the grass has ripened.

Travelling up along the right bank of the Mpokwa, on the 21st we came to the head of the stream, and the sources of the Mpokwa, issuing out of deep defiles enclosed by lofty ranges. The mbawala and the buffalo were plentiful.

On the 22nd, after a march of four hours and a half, we came to the beautiful stream of Mtambu—the water of which was sweet, and clear as crystal, and flowed northward. We saw for the first time the home of the lion and the leopard. Hear what Freiligrath says of the place :

"*Where the thorny brake and thicket*
Densely fill the interspace
Of the trees, through whose thick branches
Never sunshine lights the place,
There the lion dwells, a monarch,
Mightiest among the brutes ;
There his right to reign supremest
Never one his claim disputes.
There he layeth down to slumber,
Having slain and ta'en his fill ;
There he roameth, there he croucheth,
As it suits his lordly will."

We camped but a few yards from just such a place as the poet describes. The herd-keeper who attended the goats and donkeys, soon after our arrival in camp, drove the animals to water, and in order to obtain it they travelled through a tunnel in the brake, caused by elephants and rhinoceros. They had barely entered the dark cavernous passage, when a black-spotted leopard sprang, and fastened its fangs in the neck of one of the donkeys, causing it, from the pain, to bray hideously. Its companions set up such a frightful chorus, and so lashed their heels in the air at the feline marauder, as to cause the leopard to bound away through the brake, as if in sheer dismay at the noisy cries which the attack had provoked. The donkey's neck exhibited some frightful wounds, but the animal was not dangerously hurt.

Thinking that possibly I might meet with an adventure with a lion or a leopard in that dark belt of tall trees, under whose impenetrable shade grew the dense thicket that formed such admirable coverts for the carnivorous species, I took a stroll along the awesome place with the gunbearer, Kalulu, carrying an extra gun, and a further supply of ammunition. We crept cautiously along, looking keenly into the deep dark dens, the entrances of which were revealed to us, as we journeyed, expectant every moment to behold the reputed monarch of the brake and thicket, bound forward to meet us, and I took a special delight in picturing, in my imagination, the splendor and majesty of the wrathful brute, as he might stand before me. I peered closely into every dark opening, hoping to see the deadly glitter of the great angry eyes, and the glowering menacing front of the lion as he would regard me. But, alas ! after an hour's search for adventure, I had encountered nothing, and I accordingly waxed courageous, and crept into one of these leafy, thorny caverns, and found myself shortly standing under a canopy of foliage that was held above my head fully a hundred feet by the shapely and towering stems of the royal mvule. Who can imagine the position ? A smooth lawn-like glade ; a dense and awful growth of impenetrable jungle around us ; those stately natural pillars—a glorious phalanx of royal trees, bearing at such sublime heights vivid green masses of foliage, through which no single sun-ray penetrated, while at our feet babbled the primeval brook, over smooth pebbles, in soft tones befitting the sacred quiet of the scene ! Who could have desecrated this solemn, holy harmony of nature ? But just as I was thinking it impossible that any man could be tempted to disturb the serene solitude of the place, I saw a monkey perched high on a branch over my head, contemplating, with something of an awe-struck look, the strange intruders beneath. Well, I could not help it, I laughed—laughed loud and long, until I was hushed by the chaos of cries and strange noises which seemed to respond to my laughing. A troop of monkeys, hidden in the leafy depths above, had been rudely awakened, and, startled by the noise I made, were hurrying away from the scene with a dreadful clamor of cries and shrieks.

Emerging again into the broad sunlight, I strolled further in search of something to shoot. Presently, I saw, feeding quietly in the forest which bounded the valley of the Mtambu on the left, a huge, reddish-colored wild boar, armed with most horrid tusks. Leaving Kalulu crouched down behind a tree, and my solar helmet behind another close by—that I might more safely stalk the animal—I advanced towards him some forty yards, and after taking a deliberate aim, fired at its fore shoulder. As if nothing had hurt him whatever, the animal made a furious bound, and then stood with his bristles erected, and tufted tail, curved over the back—a most formidable brute in appearance. While he was thus listening, and searching the neighborhood with his keen small eyes, I planted another shot in his chest, which ploughed its way through his body. Instead of falling, however, as I expected he would, he charged furiously in the direction the bullet had come, and as he rushed past me, another ball was fired, which went right through him ; but still he kept on, until, within six or seven yards from the trees behind which Kalulu was crouching down on one side, and the helmet was resting behind another, he suddenly halted, and then dropped. But as I was about to advance on him with my knife to cut his throat, he suddenly started up ; his eyes had caught sight of the little boy Kalulu, and were then, almost immediately afterwards, attracted by the sight of the snowy helmet. These strange objects on either side of him proved too much for the boar, for, with a terrific grunt, he darted on one side into a thick brake, from which it was impossible to oust him, and as it was now getting late, and the camp was about three miles away, I was reluctantly obliged to return without the meat.

On our way to camp we were accompanied by a large animal which persistently followed us on our left. It was too dark to see plainly, but a large form was visible, if not very clearly defined. It must have been a lion, unless it was the ghost of the dead boar.

That night, about 11 p.m., we were startled by the roar of a lion, in close proximity to the camp. Soon it was joined by another, and another still, and the novelty of the thing kept me awake. I peered through the gate of the camp, and endeavoured to sight a rifle—my little Winchester, in the accuracy of which I had perfect confidence ; but, alas ! for the cartridges, they might have been as well filled with sawdust for all the benefit I derived from them. Disgusted with the miserable ammunition, I left the lions alone, and turned in, with their roar as a lullaby.

That terrestrial paradise for the hunter, the valley of the pellucid Mtambu, was deserted by us the next morning for the settlement commonly known to the Wakawendi as Imrera's, with as much unconcern as though it were a howling desert. The village near which we encamped was called Itaga, in the district of Rusawa. As soon as we had crossed the River Mtambu we had entered Ukawendi, commonly called "Kawendi" by the natives of the country.

The district of Rusawa is thickly populated. The people are quiet and well-disposed to strangers, though few ever come to this region from afar. One or two Wasawahili traders visit it every year or so from Pumburu and Usowa ; but very little ivory being obtained from the people, the long distance between the settlements serves to deter the regular trader from venturing hither.

If caravans arrive here, the objective point to them is the district of Pumburu, situated south-westerly one day's good marching, or, say, thirty statute miles from Imrera ; or they make for Usowa, on the Tanganika, *via*

Pumburu, Katuma, Uyombeh, and Ugarawah. Usowa is quite an important district on the Tanganika, populous and flourishing. This was the road we had intended to adopt after leaving Imrera, but the reports received at the latter place forbade such a venture. For Mapunda, the Sultan of Usowa, though a great friend to Arab traders, was at war with the colony of the Wazavira, who we must remember were driven from Mpokwa and vicinity in Utanda, and who were said to have settled between Pumburu and Usowa.

It remained for us, like wise, prudent men, having charge of a large and valuable Expedition on our hands, to decide what to do, and what route to adopt, now that we had approached much nearer to Ujiji than we were to Unyanyembe. I suggested that we should make direct for the Tanganika by compass, trusting to no road or guide, but to march direct west until we came to the Tanganika, and then follow the lake shore on foot until we came to Ujiji. For it ever haunted my mind, that, if Dr. Livingstone should hear of my coming, which he might possibly do if I travelled along any known road, he would leave, and that my search for him would consequently be a " stern chase." But my principal men thought it better that we should now boldly turn our faces north, and march for the Malagarazi, which was said to be a large river flowing from the east to the Tanganika. But none of my men knew the road to the Malagarazi, neither could guides be hired from Sultan Imrera. We were, however, informed that the Malagarazi was but two days' march from Imrera. I thought it safe, in such a case, to provision my men with three days' rations.

The village of Itaga is situated in a deep mountain hollow, finely overlooking a large extent of cultivation. The people grow sweet potatoes, manioc—out of which tapioca is made—beans, and the holcus. Not one chicken was to be purchased for love or money, and, besides grain, only a lean, scraggy specimen of a goat, a long time ago imported from Uvinza, was procurable.

October the 25th will be remembered by me as a day of great troubles ; in fact, a series of troubles began from this date. We struck an easterly road in order to obtain a passage to the lofty plateau which bounded the valley of Imrera on the west and on the north. We camped, after a two and a half hours' march, at its foot. The defile promised a feasible means of ascent to the summit of the plateau, which rose upward in a series of scarps a thousand feet above the valley of Imrera.

I was given to understand by my men that they wished to halt at this camp one day, for the purpose of eliciting further information from Imrera concerning the nature of the country between us and the Malagarazi. This was, of course, nonsense, as I had already halted one day at Imrera, and the guides had urged me to adopt this road, as—so they argued—they had obtained reliable information from the natives about the country. I remembered General Andrew Jackson's advice to a young friend of his, which was, " Look well before you attempt to do a thing, but, when you have decided to do it, go and do it, and never look behind," and this was precisely what I intended to do.

Towards night one of my men shot a buffalo, and this little incident was another cause of dissension and angry retort. The buffalo managed to escape into a jungle, where he would be sure to be found dead in the morning. I was asked by several belly-worshippers and lazy gluttons if I would stop but just one day more, that they might make their limbs strong with eating meat. " Not an hour after sunrise to-morrow," was my answer. Immediately ensued a general cry of " No ' posho '—food." " You have three days' food," I answered ; " but if you wish more, here is cloth : go and buy."

But, when challenged to proceed to the village to purchase, they each and all pleaded fatigue. They insisted, however, that I was in duty bound to halt one day longer, for, even if they purchased grain, the grain required to be ground before they could eat it. The pampered fellows maintained this kind of argument long. But I was inexorable. And all night they were debating what steps to take to induce me to halt; but Bombay and Mabruki were already prohibited from coming to me with any such request, upon pain of battle à la Heenan; and Bombay always remembered the terrible punishment he received from Speke too well to ever desire a repetition of it.

The next morning, at sunrise, I issued the order to "march" in as stern and uncompromising a tone as I could assume, thus precluding any allusion to a halt. They were very sulky, and in fit mood to rebel, but, as nothing more was left whereon to hang an argument, they finally, though reluctantly, yielded to my will. By the time we arrived at our camp at the head of the Rugufu River, the men had forgotten the fat buffalo, and were in excellent humour.

While ascending that lofty arc of mountains which bounded westerly and northerly the basin of Imrera, extensive prospects southward and eastward were revealed. The character of the scenery of Ukawendi is always animated and picturesque, but never sublime. The folds of this ridge contained several ruins of bomas, which seemed to have been erected during war time.

The mbembu fruit was plentiful along this march, and every few minutes I could see from the rear one or two of the men hastening to secure a treasure of it which they discovered on the ground.

A little before reaching the camp I had a shot at a leopard, but failed to bring him down as he bounded away. At night the lions roared as at the Mtambu River.

A lengthy march under the deep twilight shadows of a great forest, which protected us from the hot sunbeams, brought us, on the next day, to a camp newly constructed by a party of Arabs from Ujiji, who had advanced thus far on their road to Unyanyembe, but, alarmed at the reports of the war between Mirambo and the Arabs, had returned. Our route was along the right bank of the

Rugufu, a broad sluggish stream, well choked with the matete reeds and the papyrus. The tracks and the bouse de vache of buffaloes were numerous, and there were several indications of rhinoceros being near. In a deep clump of timber near this river we discovered a colony of bearded and leonine-looking monkeys.

As we were about leaving our camp on the morning of the 28th a herd of buffalo walked deliberately into view. Silence was quickly restored, but not before the animals, to their great surprise, had discovered the danger which confronted them. We commenced stalking them, but we soon heard the thundering sound of their gallop, after which it becomes a useless task to follow them, with a long march in a wilderness before one.

The road led on this day over immense sheets of sandstone and iron ore. The water was abominable, and scarce, and famine began to stare us in the face. We travelled for six hours, and had yet seen no sign of cultivation anywhere. According to my map we were yet two long marches from the Malagarazi—if Captain Burton had correctly laid down the position of the river ; according to the natives' account we should have arrived at the Malagarazi on this day.

On the 29th we left our camp, and after a few minutes, we were in view of the sublimest but ruggedest scenes we had yet beheld in Africa. The country was cut up in all directions by deep, wild, and narrow ravines trending in all directions, but generally toward the north-west, while on either side rose enormous square masses of naked rock (sandstone), sometimes towering, and rounded, sometimes pyramidal, sometimes in truncated cones, sometimes in circular ridges, with sharp, rugged, naked backs, with but little vegetation anywhere visible, except it obtained a precarious tenure in the fissured crown of some gigantic hill-top, whither some soil had fallen, or at the base of the reddish ochre scarps which everywhere lifted their fronts to our view.

A long series of descents down rocky gullies, wherein we were environed by threatening masses of disintegrated rock, brought us to a dry, stony ravine, with mountain heights looming above us some thousand feet high. This ravine we followed, winding around in all directions, but which gradually widened, however, into a broad plain, with a western trend. The road, leaving this, struck across a low ridge to the north ; and we were in view of deserted settlements where the villages were built on frowning castellated masses of rock. Near an upright mass of rock over seventy feet high, and about fifty yards in diameter, which dwarfed the gigantic sycamore close to it, we made our camp, after five hours and thirty minutes' continuous and rapid marching.

The people were very hungry ; they had eaten every scrap of meat, and every grain they possessed, twenty hours before, and there was no immediate prospect of food. I had but a pound and a half of flour left, and this would not have sufficed to begin to feed a force of over forty-five people ; but I had something like thirty pounds of tea, and twenty pounds of sugar left, and I at once, as soon as we arrived at camp, ordered every kettle to be filled and placed on the fire, and then made tea for all, giving each man a quart of a hot, grateful beverage, well sweetened. Parties stole out also into the depths of the jungle to search for wild fruit, and soon returned laden with baskets of the wood-peach and tamarind fruit, which though it did not satisfy, relieved them. That night, before going to sleep, the Wangwana set up a loud prayer to " Allah " to give them food.

We rose betimes in the morning, determined to travel on until food could be procured, or we dropped down from sheer fatigue and weakness. Rhinoceros' tracks abounded, and buffalo seemed to be plentiful, but we never beheld a living thing. We crossed scores of short steeps, and descended as often into the depths of dry, stony gullies, and then finally entered a valley, bounded on one side by a triangular mountain with perpendicular sides, and on the other by a bold group, a triplet of hills.

While marching down this valley—which soon changed its dry, bleached aspect to a vivid green—we saw a forest in the distance, and shortly found ourselves in corn-fields. Looking keenly around for a village, we descried it on the summit of the lofty triangular hill on our right. A loud exultant shout was raised at the discovery. The men threw down their packs, and began to clamor for food. Volunteers were asked to come forward to take cloth, and scale the heights to obtain it from the village, at any price. While three or four sallied off we rested on the ground, quite worn out.

In about an hour the foraging party returned with the glorious tidings that food was plentiful ; that the village we saw was called, " Welled Nzogera's "—the son of Nzogera—by which, of course, we knew that we were in Uvinza, Nzogera being the principal chief in Uvinza. We were further informed that Nzogera, the father, was at war with Lokanda-Mira, about some salt-pans in the valley of the Malagarazi, and that it would be difficult to go to Ujiji by the usual road, owing to this war ; but, for a consideration, the son of Nzogera was willing to supply us with guides, who would take us safely, by a northern road, to Ujiji.

Everything auguring well for our prospects, we encamped to enjoy the good cheer, for which our troubles and privations, during the transit of the Ukawendi forests and jungles, had well prepared us.

Then began a diplomatic course of arguments respecting the quantity and quality of the cloths which the son of Nzogera usually demanded from travellers. From ten doti, we succeeded in reducing the demand to seven and a half doti of Merikani and Kaniki, and were successful in procuring the guides we desired.

I am now going to extract from my diary of the march, as, without its aid, I deem it impossible to relate fully our various experiences, so as to show them properly as they occurred to us ; and as these extracts were written and recorded at the close of each day, they possess more interest, in my opinion, than a cold relation of facts, now toned down in memory.

October 31st. Tuesday.—Camp in jungle. Direction of road, north-by-east. Time occupied by march, 4 hours 15 minutes.

Our road led E.N.E. for a considerable time after leaving the base of the triangular mountain whereon the son of Nzogera has established his stronghold, in order to avoid a deep and impassable portion of marsh, that stood between us and the direct route to the Malagarazi River. The valley sloped rapidly to this marsh, which received in its broad bosom the drainage of three extensive ranges. Soon we turned our faces north-west, and prepared to cross the marsh ; and the guides informed us, as we halted on its eastern bank, of a terrible catastrophe which occurred a few yards above where we were preparing to cross. They told of an Arab and his caravan, consisting of thirty-five slaves, who had suddenly sunk out of sight, and who were never more heard of. This marsh, as it appeared to us, presented a breadth of some hundreds of yards, on which grew a close network of grass, with much decayed matter mixed up with it. In the centre of this and underneath it, ran a broad, deep, and rapid stream. As the guides proceeded across, the men stole after them with cautious footsteps. As they arrived near the centre we began to see this unstable grassy bridge, so curiously provided by nature for us, move up and down in heavy languid undulations, like the swell of the sea after a storm. Where the two asses of the Expedition moved, the grassy waves rose a foot high ; but suddenly one unfortunate animal plunged his feet through, and as he was unable to rise, he soon made a deep hollow, which was rapidly filling with water. With the aid of ten men, however, we were enabled to lift him bodily up and land him on a firmer part, and guiding them both across rapidly, the entire caravan crossed without accident.

On arriving at the other side, we struck off to the north, and found ourselves in a delightful country, in every way suitable for agriculturists. Great rocks rose here and there, but in their fissures rose stately trees, under whose umbrage nestled the villages of the people. We found the various village elders greedy for cloth, but the presence of the younger son of Nzogera's men restrained their propensity for extortion. Goats and sheep were remarkably cheap, and in good condition; and, consequently, to celebrate our arrival near the Malagarazi, a flock of eight goats were slaughtered, and distributed to the men.

November 1st.—Striking north-west, after leaving our camp, and descending the slope of a mountain, we soon beheld the anxiously looked-for Malagarazi, a narrow but deep stream, flowing through a valley pent in by lofty mountains. Fish-eating birds lined the trees on its banks; villages were thickly scattered about. Food was abundant, and cheap.

After travelling along the left bank of the river a few miles, we arrived at the settlements recognizing Kiala as their ruler. I had anticipated we should be able at once to cross the river, but difficulties arose. We were told to camp, before any negotiations could be entered into. When we demurred, we were informed we might cross the river if we wished, but we should not be assisted by any Mvinza.

Being compelled to halt for this day, the tent was pitched in the middle of one of the villages, and the bales were stored in one of the huts, with four soldiers to guard them. After despatching an embassy to Kiala, eldest son of the great chief Nzogera, to request permission to cross the river as a peaceable caravan, Kiala sent word that the white man should cross his river after the payment of fifty-six cloths! Fifty-six cloths signified a bale nearly! Here was another opportunity for diplomacy. Bombay and Asmani were empowered to treat with Kiala about the honga, but it was not to exceed twenty-five doti. At 6 a.m., having spoken for seven hours, the two men returned with the demand for thirteen doti for Nzogera, and ten doti for Kiala. Poor Bombay was hoarse, but Asmani still smiled; and I relented, congratulating myself that the preposterous demand, which was simply robbery, was no worse.

Three hours later another demand was made. Kiala had been visited by a couple of chiefs from his father; and the chiefs being told that a white man was at the ferry, put in a claim for a couple of guns and a keg of gunpowder. But here my patience was exhausted, and I declared that they should have to take them by force, for I would never consent to be robbed and despoiled after any such fashion.

Until 11 p.m., Bombay and Asmani were negotiating about this extra demand, arguing, quarrelling, threatening, until Bombay declared they would talk him mad if it lasted much longer. I told Bombay to take two cloths, one for each chief, and, if they did not consider it enough, then I should fight. The present was taken, and the negotiations were terminated at midnight.

November 2nd.—Ihata Island, one and a half hour west of Kiala's. We arrived before the Island of Ihata, on the left bank of the Malagarazi, at 5 p.m.; the morning having being wasted in puerile talk with the owner of the canoes at the ferry. The final demand for ferriage across was eight yards of cloth and four fundo of sami-sami, or red beads; which was at once paid. Four men, with their loads, were permitted to cross in the small, unshapely, and cranky canoes. When the boatmen had discharged their canoes of their passengers and cargoes, they were ordered to halt on the other side, and, to my astonishment, another demand was made. The ferrymen had found that two fundo of these were of short measure, and two fundo more must be paid, otherwise the contract for ferrying us across would be considered null and void. So two fundo more were added, but not without demur and "talk," which in these lands are necessary.

Three times the canoes went backwards and forwards, when, lo! another demand was made, with the usual clamor and fierce wordy dispute; this time for five khete for the man who guided us to the ferry, a shukka of cloth for a babbler, who had attached himself to the old-womanish Jumah, who did nothing but babble and increase the clamor. These demands were also settled.

About sunset we endeavoured to cross the donkeys. "Simba," a fine wild Kinyamwezi donkey, went in first, with a rope attached to his neck. He had arrived at the middle of the stream when we saw him begin to struggle —a crocodile had seized him by the throat. The poor animal's struggles were terrific. Chowpereh was dragging on the rope with all his might, but to no use, for the donkey sank, and we saw no more of him. The depth of the river at this place was about fifteen feet. We had seen the light-brown heads, the glittering eyes, and the ridgy backs, hovering about the vicinity, but we had never thought that the beasts would advance so near such an exciting scene as the vicinity of the ferry presented during the crossing. Saddened a little by this loss, we resumed our work, and by 7 p.m. we were all across, excepting Bombay and the only donkey now left, which was to be brought across in the morning, when the crocodiles should have deserted the river.

November 3rd.—What contention have we not been a witness to these last three days! What anxiety have we not suffered ever since our arrival in Uvinza! The Wavinza are worse than the Wagogo, and their greed is more insatiable. We got the donkey across with the aid of a mganga, or medicine man, who spat some chewed leaves of a tree which grows close to the stream over him. He informed me he could cross the river at any time, day or night, after rubbing his body with these chewed leaves, which he believed to be a most potent medicine.

About 10 a.m. appeared from the direction of Ujiji a caravan of eighty Waguhha, a tribe which occupies a tract of country on the south-western side of the Lake Tanganika. We asked the news, and were told a white man had just arrived at Ujiji from Manyuema. This news startled us all.

"A white man?" we asked.

"Yes, a white man," they replied.

"How is he dressed?"

"Like the master," they answered, referring to me.

"Is he young, or old?"

"He is old. He has white hair on his face, and is sick."

"Where has he come from?"

"From a very far country away beyond Uguhha, called Manyuema."

"Indeed! and is he stopping at Ujiji now?"

"Yes, we saw him about eight days ago."

"Do you think he will stop there until we see him?"

"*Sigue*" (don't know).

"Was he ever at Ujiji before?"

"Yes, he went away a long time ago."

Hurrah! This is Livingstone! He must be Livingstone! He *can* be no other; but still;—he may be some one else—some one from the West Coast—or perhaps he is Baker! No; Baker has no white hair on his face. But we must now march quick, lest he hears we are coming, and runs away.

I addressed my men, and asked them if they were willing to march to Ujiji without a single halt, and then promised them, if they acceded to my wishes, two doti each man. All answered in the affirmative, almost as much rejoiced as I was myself. But I was madly rejoiced; intensely eager to resolve the burning question, "Is it Dr. David Livingstone?" God grant me patience, but I do wish there was a railroad, or, at least, horses in this country. With a horse I could reach Ujiji in about twelve hours.

We set out at once from the banks of the Malagarazi, accompanied by two guides furnished us by Usenge, the old man of the ferry, who, now that we had crossed, showed himself more amiably disposed to us. We arrived at the village of Isinga, Sultan Katalambula, after a little over an hour's march across a saline plain, but which as we advanced into the interior became fertile and productive. We were warned after camping that to-morrow's march would have to be made with caution, as a band of Wavinza, under Makumbi, a great chief of Nzogera's, were returning from war, and it was the custom of Makumbi to leave nothing behind him after a victory. Intoxicated with success, he attacked even the villages of his own tribe, capturing the live stock—slaves and cattle. The result of a month's campaign against Lokanda-Mira was the destruction of two villages, the killing of one of the children of that chief, and the slaughter of several men ; Makumbi also lost five men from thirst during the crossing of a saline desert south of the Malagarazi.

November 4th.—Started early with great caution, maintaining deep silence. The guides were sent forward, one two hundred yards ahead of the other, that we might be warned in time. The first part of the march was through a thin jungle of dwarf trees, which got thinner and thinner until finally it vanished altogether, and we had entered Uhha—a plain country. Villages were visible by the score among the tall bleached stalks of dourra and maize. Sometimes three, sometimes five, ten, or twenty beehive-shaped huts formed a village. The Wahha were evidently living in perfect security, for not one village amongst them all was surrounded with the customary defence of an African village. A narrow dry ditch formed the only boundary between Uhha and Uvinza. On entering Uhha, all danger from Makumbi vanished.

We halted at Kawanga, the chief of which lost no time in making us understand that he was the great Mutware of Kimenyi under the king, and that he was the tribute gatherer for his Kiha majesty. He declared that he was the only one in Kimenyi—an eastern division of Uhha—who could demand tribute ; and that it would be very satisfactory to him, and a saving of trouble to ourselves, if we settled his claim of twelve doti of good cloths at once. We did not think it the best way of proceeding, knowing as we did the character of the native African ; so we at once proceeded to diminish this demand ; but, after six hours' hot argument, the Mutware only reduced it by two.

This claim was then settled, upon the understanding that we should be allowed to travel through Uhha as far as the Rusugi River without being further mulcted.

November 5th.—Leaving Kawanga early in the morning, and continuing our march over the boundless plains, which were bleached white by the hot equatorial sun, we were marching westward full of pleasant anticipations that we were nearing the end of our troubles, joyfully congratulating ourselves that within five days we should see that which I had come so far from civilisation, and through so many difficulties, to see, and were about passing a cluster of villages, with all the confidence which men possess against whom no one had further claim or a word to say, when I noticed two men darting from a group of natives who were watching us, and running towards the head of the Expedition, with the object, evidently, of preventing further progress.

The caravan stopped, and I walked forward to ascertain the cause from the two natives. I was greeted politely by the two Wahha with the usual "Yambos," and was then asked,

" Why does the white man pass by the village of the King of Uhha without salutation and a gift ? Does not the white man know there lives a king in Uhha, to whom the Wangwana and Arabs pay something for right of passage ? "

" Why, we paid last night to the chief of Kawanga, who informed us that he was the man deputed by the King of Uhha to collect the toll."

" How much did you pay ? "

" Ten doti of good cloth."

" Are you sure ? "

" Quite sure. If you ask him, he will tell you so."

" Well," said one of the Wahha, a fine, handsome, intelligent-looking youth, " it is our duty to the King to halt you here until we find out the truth of this. Will you walk to our village, and rest yourselves under the shade of our trees until we can send messengers to Kawanga ? "

"No; the sun is but an hour high, and we have far to travel; but, in order to show you we do not seek to pass through your country without doing that which is right, we will rest where we now stand, and we will send with your messengers two of our soldiers, who will show you the man to whom we paid the cloth."

The messengers departed; but, in the meantime, the handsome youth, who turned out to be the nephew of the King, whispered some order to a lad, who immediately hastened away, with the speed of an antelope, to the cluster of villages which we had just passed. The result of this errand, as we saw in a short time, was the approach of a body of warriors, about fifty in number, headed by a tall, fine-looking man, who was dressed in a crimson robe called Joho, two ends of which were tied in a knot over the left shoulder; a new piece of American sheeting was folded like a turban around his head, and a large curved piece of polished ivory was suspended to his neck. He and his people were all armed with spears, and bows and arrows, and their advance was marked with a deliberation that showed they felt perfect confidence in any issue that might transpire.

We were halted on the eastern side of the Pombwe stream, near the village of Lukomo, in Kimenyi, Uhha.

The gorgeously-dressed chief was a remarkable man in appearance. His face was oval in form, high cheek-bones, eyes deeply sunk, a prominent and bold forehead, a fine nose, and a well-cut mouth; he was tall in figure, and perfectly symmetrical.

When near to us, he hailed me with the words,

"Yambo, bana?—How do you do, master?" in quite a cordial tone.

I replied cordially also, "Yambo, mutware?—How do you do, chief?"

We, myself and men, interchanged "Yambos" with his warriors; and there was nothing in our first introduction to indicate that the meeting was of a hostile character.

The chief seated himself, his haunches resting on his heels, laying down his bow and arrows by his side ; his men did likewise.

I seated myself on a bale, and each of my men sat down on their loads, forming quite a semicircle. The Wahha slightly outnumbered my party ; but, while they were only armed with bows and arrows, spears, and knob-sticks, we were armed with rifles, muskets, revolvers, pistols, and hatchets.

All were seated, and deep silence was maintained by the assembly. The great plains around us were as still in this bright noon as if they were deserted of all living creatures. Then the chief spoke :

" I am Mionvu, the great Mutware of Kimenyi, and am next to the King, who lives yonder," pointing to a large village near some naked hills about ten miles to the north. " I have come to talk with the white man. It has always been the custom of the Arabs and the Wangwana to make present to the King when they pass through his country. Does not the white man mean to pay the King's dues ? Why does the white man halt in the road ? Why will he not enter the village of Lukomo, where there is food and shade—where we can discuss this thing quietly ? Does the white man mean to fight ? I know well he is stronger than we are. His men have guns, and the Wahha have but bows and arrows, and spears ; but Uhha is large, and our villages are many. Let him look about him everywhere—all is Uhha, and our country extends much further than he can see or walk in a day. The King of Uhha is strong ; yet he wishes friendship only with the white man. Will the white man have war or peace ? "

A deep murmur of assent followed this speech of Mionvu from his people, and disapprobation, blended with a certain uneasiness, from my men. When about replying, the words of General Sherman, which I heard him utter to the chiefs of the Arapahoes and Cheyennes at North Platte, in 1867, came to my mind ; and something of their spirit I embodied in my reply to Mionvu, Mutware of Kimenyi.

" Mionvu, the great Mutware, asks me if I have come for war. When did Mionvu ever hear of white men warring against black men ? Mionvu must understand that the white men are different from the black. White men do not leave their country to fight the black people, neither do they come here to buy ivory or slaves. They come to make friends with black people ; they come to search for rivers, and lakes, and mountains ; they come to discover what countries, what peoples, what rivers, what lakes, what forests, what plains, what mountains and hills are in your country ; to know the different animals that are in the land of the black people, that, when they go back, they may tell the white kings, and men, and children, what they have seen and heard in the land so far from them. The white people are different from the Arabs and Wangwana ; the white people know everything, and are very strong. When they fight, the Arabs and the Wangwana run away. We have great guns which thunder, and when they shoot the earth trembles ; we have guns which carry bullets further than you can see : even with these little things " (pointing to my revolvers) " I could kill ten men quicker than you could count. We are stronger than the Wahha. Mionvu has not spoken the truth, yet we do not wish to fight. I could kill Mionvu now, yet I talk to him as to a friend. I wish to be a friend to Mionvu, and to all black people. Will Mionvu say what I can do for him ? "

As these words were translated to him—imperfectly, I suppose, but still, intelligibly—the faces of the Wahha showed how well they appreciated them. Once or twice I thought I detected something like fear, but my assertions that I desired peace and friendship with them soon obliterated all such feelings.

Mionvu replied :

" The white man tells me he is friendly. Why does he not come to our village ? Why does he stop on the road ? The sun is hot. Mionvu will not speak here any more. If the white man is a friend he will come to the village."

" We must stop now. It is noon. You have broken our march. We will go and camp in your village," I said, at the same time rising and pointing to the men to take up their loads.

We were compelled to camp ; there was no help for it ; the messengers had not returned from Kawanga. Having arrived in his village, Mionvu had cast himself at full length under the scanty shade afforded by a few trees within the boma. About 2 p.m. the messengers returned, saying it was true the chief of Kawanga had taken ten cloths ; not, however for the King of Uhha, but for himself !

Mionvu, who evidently was keen-witted, and knew perfectly what he was about, now roused himself, and began to make miniature faggots of thin canes, ten in each faggot, and shortly he presented ten of these small bundles, which together contained one hundred, to me, saying each stick represented a cloth, and the amount of the " honga " required by the King of Uhha was ONE HUNDRED CLOTHS !—nearly two bales !

Recovering from our astonishment, which was almost indescribable, we offered TEN.

" Ten ! to the King of Uhha ! Impossible. You do not stir from Lukomo until you pay us one hundred ! " exclaimed Mionvu, in a significant manner.

I returned no answer, but went to my hut, which Mionvu had cleared for my use, and Bombay, Asmani, Mabruki, and Chowpereh were invited to come to me for consultation. Upon my asking them if we could not fight our way through Uhha, they became terror-stricken, and Bombay, in imploring accents, asked me to think well what I was about to do, because it was useless to enter on a war with the Wahha. " Uhha is all a plain country ; we cannot hide anywhere. Every village will rise all about us, and how can forty-five men fight thousands of people ? They would kill us all in a few minutes, and how would you ever reach Ujiji if you died ? Think of it, my dear master, and do not throw your life away for a few rags of cloth."

"Well, but, Bombay, this is robbery. Shall we submit to be robbed? Shall we give this fellow everything he asks? He might as well ask me for all the cloth, and all my guns, without letting him see that we can fight. I can kill Mionvu and his principal men myself, and you can slay all those howlers out there without much trouble. If Mionvu and his principal were dead, we should not be troubled much, and we could strike south to the Malagarazi, and go west to Ujiji."

"No, no, dear master, don't think of it for a moment. If we went near the Malagarazi we should come across Lokanda-Mira."

"Well, then, we will go north."

"Up that way Uhha extends far; and beyond Uhha are the Watuta."

"Well, then, say what we shall do. We must do something; but we must not be robbed."

"Pay Mionvu what he asks, and let us go away from here. This is the last place we shall have to pay. And in four days we shall be in Ujiji."

"Did Mionvu tell you that this is the last time we would have to pay?"

"He did, indeed."

"What do you say, Asmani? Shall we fight or pay?"

Asmani's face wore the usual smile, but he replied, "I am afraid we must pay. This is positively the last time."

"And you, Chowpereh?"

"Pay, bana; it is better to get along quietly in this country. If we were strong enough they would pay us. Ah, if we had only two hundred guns, how these Wahha would run!"

"What do you say, Mabruki?"

"Ah, master, dear master; it is very hard, and these people are great robbers. I would like to chop their heads off, all; so I would. But you had better pay. This is the last time; and what are one hundred cloths to you?"

"Well, then, Bombay and Asmani, go to Mionvu, and offer him twenty. If he will not take twenty, give him thirty. If he refuses thirty, give him forty ; then go up to eighty, slowly. Make plenty of talk ; not one doti more. I swear to you I will shoot Mionvu if he demands more than eighty. Go, and remember to be wise ! "

I will cut the matter short. At 9 p.m. sixty-four doti were handed over to Mionvu, for the King of Uhha ; six doti for himself, and five doti for his sub ; altogether seventy-five doti—a bale and a quarter ! No sooner had we paid than they began to fight amongst themselves over the booty, and I was in hopes that the factions would proceed to battle, that I might have good excuse for leaving them, and plunging south to the jungle that I believed existed there, by which means, under its friendly cover, we might strike west. But no, it was only a verbose war, which portended nothing more than a noisy clamor.

November 6th.—At dawn we were on the road, very silent and sad. Our stock of cloth was much diminished ; we had nine bales left, sufficient to have taken us to the Atlantic Ocean—aided by the beads, which were yet untouched—if we practised economy. If I met many more like Mionvu I had not enough to take me to Ujiji, and, though we were said to be so near, Livingstone seemed to me just as far as ever.

We crossed the Pombwe, and then struck across a slowly-undulating plain rising gradually to mountains on our right, and on our left sinking towards the valley of the Malagarazi, which river was about twenty miles away. Villages rose to our view everywhere. Food was cheap, milk was plentiful, and the butter good.

After a four hours' march, we crossed the Kanengi River, and entered the boma of Kahirigi, inhabited by several Watusi and Wahha. Here, we were told, lived the King of Uhha's brother. This announcement was anything but welcome, and I began to suspect I had fallen into another hornets' nest. We had not rested two hours before two Wangwana entered my tent, who were slaves of Thani bin Abdullah, our dandified friend of Unyanyembe. These men came, on the part of the king's brother, to claim the HONGA! The king's brother demanded thirty doti! Half a bale!

If I only dared publish all the wild, furious thoughts that raged in my mind when this was announced I should be shocked myself at some future calm moment, I dare say. But I was angry. Angry! angry is not the word. I was savage—rendered desperately savage! Able, ready, and willing to fight and die, but not to be halted by a set of miserable naked robbers! Within sight of Ujiji, one may almost say—but four days' march from this white man whom I take to be Livingstone, unless there is a duplicate of him travelling about in these countries. Merciful Providence! What shall I do?

We had been told by Mionvu that the honga of Uhha was settled—and now here is another demand from the King's brother! It is the second time the lie has been told, and we have twice been deceived. We shall be deceived no more.

These two men informed us there were five more chiefs, living but two hours from each other, who would exact tribute, or blackmail, like those we had seen. Knowing this much, I felt a certain calm. It was far better to know the worst at once. Five more chiefs with their demands would assuredly ruin us. In view of which, what is to be done? How am I to reach Livingstone, without being beggared?

Dismissing the men, I called Bombay, and told him to assist Asmani in settling the honga—"as cheaply as possible." I then lit my pipe, put on the cap of consideration, and began to think. Within half an hour, I had made a plan, which was to be attempted to be put in execution that very night.

I summoned the two slaves of Thani bin Abdullah, after the honga had been settled to everybody's satisfaction—though the profoundest casuistries and diplomatic arguments failed to reduce it lower than twenty-six doti—and began asking them about the possibility of evading the tribute-taking Wahha ahead.

This rather astonished them at first, and they declared it to be impossible : but, finally, after being pressed, they replied, that one of their number should guide us at midnight, or a little after, into the jungle which grew on the frontiers of Uhha and Uvinza. By keeping a direct west course through this jungle until we came to Ukaranga we might be enabled—we were told—to travel through Uhha without further trouble. If I were willing to pay the guide twelve doti, and if I were able to impose silence on my people while passing through the sleeping village, the guide was positive I could reach Ujiji without paying another doti. It is needless to add, that I accepted the proffered assistance at such a price with joy.

But there was much to be done. Provisions were to be purchased, sufficient to last four days, for the tramp through the jungle, and men were at once sent with cloth to purchase grain at any price. Fortune favoured us, for before 8 p.m. we had enough for six days.

November 7th.—I did not go to sleep at all last night, but a little after midnight, as the moon was beginning to show itself, by gangs of four, the men stole quietly out of the village ; and by 3 a.m. the entire Expedition was outside the boma, and not the slightest alarm had been made. After whistling to the new guide, the Expedition began to move in a southern direction along the right bank of the Kanengi River. After an hour's march in this direction, we struck west, across the grassy plain, and maintained it, despite the obstacles we encountered, which were sore enough to naked men. The bright moon lighted our path : dark clouds now and then cast immense long shadows over the deserted and silent plains, and the moonbeams were almost obscured, and at such times our position seemed awful—

"Till the moon,
Rising in clouded majesty, at length,
Apparent queen, unveiled her peerless light,
And o'er the dark her silver mantle threw."

Bravely toiled the men, without murmur, though their legs were bleeding from the cruel grass. " Ambrosial morn " at last appeared, with all its beautiful and lovely features. Heaven was born anew to us, with comforting omens and cheery promise. The men, though fatigued at the unusual travel, sped forward with quicker pace as daylight broke, until, at 8 a.m., we sighted the swift Rusugi River, when a halt was ordered in a clump of jungle near it, for breakfast and rest. Both banks of the river were alive with buffalo, eland, and antelope, but, though the sight was very tempting, we did not fire, because we dared not. The report of a gun would have alarmed the whole country. I preferred my coffee, and the contentment which my mind experienced at our success.

An hour after we had rested, some natives, carrying salt from the Malagarazi, were seen coming up the right bank of the river. When abreast of our hiding-place they detected us, and dropping their salt-bags, they took to their heels at once, shouting out as they ran, to alarm some villages that appeared about four miles north of us. The men were immediately ordered to take up their loads, and in a few minutes we had crossed the Rusugi, and were making direct for a bamboo jungle that appeared in our front. Almost as soon as we entered, a weak-brained woman raised a series of piercing yells. The men were appalled at this noisy demonstration, which would call down upon our heads the vengeance of the Wahha for evading the tribute, to which they thought themselves entitled. In half an hour we should have hundreds of howling savages about us in the jungle, and probably a general massacre would ensue. The woman screamed fearfully, again and again, for no cause whatever. Some of the men, with the instinct of self-preservation, at once dropped their bales and loads, and vanished into the jungle. The guide came rushing back to me, imploring me to stop her noise. The woman's husband, livid with rage and fear, drew his sword, and asked my permission to cut her head off at once. Had I given the least signal, the woman had paid with her life for her folly. I attempted to hush her cries by putting my hand over her mouth, but she violently wrestled with me, and continued her cries worse than ever. There remained nothing else for me to do but try the virtue of my whip over her shoulders. I asked her to desist after the first blow. " No ! " She continued her insane cries with increased force and volume. Again my whip descended on her shoulders. " No, no, no ! " another blow. " Will you hush ? " " No, no, no ! " louder and louder she cried, and faster and faster I showered the blows for the taming of this shrew. However, seeing I was as determined to flog as she was to cry, she desisted before the tenth blow, and became silent. A cloth was folded over her mouth, and her arms were tied behind her ; and in a few moments, the runaways having returned to their duty, the Expedition moved forward again with redoubled pace. On, on, we kept steadily until, at 1 p.m., we sighted the little lake of Musunya, as wearied as possible with our nine hours' march.

Lake Musunya is one of the many circular basins found in this part of Uhha. There was quite a group of them. The more correct term for these lakes would be immense pools. In the Masika season, Lake Musunya must extend to three or four miles in length by two in breadth. It swarms with hippopotami, and its shores abound with noble game.

We were very quiet, as may be imagined, in our bivouac ; neither tent nor hut was raised, nor was fire kindled, so that, in case of pursuit, we could move off without delay. I kept my Winchester rifle (the gift of my friend Mr. Morris, and a rare gift it was for such a crisis) with its magazine full, and two hundred cartridges in a bag slung over my shoulders. Each soldier's gun was also ready and loaded, and we retired to sleep our fatigues off with a feeling of perfect security.

November 8th.—Long before dawn appeared, we were on the march, and, as daylight broke, we emerged from the bamboo jungle, and struck across the naked plain of Uhha, once more passing several large pools by the way—far-embracing prospects of undulating country, with here and there a characteristic clump of trees relieving the general nudity of the whole. Hour after hour we toiled on, across the rolling land waves, the sun shining with all his wonted African fervor, but with its heat slightly tempered by the welcome breezes, which came laden with the fragrance of young grass, and perfume of strange flowers of various hues, that flecked the otherwise pale-green sheet which extended so far around us.

We arrived at the Rugufu River—not the Ukawendi Rugufu, but the northern stream of that name, a tributary of the Malagarazi. It was a broad shallow stream, and sluggish, with an almost imperceptible flow south-west. While we halted in the deep shade afforded by a dense clump of jungle, close to the right bank, resting awhile before continuing our journey, I distinctly heard a sound as of distant thunder in the west. Upon asking if it were thunder, I was told it was Kabogo.

" Kabogo ? what is that ? "

" It is a great mountain on the other side of the Tanganika, full of deep holes, into which the water rolls ; and when there is wind on the Tanganika, there is a sound like mvuha (thunder). Many boats have been lost there, and it is a custom with Arabs and natives to throw cloth—Merikani and Kaniki—and especially white (Merikani) beads, to appease the mulungu (god) of the lake. Those who throw beads generally get past without trouble, but those who do not throw beads into the lake get lost, and are drowned. Oh, it is a dreadful place ! " This story was told me by the ever-smiling guide Asmani, and was corroborated by other former mariners of the lake whom I had with me.

At the least, this place where we halted for dinner, on the banks of the Rugufu River, is eighteen and a half hours, or forty-six miles, from Ujiji; and, as Kabogo is said to be near Uguhha, it must be over sixty miles from Ujiji; therefore the sound of the thundering surf, which is said to roll into the caves of Kabogo, was heard by us at a distance of over one hundred miles away from them.

Continuing our journey for three hours longer, through thin forests, over extensive beds of primitive rock, among fields of large boulders thickly strewn about, passing by numerous herds of buffalo, giraffe, and zebra, over a quaking quagmire which resembled peat, we arrived at the small stream of Sunuzzi, to a camping place only a mile removed from a large settlement of Wahha. But we were buried in the depths of a great forest—no road was in the vicinity, no noise was made, deep silence was preserved; nor were fires lit. We might therefore rest tranquilly secure, certain that we should not be disturbed. To-morrow morning the kirangozi has promised we shall be out of Uhha, and if we travel on to Niamtaga, in Ukaranga, the same day, the next day would see us in Ujiji. Patience, my soul! A few hours more, then the end of all this will be known! I shall be face to face with that white man with the white hairs on his face, whoever he is!

November 9th.—Two hours before dawn we left our camp on the Sunuzzi River, and struck through the forest in a north-by-west direction, having muzzled our goats previously, lest, by their bleating, they might betray us. This was a mistake which might have ended tragically, for just as the eastern sky began to assume a pale greyish tint, we emerged from the jungle on the high road. The guide thought we had passed Uhha, and set up a shout which was echoed by every member of the caravan, and marched onward with new vigor and increased energy, when plump we came to the outskirts of a village, the inhabitants of which were beginning to stir. Silence was called for at once, and the Expedition halted immediately. I walked forward to the front to advise with the guide. He did not know what to do. There was no time to consider, so I ordered the goats to be slaughtered and left on the road, and the guide to push on boldly through the village. The chickens also had their throats cut ; after which the Expedition resumed the march quickly and silently, led by the guide, who had orders to plunge into the jungle south of the road. I stayed until the last man had disappeared ; then, after preparing my Winchester, brought up the rear, followed by my gun-bearers with their stock of ammunition. As we were about disappearing beyond the last hut, a man darted out of his hut, and uttered an exclamation of alarm, and loud voices were heard as if in dispute. But in a short time we were in the depths of the jungle, hurrying away from the road in a southern direction, and edging slightly westward. Once I thought we were pursued, and I halted behind a tree to check our foes if they persisted in following us ; but a few minutes proved to me that we were not pursued. After half-an-hour's march we again turned our faces westward. It was broad daylight now, and our eyes were delighted with most picturesque and sequestered little valleys, where wild fruit-trees grew, and rare flowers blossomed, and tiny brooks tumbled over polished pebbles —where all was bright and beautiful—until, finally, wading through one pretty pure streamlet, whose soft murmurs we took for a gentle welcome, we passed the boundary of wicked Uhha, and had entered Ukaranga !— an event that was hailed with extravagant shouts of joy.

Presently we found the smooth road, and we trod gaily with elastic steps, with limbs quickened for the march which we all knew to be drawing near its end. What cared we now for the difficulties we had encountered— for the rough and cruel forests, for the thorny thickets and hurtful grass, for the jungle of all savagedom, of which we had been the joyless audience ! To-morrow ! Ay, the great day draws nigh, and we may well laugh and sing while in this triumphant mood. We have been sorely tried ; we have been angry with each other when vexed by troubles, but we forget all these now, and there is no face but is radiant with the happiness we have all deserved.

We made a short halt at noon, for rest and refreshment. I was shown the hills from which the Tanganika could be seen, which bounded the valley of the Liuche on the east. I could not contain myself at the sight of them. Even with this short halt I was restless and unsatisfied. We resumed the march again. I spurred my men forward with the promise that to-morrow should see their reward. Fish and beer should be given them, as much as they could eat and drink.

We were in sight of the villages of the Wakaranga; the people caught sight of us, and manifested considerable excitement. I sent men ahead to reassure them, and they came forward to greet us. This was so new and welcome to us, so different from the turbulent Wavinza and the blackmailers of Uhha, that we were melted. But we had no time to loiter by the way to indulge our joy. I was impelled onward by my almost uncontrollable feelings. I wished to resolve my doubts and fears. Was HE still there? Had HE heard of my coming? Would HE fly?

How beautiful Ukaranga appears! The green hills are crowned by clusters of straw-thatched cones. The hills rise and fall; here denuded and cultivated, there in pasturage, here timbered, yonder swarming with huts. The country has somewhat the aspect of Maryland.

We cross the Mkuti, a glorious little river! We ascend the opposite bank, and stride through the forest like men who have done a deed of which they may be proud. We have already travelled nine hours, and the sun is sinking rapidly towards the west; yet, apparently, we are not fatigued.

We reach the outskirts of Niamtaga, and we hear drums beat. The people are flying into the woods; they desert their villages, for they take us to be Ruga-Ruga—the forest thieves of Mirambo, who, after conquering the Arabs of Unyanyembe, are coming to fight the Arabs of Ujiji. Even the King flies from his village, and every man, woman, and child, terror-stricken, follows him. We enter into it and quietly take possession, and my tent is set. Finally, the word is bruited about that we are Wangwana, from Unyanyembe.

" Well, then, is Mirambo dead ? " they ask.

" No," we answer.

" Well, how did you come to Ukaranga ? "

" By way of Ukonongo, Ukawendi, and Uhha."

" Oh—hi-le ! " Then they laugh heartily at their fright, and begin to make excuses. The King is introduced to me, and he says he had only gone to the woods in order to attack us again—he meant to have come back and killed us all, if we had been Ruga-Ruga. But then we know the poor King was terribly frightened, and would never have dared to return, had we been Ruga-Ruga—not he. We are not, however, in a mood to quarrel with him about an idiomatic phrase peculiar to him, but rather take him by the hand and shake it well, and say we are so very glad to see him. And he shares in our pleasure, and immediately three of the fattest sheep, pots of beer, flour, and honey are brought to us as a gift, and I make him happier still with two of the finest cloths I have in my bales ; and thus a friendly pact is entered into between us.

While I write my diary of this day's proceedings, I tell Selim to lay out my new flannel suit, to oil my boots, to chalk my helmet, and fold a new puggaree around it, that I may make as presentable an appearance as possible before the white man with the grey beard, and before the Arabs of Ujiji ; for the clothes I have worn through jungle and forest are in tatters. Good-night ; only let one day come again, and we shall see what we shall see.

November 10th. Friday.—The 236th day from Bagamoyo, and the 51st day from Unyanyembe. General direction to Ujiji, west-by-south. Time of march, six hours.

It is a happy, glorious morning. The air is fresh and cool. The sky lovingly smiles on the earth and her children. The deep woods are crowned in bright green leafage ; the water of the Mkuti, rushing under the emerald shade afforded by the bearded banks, seems to challenge us for the race to Ujiji, with its continuous brawl.

We are all outside the village cane fence, every man of us looking as spruce, as neat, and happy as when we embarked on the dhows at Zanzibar, which seems to us to have been ages ago—we have witnessed and experienced so much.

" Forward ! "

" Ay Wallah, ay Wallah, bana yango ! " and the light-hearted braves stride away at a rate which must soon bring us within view of Ujiji. We ascend a hill overgrown with bamboo, descend into a ravine through which dashes an impetuous little torrent, ascend another short hill, then, along a smooth footpath running across the slope of a long ridge, we push on as only eager, light-hearted men can do.

In two hours I am warned to prepare for a view of the Tanganika, for, from the top of a steep mountain the kirangozi says I can see it. I almost vent the feelings of my heart in cries. But wait, we must behold it first. And we press forward and up the hill breathlessly, lest the grand scene hasten away. We are at last on the summit. Ah ! not yet can it be seen. A little further on—just yonder, oh ! there it is—a silvery gleam. I merely catch sight of it between the trees, and—but here it is at last ! True—THE TANGANIKA ! and there are the blue-black mountains of Ugoma and Ukaramba. An immense broad sheet, a burnished bed of silver—lucid canopy of blue above—lofty mountains are its valances, palm forests form its fringes ! The Tanganika !—Hurrah ! and the men respond to the exultant cry of the Anglo-Saxon with the lungs of Stentors, and the great forests and the hills seem to share in our triumph.

" Was this the place where Burton and Speke stood, Bombay, when they saw the lake first ? "

" I don't remember, master ; it was somewhere about here, I think."

" Poor fellows ! The one was half-paralysed, the other half-blind," said Sir Roderick Murchison, when he described Burton and Speke's arrival in view of the Tanganika.

And I ? Well, I am so happy that, were I quite paralysed and blinded, I think that at this supreme moment I could take up my bed and walk, and all blindness would cease at once. Fortunately, however, I am quite well ; I have not suffered a day's sickness since the day I left Unyanyembe. How much would Shaw be willing to give to be in my place now ? Who is happiest—he, revelling in the luxuries of Unyanyembe, or I, standing on the summit of this mountain, looking down with glad eyes and proud heart on the Tanganika ?

We are descending the western slope of the mountain, with the valley of the Liuche before us. Something like an hour before noon we have gained the thick matete brake, which grows on both banks of the river ; we wade through the clear stream, arrive on the other side, emerge out of the brake, and the gardens of the Wajiji are around us—a perfect marvel of vegetable wealth. Details escape my hasty and partial observation. I am almost overpowered with my own emotions. I notice the graceful palms, neat plots, green with vegetable plants, and small villages surrounded with frail fences of the matete-cane.

We push on rapidly, lest the news of our coming might reach the people of Bunder Ujiji before we come in sight, and are ready for them. We halt at a little brook, then ascend the long slope of a naked ridge, the very last of the myriads we have crossed. This alone prevents us from seeing the lake in all its vastness. We arrive at the summit, travel across and arrive at its western rim, and—pause, reader—the port of Ujiji is below us, embowered in the palms, only five hundred yards from us ! At this grand moment we do not think of the hundreds of miles we have marched, of the hundreds of hills that we have ascended and descended, of the many forests we have traversed, of the jungles and thickets that annoyed us. of the fervid salt plains that blistered our feet, of the hot suns that scorched us, nor the dangers and difficulties, now happily surmounted. At last the sublime hour has arrived !—our dreams, our hopes, and anticipations are now about to be realized ! Our hearts and our feelings are with our eyes, as we peer into the palms and try to make out in which hut or house lives the white man with the grey beard we heard about on the Malagarazi.

" Unfurl the flags, and load your guns ! "

" Ay Wallah, ay Wallah, bana ! " respond the men, eagerly.

" One, two, three—fire ! "

A volley from nearly fifty guns roars like a salute from a battery of artillery : we shall note its effect presently on the peaceful-looking village below.

" Now, kirangozi, hold the white man's flag up high, and let the Zanzibar flag bring up the rear. And you men keep close together, and keep firing until we halt in the market-place, or before the white man's house. You have said to me often that you could smell the fish of the Tanganika—I can smell the fish of the Tanganika now. There are fish, and beer, and a long rest waiting for you. MARCH ! "

Before we had gone a hundred yards our repeated volleys had the effect desired. We had awakened Ujiji to the knowledge that a caravan was coming, and the people were witnessed rushing up in hundreds to meet us. The mere sight of the flags informed every one immediately that we were a caravan, but the American flag borne aloft by gigantic Asmani, whose face was one vast smile on this day, rather staggered them at first. However, many of the people who now approached us remembered the flag. They had seen it float above the American Consulate, and from the masthead of many a ship in the harbor of Zanzibar, and they were soon heard welcoming the beautiful flag with cries of " Bindera Kisungu ! "—a white man's flag ! " Bindera Merikani ! "—the American flag !

Then we were surrounded by them : by Wajiji, Wanyamwezi, Wangwana, Warundi, Waguhha, Wamanyuema and Arabs, and were almost deafened with the shouts of "Yambo, yambo, bana ! Yambo, bana ! Yambo, bana !" To all and each of my men the welcome was given.

We were now about three hundred yards from the village of Ujiji, and the crowds are dense about me. Suddenly I hear a voice on my right say,

"Good morning, sir !"

Startled at hearing this greeting in the midst of such a crowd of black people, I turn sharply around in search of the man, and see him at my side, with the blackest of faces, but animated and joyous—a man dressed in a long white shirt, with a turban of American sheeting around his woolly head, and I ask :

"Who the mischief are you ?"

"I am Susi, the servant of Dr. Livingstone," said he, smiling, and showing a gleaming row of teeth.

"What ! Is Dr. Livingstone here ?"

"Yes, sir."

"In this village ?"

"Yes, sir."

"Are you sure. ?"

"Sure, sure, sir. Why, I leave him just now."

"Good morning, sir," said another voice.

"Hallo," said I, "is this another one ?"

"Yes, sir."

"Well, what is your name ?"

"My name is Chumah, sir."

"What ! are you Chumah, the friend of Wekotani ?"

"Yes, sir."

"And is the Doctor well ?"

"Not very well, sir."

"Where has he been so long ?"

"In Manyuema."

"Now, you Susi, run, and tell the Doctor I am coming."

"Yes, sir," and off he darted like a madman.

But by this time we were within two hundred yards of the village, and the multitude was getting denser, and almost preventing our march. Flags and streamers were out; Arabs and Wangwana were pushing their way through the natives in order to greet us, for, according to their account, we belonged to them. But the great wonder of all was, "How did you come from Unyanyembe?"

Soon Susi came running back, and asked me my name; he had told the Doctor that I was coming, but the Doctor was too surprised to believe him, and, when the Doctor asked him my name, Susi was rather staggered.

But, during Susi's absence, the news had been conveyed to the Doctor that it was surely a white man that was coming, whose guns were firing and whose flag could be seen; and the great Arab magnates of Ujiji—Mohammed bin Sali, Sayd bin Majid, Abid bin Suliman, Mohammed bin Gharib, and others—had gathered together before the Doctor's house, and the Doctor had come out from his veranda to discuss the matter and await my arrival.

In the meantime, the head of the Expedition had halted, and the kirangozi was out of the ranks, holding his flag aloft, and Selim said to me, "I see the Doctor, sir. Oh, what an old man! He has got a white beard." And I——what would I not have given for a bit of friendly wilderness, where, unseen, I might vent my joy in some mad freak, such as idiotically biting my hand, turning a somersault, or slashing at trees, in order to allay those exciting feelings that were well-nigh uncontrollable. My heart beats fast, but I must not let my face betray my emotions, lest it shall detract from the dignity of a white man appearing under such extraordinary circumstances.

So I did that which I thought was most dignified. I pushed back the crowds, and, passing from the rear walked down a living avenue of people, until I came in front of the semicircle of Arabs, in the front of which stood the white man with the grey beard. As I advanced slowly towards him I noticed he was pale, looked wearied had a grey beard, wore a bluish cap with a faded gold band round it, had on a red-sleeved waistcoat, and a pair of grey tweed trousers. I would have run to him, only I was a coward in the presence of such a mob—would have embraced him, only, he being an Englishman, I did not know how he would receive me ; so I did what cowardice and false pride suggested was the best thing—walked deliberately to him, took off my hat, and said :

" Dr. Livingstone, I presume ? "

" Yes," said he, with a kind smile, lifting his cap slightly.

I replace my hat on my head, and he puts on his cap, and we both grasp hands, and I then say aloud :

" I thank God, Doctor, I have been permitted to see you."

He answered, " I feel thankful that I am here to welcome you."

I turn to the Arabs, take off my hat to them in response to the saluting chorus of " Yambos," I receive, and the Doctor introduces them to me by name. Then, oblivious of the crowds, oblivious of the men who shared with me my dangers, we—Livingstone and I—turn our faces towards his tembe. He points to the veranda, or, rather, mud platform, under the broad overhanging eaves ; he points to his own particular seat, which I see his age and experience in Africa has suggested, namely, a straw mat, with a goatskin over it, and another skin nailed against the wall to protect his back from contact with the cold mud. I protest against taking this seat, which so much more befits him than me, but the Doctor will not yield : I must take it.

We are seated—the Doctor and I—with our backs to the wall. The Arabs take seats on our left. More than a thousand natives are in our front, filling the whole square densely, indulging their curiosity, and discussing the fact of two white men meeting at Ujiji—one just come from Manyuema, in the west, the other from Unyanyembe, in the east.

Conversation began. What about? I declare I have forgotten. Oh! we mutually asked questions of one another, such as:

"How did you come here?" and "Where have you been all this long time?—the world has believed you to be dead." Yes, that was the way it began; but whatever the Doctor informed me, and that which I communicated to him, I cannot correctly report, for I found myself gazing at him, conning the wonderful man at whose side I now sat in Central Africa. Every hair of his head and beard, every wrinkle of his face, the wanness of his features, and the slightly wearied look he wore, were all imparting intelligence to me—the knowledge I craved for so much ever since I heard the words, "Take what you want, but find Livingstone." What I saw was deeply interesting intelligence to me, and unvarnished truth. I was listening and reading at the same time. What did these dumb witnesses relate to me?

Oh, reader, had you been at my side on this day in Ujiji, how eloquently could be told the nature of this man's work! Had you been there but to see and hear! His lips gave me the details; lips that never lie. I cannot repeat what he said; I was too much engrossed to take my note-book out, and begin to stenograph his story. He had so much to say that he began at the end, seemingly oblivious of the fact that five or six years had to be accounted for. But his account was oozing out; it was growing fast into grand proportions—into a most marvellous history of deeds.

The Arabs rose up, with a delicacy I approved, as if they intuitively knew that we ought to be left to ourselves. I sent Bombay with them, to give them the news they also wanted so much to know about the affairs at Unyanyembe. Sayd bin Majid was the father of the gallant young man whom I saw at Masange, and who fought with me at Zimbizo, and who soon afterwards was killed by Mirambo's Ruga-Ruga in the forest of Wilyankuru; and, knowing that I had been there, he earnestly desired to hear the tale of the fight; but they had all friends at Unyanyembe, and it was but natural that they should be anxious to hear of what concerned them.

After giving orders to Bombay and Asmani for the provisioning of the men of the Expedition, I called "Kaif-Halek," or "How-do-ye-do," and introduced him to Dr. Livingstone as one of the soldiers in charge of certain goods left at Unyanyembe, whom I had compelled to accompany me to Ujiji, that he might deliver in person to his master the letter-bag he had been entrusted with by Dr. Kirk. This was that famous letter-bag marked "Nov. 1st, 1870," which was now delivered into the Doctor's hands 365 days after it left Zanzibar! How long, I wonder, had it remained at Unyanyembe had I not been despatched into Central Africa in search of the great traveller?

The Doctor kept the letter-bag on his knee, then, presently, opened it, looked at the letters contained there, and read one or two of his children's letters, his face in the meanwhile lighting up.

He asked me to tell him the news. "No, Doctor," said I, "read your letters first, which I am sure you must be impatient to read."

"Ah," said he, "I have waited years for letters, and I have been taught patience. I can surely afford to wait a few hours longer. No, tell me the general news: how is the world getting along?"

"You probably know much already. Do you know that the Suez Canal is a fact—is opened, and a regular trade carried on between Europe and India through it?"

"I did not hear about the opening of it. Well, that is grand news! What else?"

Shortly I found myself enacting the part of an annual periodical to him. There was no need of exaggeration—of any penny-a-line news, or of any sensationalism. The world had witnessed and experienced much the last few years. The Pacific Railroad had been completed; Grant had been elected President of the United States; Egypt had been flooded with savans; the Cretan rebellion had terminated ; a Spanish revolution had driven Isabella from the throne of Spain, and a Regent had been appointed ; General Prim was assassinated ; a Castelar had electrified Europe with his advanced ideas upon the liberty of worship ; Prussia had humbled Denmark, and annexed Schleswig-Holstein, and her armies were now around Paris ; the " Man of Destiny " was a prisoner at Wilhelmshohe ; the Queen of Fashion and the Empress of the French was a fugitive ; and the child born in the purple had lost for ever the Imperial crown intended for his head ; the Napoleon dynasty was extinguished by the Prussians, Bismarck and Von Moltke ; and France, the proud empire, was humbled to the dust.

What could a man have exaggerated of these facts ? What a budget of news it was to one who had emerged from the depths of the primeval forests of Manyuema ! The reflection of the dazzling light of civilisation was cast on him while Livingstone was thus listening in wonder to one of the most exciting pages of history ever repeated. How the puny deeds of barbarism paled before these ! Who could tell under what new phases of uneasy life Europe was laboring even then, while we, two of her lonely children, rehearsed the tale of her late woes and glories ? More worthily, perhaps, had the tongue of a lyric Demodocus recounted them ; but, in the absence of the poet, the newspaper correspondent performed his part as well and truthfully as he could.

Not long after the Arabs had departed, a dishful of hot hashed-meat cakes was sent to us by Sayd bin Majid, and a curried chicken was received from Mohammed bin Sali, and Moeni Kheri sent a dishful of stewed goat-meat and rice ; and thus presents of food came in succession, and as fast as they were brought we set to. I had a healthy, stubborn digestion—the exercise I had taken had put it in prime order ; but Livingstone—he had been complaining that he had no appetite, that his stomach refused everything but a cup of tea now and then—he ate also—ate like a vigorous, hungry man ; and, as he vied with me in demolishing the pancakes, he kept repeating, " You have brought me new life. You have brought me new life."

" Oh, by George ! " I said, " I have forgotten something. Hasten, Selim, and bring that bottle ; you know which ; and bring me the silver goblets. I brought this bottle on purpose for this event, which I hoped would come to pass, though often it seemed useless to expect it."

Selim knew where the bottle was, and he soon returned with it—a bottle of Sillery champagne ; and, handing the Doctor a silver goblet brimful of the exhilarating wine, and pouring a small quantity into my own, I said :

" Dr. Livingstone, to your very good health, sir."

" And to yours," he responded.

And the champagne I had treasured for this happy meeting was drunk with hearty good wishes to each other.

But we kept on talking and talking, and prepared food was being brought to us all that afternoon ; and we kept on eating every time it was brought, until I had eaten even to repletion, and the Doctor was obliged to confess that he had eaten enough. Still, Halimah, the female cook of the Doctor's establishment, was in a state of the greatest excitement. She had been protruding her head out of the cookhouse to make sure that there were really two white men sitting down in the veranda, when there used to be only one, who would not, because he could not, eat anything ; and she had been considerably exercised in her mind about this fact. She was afraid the Doctor did not properly appreciate her culinary abilities ; but now she was amazed at the extraordinary quantity of food eaten, and she was in a state of delightful excitement. We could hear her tongue rolling off a tremendous volume of clatter to the wondering crowds who halted before the kitchen to hear the current of news with which she edified them. Poor, faithful soul ! While we listened to the noise of her furious gossip, the Doctor related her faithful services, and the terrible anxiety she evinced when the guns first announced the arrival of another white man in Ujiji ;

how she had been flying about in a state of the utmost excitement, from the kitchen into his presence, and out again into the square, asking all sorts of questions ; how she was in despair at the scantiness of the general larder and treasury of the strange household ; how she was anxious to make up for their poverty by a grand appearance—to make up a sort of Barmecide feast to welcome the white man. " Why," said she, " is he not one of us ? Does he not bring plenty of cloth and beads ? Talk about the Arabs ! Who are they that they should be compared to white men ? Arabs, indeed ! "

The Doctor and I conversed upon many things, especially upon his own immediate troubles, and his disappointment, upon his arrival in Ujiji, when told that all his goods had been sold, and he was reduced to poverty. He had but twenty cloths or so left of the stock he had deposited with the man called Sherif, the half-caste drunken tailor, who was sent by the British Consul in charge of the goods. Besides which he had been suffering from an attack of dysentery, and his condition was most deplorable. He was but little improved on this day, though he had eaten well, and already began to feel stronger and better.

This day, like all others, though big with happiness to me, at last was fading away. We, sitting with our faces looking to the east, as Livingstone had been sitting for days preceding my arrival, noted the dark shadows which crept up above the grove of palms beyond the village, and above the rampart of mountains which we had crossed that day, now looming through the fast approaching darkness ; and we listened, with our hearts full of gratitude to the great Giver of Good and Dispenser of all Happiness, to the sonorous thunder of the surf of the Tanganika, and to the chorus which the night insects sang. Hours passed, and we were still sitting there with our minds busy upon the day's remarkable events, when I remembered that the traveller had not yet read his letters.

" Doctor," I said, " you had better read your letters. I will not keep you up any longer."

" Yes," he answered, " it is getting late ; and I will go and read my friends' letters. Good-night, and God bless you."

" Good-night, my dear Doctor ; and let me hope that your news will be such as you desire."

And now, dear reader, having related succinctly " How I found Livingstone," I bid you also " Good-night."

SCOTT

In 1910 *Captain Robert Scott was sent out by the Royal Geographical Society to find the South Pole. The story of how he succeeded in his quest, and of how in a sense he failed, is now as well known as the story of the discovery of America. No details of fact are necessary to enable this narrative that follows to be appreciated ; in any event, they are there from the hand of the explorer himself.*

The extract here given[1] *constitutes the last chapter of the immortal diary which was recovered by the rescue expedition within the year. It tells of the death of the last survivors, after the coveted Pole itself—and the relics of the Amundsen expedition which had been left there so short a time before—had been reached.*

It was a deathless feat, and had been told in a deathless story. No literary art could remotely equal the effect of the words Scott wrote as he saw his loyal companions dying about him in that terrible February of 1912, *knowing that he would soon follow them.*

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[1] Reproduced by courteous permission of Mr. John Murray.

SCOTT

THE LAST MARCH

Sunday, February 18.—R. 32. Temp. – 5.5°. At Shambles Camp. We gave ourselves 5 hours' sleep at the lower glacier depôt after the horrible night, and came on at about 3 to-day to this camp, coming fairly easily over the divide. Here with plenty of horsemeat we have had a fine supper, to be followed by others such, and so continue a more plentiful era if we can keep good marches up. New life seems to come with greater food almost immediately, but I am anxious about the Barrier surfaces.

Monday, February 19.—Lunch T. – 16°. It was late (past noon) before we got away to-day, as I gave nearly 8 hours' sleep, and much camp work was done shifting sledges and fitting up new one with mast, &c., packing horsemeat and personal effects. The surface was every bit as bad as I expected, the sun shining brightly on it and its covering of soft loose sandy snow. We have come out about 2′ on the old tracks. Perhaps lucky to have a fine day for this and our camp work, but we shall want wind or change of sliding conditions to do anything on such a surface as we have got. I fear there will not be much change for the next 3 or 4 days.

R. 33. Temp. – 17°. We have struggled out 4.6 miles in a short day over a really terrible surface—it has been like pulling over desert sand, not the least glide in the world. If this goes on we shall have a bad time, but I sincerely trust it is only the result of this windless area close to the coast and that, as we are making steadily outwards, we shall shortly escape it. It is perhaps premature to be anxious about covering distance. In all other respects things are improving. We have our sleeping-bags spread on the sledge and they are drying, but, above all, we have our full measure of food again. To-night we had a sort of stew fry of pemmican and horseflesh, and voted it the best hoosh we had ever had on a sledge journey. The absence of poor Evans is a help to the commissariat, but if he had been here in a fit state we might have got along faster. I wonder what is in store for us, with some little alarm at the lateness of the season.

Monday, February 20.—R. 34. Lunch Temp. – 13°; Supper Temp. – 15°. Same terrible surface; four hours' hard plodding in morning brought us to our Desolation Camp, where we had the four-day blizzard. We looked for more pony meat, but found none. After lunch we took to ski with some improvement of comfort. Total mileage for day 7—the ski tracks pretty plain and easily followed this afternoon. We have left another cairn behind. Terribly slow progress, but we hope for better things as we clear the land. There is a tendency to cloud over in the S.E. to-night, which may turn to our advantage. At present our sledge and ski leave deeply ploughed tracks which can be seen winding for miles behind. It is distressing, but as usual trails are forgotten when we camp, and good food is our lot. Pray God we get better travelling as we are not so fit as we were, and the season is advancing apace.

Tuesday, February 21.—R. 35. Lunch Temp. – 9½°; Supper Temp. – 11°. Gloomy and overcast when we started; a good deal warmer. The marching almost as bad as yesterday. Heavy toiling all day, inspiring gloomiest thoughts at times. Rays of comfort when we picked up tracks and cairns. At lunch we seemed to have missed the way, but an hour or two after we passed the last pony walls, and since, we struck a tent ring, ending the march actually on our old pony-tracks. There is a critical spot here with a long stretch between cairns. If we can tide that over we get on the regular cairn route, and with luck should stick to it; but everything depends on the weather. We never won a march of 8½ miles with greater difficulty, but we can't go on like this. We are drawing away from the land and perhaps may get better things in a day or two. I devoutly hope so.

Wednesday, *February* 22.—R. 36. Supper Temp. – 2°. There is little doubt we are in for a rotten critical time going home, and the lateness of the season may make it really serious. Shortly after starting to-day the wind grew very fresh from the S.E. with strong surface drift. We lost the faint track immediately, though covering ground fairly rapidly. Lunch came without sight of the cairn we had hoped to pass. In the afternoon, Bowers being sure we were too far to the west, steered out. Result, we have passed another pony camp without seeing it. Looking at the map to-night there is no doubt we are too far to the east. With clear weather we ought to be able to correct the mistake, but will the weather get clear ? It's a gloomy position, more especially as one sees the same difficulty returning even when we have corrected the error. The wind is dying down to-night and the sky clearing in the south, which is hopeful. Meanwhile it is satisfactory to note that such untoward events fail to damp the spirit of the party. To-night we had a pony hoosh so excellent and filling that one feels really strong and vigorous again.

Thursday, *February* 23.—R. 37. Lunch Temp. – 9.8° ; Supper Temp. – 12°. Started in sunshine, wind almost dropped. Luckily Bowers took a round of angles and with help of the chart we fogged out that we must be inside rather than outside tracks. The data were so meagre that it seemed a great responsibility to march out and we were none of us happy about it. But just as we decided to lunch, Bowers' wonderful sharp eyes detected an old double lunch cairn, the theodolite telescope confirmed it, and our spirits rose accordingly. This afternoon we marched on and picked up another cairn ; then on and camped only 2½ miles from the depôt. We cannot see it, but, given fine weather, we cannot miss it. We are, therefore, extraordinarily relieved. Covered 8.2 miles in 7 hours, showing we can do 10 to 12 on this surface. Things are again looking up, as we are on the regular line of cairns, with no gaps right home, I hope.

Friday, *February* 24.—Lunch. Beautiful day—too beautiful—an hour after starting, loose ice crystals spoiling surface. Saw depôt and reached it middle forenoon. Found store in order except shortage oil—shall have to be *very* saving with fuel—otherwise have ten full days' provision from to-night and shall have less than 70 miles to go. Note from Meares who passed through December 15, saying surface bad; from Atkinson, after fine marching (2¼ days from pony depôt), reporting Keohane better after sickness. Short note from Evans, not very cheerful, saying surface bad, temperature high. Think he must have been a little anxious. It is an immense relief to have picked up this depôt and, for the time, anxieties are thrust aside. There is no doubt we have been rising steadily since leaving the Shambles Camp. The coastal Barrier descends except where glaciers press out. Undulation still, but flattening out. Surface soft on top, curiously hard below. Great difference now between night and day temperatures. Quite warm as I write in tent. We are on tracks with half-march cairn ahead; have covered 4½ miles. Poor Wilson has a fearful attack snow-blindness consequent on yesterday's efforts. Wish we had more fuel.

Night camp R. 38. Temp. - 17°. A little despondent again. We had a really terrible surface this afternoon and only covered 4 miles. We are on the track just beyond a lunch cairn. It really will be a bad business if we are to have this pulling all through. I don't know what to think, but the rapid closing of the season is ominous. It is great luck having the horsemeat to add to our ration. To-night we have had a real fine "hoosh." It is a race between the season and hard conditions and our fitness and good food.

Saturday, *February* 25.—Lunch Temp. - 12°. Managed just 6 miles this morning. Started somewhat despondent; not relieved when pulling seemed to show no improvement. Bit by bit surface grew better, less sastrugi, more glide, slight following wind for a time. Then we began to travel a little faster. But the pulling is still *very* hard; undulations disappearing but inequalities remain.

Twenty-six Camp walls about 2 miles ahead, all tracks in sight—Evans' track very conspicuous. This is something in favour, but the pulling is tiring us, though we are getting into better ski drawing again. Bowers hasn't quite the trick and is a little hurt at my criticisms, but I never doubted his heart. Very much easier—write diary at lunch—excellent meal—now one pannikin very strong tea—four biscuits and butter.

Hope for better things this afternoon, but no improvement apparent. Oh ! for a little wind—E. Evans evidently had plenty.

R. 39. Temp. – 20°. Better march in afternoon. Day yields 11.4 miles—the first double figure of steady dragging for a long time, but it meant and will mean hard work if we can't get a wind to help us. Evans evidently had a strong wind here, S.E. I should think. The temperature goes very low at night now when the sky is clear as at present. As a matter of fact this is wonderfully fair weather—the only drawback the spoiling of the surface and absence of wind. We see all tracks very plain, but the pony-walls have evidently been badly drifted up. Some kind people had substituted a cairn at last camp 27. The old cairns do not seem to have suffered much.

Sunday, *February* 26.—Lunch Temp. – 17°. Sky overcast at start, but able see tracks and cairn distinct at long distance. Did a little better, 6½ miles to date. Bowers and Wilson now in front. Find great relief pulling behind with no necessity to keep attention on track. Very cold nights now and cold feet starting march, as day foot gear doesn't dry at all. We are doing well on our food, but we ought to have yet more. I hope the next depôt, now only 50 miles, will find us with enough surplus to open out. The fuel shortage still an anxiety.

R. 40. Temp. – 21°. Nine hours' solid marching has given us 11½ miles. Only 43 miles from the next depôt. Wonderfully fine weather but cold, very cold. Nothing dries and we get our feet cold too often. We want more food yet and especially more fat. Fuel is woefully short. We can scarcely hope to get a better surface at this season, but I wish we could have some help from the wind, though it might shake us badly if the temp. didn't rise.

Monday, February 27.—Desperately cold last night: – 33° when we got up, with – 37° minimum. Some suffering from cold feet, but all got good rest. We *must* open out on food soon. But we have done 7 miles this morning and hope for some 5 this afternoon. Overcast sky and good surface till now, when sun shows again. It is good to be marching the cairns up, but there is still much to be anxious about. We talk of little but food, except after meals. Land disappearing in satisfactory manner. Pray God we have no further set-backs. We are naturally always discussing possibility of meeting dogs, where and when, &c. It is a critical position. We may find ourselves in safety at next depôt, but there is a horrid element of doubt.

Camp. R. 41. Temp. – 32°. Still fine clear weather but very cold—absolutely calm to-night. We have got off an excellent march for these days (12.2) and are much earlier than usual in our bags. Thirty-one miles to depôt, 3 days' fuel at a pinch, and 6 days' food. Things begin to look a little better; we can open out a little on food from to-morrow night, I think.

Very curious surface—soft recent sastrugi which sink underfoot, and between, a sort of flaky crust with large crystals beneath.

Tuesday, February 28.—Lunch. Thermometer went below – 40° last night; it was desperately cold for us, but we had a fair night. I decided to slightly increase food; the effect is undoubtedly good. Started marching in – 32° with a slight north-westerly breeze—blighting. Many cold feet this morning; long time over foot gear, but we are earlier. Shall camp earlier and get the chance of a good night, if not the reality. Things must be critical till we reach the depôt, and the more I think of matters, the more I anticipate their remaining so after that event. Only 24½ miles from the depôt. The sun shines brightly, but there is little warmth in it. There is no doubt the middle of the Barrier is a pretty awful locality.

Camp 42. Splendid pony hoosh sent us to bed and sleep happily after a horrid day, wind continuing; did 11½ miles. Temp. not quite so low, but expect we are in for cold night (Temp. − 27°).

Wednesday, February 29.—Lunch. Cold night. Minimum Temp. − 37.5°; − 30° with north-west wind, force 4, when we got up. Frightfully cold starting; luckily Bowers and Oates in their last new finnesko; keeping my old ones for present. Expected awful march and for first hour got it. Then things improved and we camped after 5½ hours marching close to lunch camp—22½. Next camp is our depôt and it is exactly 13 miles. It ought not to take more than 1½ days; we pray for another fine one. The oil will just about spin out in that event, and we arrive 3 clear days' food in hand. The increase of ration has had an enormously beneficial result. Mountains now looking small. Wind still very light from west—cannot understand this wind.

Thursday, March 1.—Lunch. Very cold last night—minimum − 41.5°. Cold start to march, too, as usual now. Got away at 8 and have marched within sight of depôt; flag something under 3 miles away. We did 11½ yesterday and marched 6 this morning. Heavy dragging yesterday and *very* heavy this morning. Apart from sledging considerations the weather is wonderful. Cloudless days and nights and the wind trifling. Worse luck, the light airs come from the north and keep us horribly cold. For this lunch hour the exception has come. There is a bright and comparatively warm sun. All our gear is out drying.

Friday, March 2.—Lunch. Misfortunes rarely come singly. We marched to the (Middle Barrier) depôt fairly easily yesterday afternoon, and since that have suffered three distinct blows which have placed us in a bad position. First we found a shortage of oil; with most rigid economy it can scarce carry us to the next depôt on this surface (71 miles away). Second, Titus Oates disclosed his feet, the toes showing very bad indeed, evidently bitten by the late temperatures. The third blow came in the night, when the wind, which we had hailed with some joy, brought dark overcast weather. It fell below − 40° in the night, and this morning it took 1½ hours to get our foot gear on, but we got away before eight. We lost cairn and tracks together and made as steady as we could N. by W., but have seen nothing. Worse was to come—the surface is simply awful. In spite of strong wind and full sail we have only done 5½ miles. We are in a *very* queer street since there is no doubt we cannot do the extra marches and feel the cold horribly.

Saturday, *March* 3.—Lunch. We picked up the track again yesterday, finding ourselves to the eastward. Did close on 10 miles and things looked a trifle better; but this morning the outlook is blacker than ever. Started well and with good breeze; for an hour made good headway; then the surface grew awful beyond words. The wind drew forward; every circumstance was against us. After 4½ hours things so bad that we camped, having covered 4¼ miles. (R. 46.) One cannot consider this a fault of our own—certainly we were pulling hard this morning—it was more than three parts surface which held us back—the wind at strongest, powerless to move the sledge. When the light is good it is easy to see the reason. The surface, lately a very good hard one, is coated with a thin layer of woolly crystals, formed by radiation no doubt. These are too firmly fixed to be removed by the wind and cause impossible friction on the runners. God help us, we can't keep up this pulling, that is certain. Amongst ourselves we are unendingly cheerful, but what each man feels in his heart I can only guess. Pulling on foot gear in the morning is getting slower and slower, therefore every day more dangerous.

Sunday, *March* 4.—Lunch. Things looking *very* black indeed. As usual we forgot our trouble last night, got into our bags, slept splendidly on good hoosh, woke and had another, and started marching. Sun shining brightly, tracks clear, but surface covered with sandy frost-rime. All the morning we had to pull with all our strength, and in 4½ hours we covered 3½ miles. Last night it was overcast and thick, surface bad ; this morning sun shining and surface as bad as ever. One has little to hope for except perhaps strong dry wind—an unlikely contingency at this time of year. Under the immediate surface crystals is a hard sastrugi surface, which must have been excellent for pulling a week or two ago. We are about 42 miles from the next depôt and have a week's food, but only about 3 to 4 days' fuel—we are as economical of the latter as one can possibly be, and we cannot afford to save food and pull as we are pulling. We are in a very tight place indeed, but none of us despondent *yet*, or at least we preserve every semblance of good cheer, but one's heart sinks as the sledge stops dead at some sastrugi behind which the surface sand lies thickly heaped. For the moment the temperature is on the - 20°—an improvement which makes us much more comfortable, but a colder snap is bound to come again soon. I fear that Oates at least will weather such an event very poorly. Providence to our aid ! We can expect little from man now except the possibility of extra food at the next depôt. It will be real bad if we get there and find the same shortage of oil. Shall we get there ? Such a short distance it would have appeared to us on the summit ! I don't know what I should do if Wilson and Bowers weren't so determinedly cheerful over things.

Monday, *March* 5.—Lunch. Regret to say going from bad to worse. We got a slant of wind yesterday afternoon, and going on 5 hours we converted our wretched morning run of 3½ miles into something over 9. We went to bed on a cup of cocoa and pemmican solid with the chill off. (R. 47.) The result is telling on all, but mainly on Oates, whose feet are in a wretched condition. One swelled up tremendously last night and he is very lame this morning. We started march on tea and pemmican as last night—we pretend to prefer the pemmican this way. Marched for 5 hours this morning over a slightly better surface covered with high moundy sastrugi. Sledge capsized twice; we pulled on foot, covering about 5½ miles. We are two pony marches and 4 miles about from our depôt. Our fuel dreadfully low and the poor Soldier nearly done. It is pathetic enough because we can do nothing for him; more hot food might do a little, but only a little, I fear. We none of us expected these terribly low temperatures, and of the rest of us Wilson is feeling them most; mainly, I fear, from his self-sacrificing devotion in doctoring Oates' feet. We cannot help each other, each has enough to do to take care of himself. We get cold on the march when the trudging is heavy, and the wind pierces our warm garments. The others, all of them, are unendingly cheerful when in the tent. We mean to see the game through with a proper spirit, but it's tough work to be pulling harder than we ever pulled in our lives for long hours, and to feel that the progress is so slow. One can only say "God help us!" and plod on our weary way, cold and very miserable, though outwardly cheerful. We talk of all sorts of subjects in the tent, not much of food now, since we decided to take the risk of running a full ration. We simply couldn't go hungry at this time.

Tuesday, *March* 6.—Lunch. We did a little better with help of wind yesterday afternoon, finishing 9½ miles for the day, and 27 miles from depôt. (R. 48.) But this morning things have been awful. It was warm in the night and for the first time during the journey I overslept myself by more than an hour; then we were slow with foot gear; then, pulling with all our might (for our lives) we could scarcely advance at rate of a mile an hour; then it grew thick and three times we had to get out of harness to search for tracks. The result is something less than 3½ miles for the forenoon. The sun is shining now and the wind gone. Poor Oates is unable to pull, sits on the sledge when we are track-searching—he is wonderfully plucky, as his feet must be giving him great pain. He makes no complaint, but his spirits only come up in spurts now, and he grows more silent in the tent. We are making a spirit lamp to try and replace the primus when our oil is exhausted. It will be a very poor substitute and we've not got much spirit. If we could have kept up our 9-mile days we might have got within reasonable distance of the depôt before running out, but nothing but a strong wind and good surface can help us now, and though we had quite a good breeze this morning, the sledge came as heavy as lead. If we were all fit I should have hopes of getting through, but the poor Soldier has become a terrible hindrance, though he does his utmost and suffers much I fear.

Wednesday, *March* 7.—A little worse I fear. One of Oates' feet *very* bad this morning; he is wonderfully brave. We still talk of what we will do together at home.

We only made 6½ miles yesterday. (R. 49.) This morning in 4½ hours we did just over 4 miles. We are 16 from our depôt. If we only find the correct proportion of food there and this surface continues, we may get to the next depôt [Mt. Hooper, 72 miles farther] but not to One Ton Camp. We hope against hope that the dogs have been to Mt. Hooper; then we might pull through. If there is a shortage of oil again we can have little hope. One feels that for poor Oates the crisis is near, but none of us are improving, though we are wonderfully fit considering the really excessive work we are doing. We are only kept going by good food. No wind this morning till a chill northerly air came ahead. Sun bright and cairns showing up well. I should like to keep the track to the end.

Thursday, *March* 8.—Lunch. Worse and worse in morning; poor Oates' left foot can never last out, and time over foot gear something awful. Have to wait in night foot gear for nearly an hour before I start changing and then am generally first to be ready. Wilson's feet giving trouble now, but this mainly because he gives so much help to others. We did 4½ miles this morning and are now 8½ miles from the depôt—a ridiculously small distance to feel in difficulties, yet on this surface we know we cannot equal half our old marches, and that for that effort we expend nearly double the energy. The great question is, What shall we find at the depôt ? If the dogs have visited it we may get along a good distance, but if there is another short allowance of fuel, God help us indeed. We are in a very bad way, I fear, in any case.

Saturday, March 10.—Things steadily downhill. Oates' foot worse. He has rare pluck and must know that he can never get through. He asked Wilson if he had a chance this morning, and of course Bill had to say he didn't know. In point of fact he has none. Apart from him, if he went under now, I doubt whether we could get through. With great care we might have a dog's chance, but no more. The weather conditions are awful, and our gear gets steadily more icy and difficult to manage. At the same time of course poor Titus is the greatest handicap. He keeps us waiting in the morning until we have partly lost the warming effect of our good breakfast, when the only wise policy is to be up and away at once ; again at lunch. Poor chap ! it is too pathetic to watch him ; one cannot but try to cheer him up.

Yesterday we marched up the depôt, Mt. Hooper. Cold comfort. Shortage on our allowance all round. I don't know that anyone is to blame. The dogs which would have been our salvation have evidently failed. Meares had a bad trip home I suppose.

This morning it was calm when we breakfasted, but the wind came from the W.N.W. as we broke camp. It rapidly grew in strength. After travelling for half an hour I saw that none of us could go on facing such conditions. We were forced to camp and are spending the rest of the day in a comfortless blizzard camp, wind quiet foul. (R. 52.)

Sunday, March 11.—Titus Oates is very near the end, one feels. What we or he will do, God only knows. We discussed the matter after breakfast ; he is a brave fine fellow and understands the situation, but he practically asked for advice. Nothing could be said but to urge him to march as long as he could. One satisfactory result to the discussion ; I practically ordered Wilson to hand over the means of ending our troubles to us, so that any one of us may know how to do so. Wilson had no choice between doing so and our ransacking the medicine case. We have 30 opium tabloids apiece and he is left with a tube of morphine. So far the tragical side of our story. (R. 53.)

The sky completely overcast when we started this morning. We could see nothing, lost the tracks, and doubtless have been swaying a good deal since—3.1 miles for the forenoon—terribly heavy dragging—expected it. Known that 6 miles is about the limit of our endurance now, if we get no help from wind or surfaces. We have 7 days' food and should be about 55 miles from One Ton Camp to-night, 6 × 7 = 42, leaving us 13 miles short of our distance, even if things get no worse. Meanwhile the season rapidly advances.

Monday, *March* 12.—We did 6.9 miles yesterday, under our necessary average. Things are left much the same, Oates not pulling much, and now with hands as well as feet pretty well useless. We did 4 miles this morning in 4 hours 20 min.—we may hope for 3 this afternoon, 7 × 6 = 42. We shall be 47 miles from the depôt. I doubt if we can possibly do it. The surface remains awful, the cold intense, and our physical condition running down. God help us ! Not a breath of favourable wind for more than a week, and apparently liable to head winds at any moment.

Wednesday, *March* 14.—No doubt about the going downhill, but everything going wrong for us. Yesterday we woke to a strong northerly wind with temp. $-37°$. Couldn't face it, so remained in camp (R. 54) till 2, then did $5\frac{1}{4}$ miles. Wanted to march later, but party feeling the cold badly as the breeze (N.) never took off entirely, and as the sun sank the temp. fell. Long time getting supper in dark. (R. 55.)

This morning started with southerly breeze, set sail and passed another cairn at good speed ; half-way, however, the wind shifted to W. by S. or W.S.W., blew through our wind clothes and into our mits. Poor Wilson horribly cold, could not get off ski for some time. Bowers and I practically made camp, and when we got into the tent at last we were all deadly cold. Then temp. now midday down – 43° and the wind strong. We *must* go on, but now the making of every camp must be more difficult and dangerous. It must be near the end, but a pretty merciful end. Poor Oates got it again in the foot. I shudder to think what it will be like to-morrow. It is only with greatest pains rest of us keep off frostbites. No idea there could be temperatures like this at this time of year with such winds. Truly awful outside the tent. Must fight it out to the last biscuit, but can't reduce rations.

Friday, *March* 16 *or Saturday* 17.—Lost track of dates, but think the last correct. Tragedy all along the line. At lunch, the day before yesterday, poor Titus Oates said he couldn't go on ; he proposed we should leave him in his sleeping-bag. That we could not do, and induced him to come on, on the afternoon march. In spite of its awful nature for him he struggled on and we made a few miles. At night he was worse and we knew the end had come.

Should this be found I want these facts recorded. Oates' last thoughts were of his Mother, but immediately before he took pride in thinking that his regiment would be pleased with the bold way in which he met his death. We can testify to his bravery. He has borne intense suffering for weeks without complaint, and to the very last was able and willing to discuss outside subjects. He did not—would not—give up hope to the very end. He was a brave soul. This was the end. He slept through the night before last, hoping not to wake ; but he woke in the morning—yesterday. It was blowing a blizzard. He said, " I am just going outside and may be some time." He went out into the blizzard and we have not seen him since.

I take this opportunity of saying that we have stuck to our sick companions to the last. In case of Edgar Evans, when absolutely out of food and he lay insensible, the safety of the remainder seemed to demand his abandonment, but Providence mercifully removed him at this critical moment. He died a natural death, and we did not leave him till two hours after his death. We knew that poor Oates was walking to his death, but though we tried to dissuade him, we knew it was the act of a brave man and an English gentleman. We all hope to meet the end with a similar spirit, and assuredly the end is not far.

I can only write at lunch and then only occasionally. The cold is intense, − 40° at midday. My companions are unendingly cheerful, but we are all on the verge of serious frostbites, and though we constantly talk of fetching through I don't think any one of us believes it in his heart.

We are cold on the march now, and at all times except meals. Yesterday we had to lay up for a blizzard and today we move dreadfully slowly. We are at No. 14 pony camp, only two pony marches from One Ton Depôt. We leave here our theodolite, a camera, and Oates' sleeping-bags. Diaries, &c., and geological specimens carried at Wilson's special request, will be found with us or on our sledge.

Sunday, *March* 18.—To-day, lunch, we are 21 miles from the depôt. Ill fortune presses, but better may come. We have had more wind and drift from ahead yesterday ; had to stop marching ; wind N.W., force 4, temp. − 35°. No human being could face it, and we are worn out *nearly*.

My right foot has gone, nearly all the toes—two days ago I was proud possessor of best feet. These are the steps of my downfall. Like an ass I mixed a small spoonful of curry powder with my melted pemmican—it gave me violent indigestion. I lay awake and in pain all night ; woke and felt done on the march ; foot went and I didn't know it. A very small measure of neglect and have a foot which is not pleasant to contemplate. Bowers takes first place in condition, but there is not much to choose after all. The others are still confident of getting through—or pretend to be—I don't know ! We have the last *half* fill of oil in our primus and a very small quantity of spirit—this alone between us and thirst. The wind is fair for the moment, and that is perhaps a fact to help. The mileage would have seemed ridiculously small on our outward journey.

Monday, *March* 19.—Lunch. We camped with difficulty last night and were dreadfully cold till after our supper of cold pemmican and biscuit and a half a pannikin of cocoa cooked over the spirit. Then, contrary to expectation, we got warm and all slept well. To-day we started in the usual dragging manner. Sledge dreadfully heavy. We are 15½ miles from the depôt and ought to get there in three days. What progress ! We have two days' food but barely a day's fuel. All our feet are getting bad—Wilson's best, my right foot worst, left all right. There is no chance to nurse one's feet till we can get hot food into us. Amputation is the least I can hope for now, but will the trouble spread ? That is the serious question. The weather doesn't give us a chance—the wind from N. to N.W. and – 40° temp. to-day.

Wednesday, *March* 21.—Got within 11 miles of depôt Monday night ; had to lay up all yesterday in severe blizzard. To-day forlorn hope, Wilson and Bowers going to depôt for fuel.

Thursday, *March* 22 *and* 23.—Blizzard bad as ever—Wilson and Bowers unable to start—to-morrow last chance—no fuel and only one or two of food left—must be near the end. Have decided it shall be natural—we shall march for the depôt with or without our effects and die in our tracks.

Thursday, *March* 29.—Since the 21st we have had a continuous gale from W.S.W. and S.W. We had fuel to make two cups of tea apiece and bare food for two days on the 20th. Every day we have been ready to start for our depôt 11 *miles* away, but outside the door of the tent it remains a scene of whirling drift. I do not think we can hope for any better things now. We shall stick it out to the end, but we are getting weaker, of course, and the end cannot be far.

It seems a pity, but I do not think I can write more.

R. SCOTT.

For God's sake look after our people.

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